

READING THE BIBLE IN ANCIENT TRADITIONS AND MODERN EDITIONS

Studies in Memory of Peter W. Flint

Edited by
Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk



Early Judaism and Its Literature

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Finally, we acknowledge that, while the editors and authors of this volume lost a valuable member of our scholarly community, Peter's academic profile was but one component of his life. As indicated by several of the dedications at the outset of Peter's published works, his family was ever on his heart, even while his mind was focused on ancient texts. Even in her time of loss, Amanda Flint offered regular encouragement and enthusiasm (second only to her husband's) as our work progressed. In the past number of months, we also benefited greatly from the correspondence and moments shared with Peter's six adult children (Claire, Amy, Abigail, Jason, Taryn, and Ethan) and four grandchildren (Jakob, Olivia, Andrew, and Ben). We are forever grateful that you shared Peter with us.

Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk
16 June 2017
Langley, British Columbia

Abbreviations

Technical Abbreviations

amend.	amended (by)
col(s).	column(s)
comm.	commentary
comp.	compiled (by)
const.	construct
dir.	director
DO	direct object
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
EC	Ethiopian calendar
Eth.	Ethiopic
f. or fem.	feminine
frag(s).	fragment(s)
Gk.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew
inf.	infinitive
l(l).	line(s)
m. or masc.	masculine
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
n.d.	no date
neut.	neuter
n.p.	no place; no publisher
per.	person
pf.	perfect
pl(s).	plural; plate(s)
QSP	Qumran scribal practice
s. or sg.	singular
subj.	subjunctive
v(v).	verse(s)

Dead Sea Scrolls Diacritics and Citation System

|	division between textual differences and witnesses in variant readings
||	dvision between transcriptional differences proposed by various editors in variant readings
[ ]	letters between brackets are reconstructed
○	traces of ink indicating the presence of an indecipherable letter
א̇	probable letter (dot)
א̊	possible letter (open circlet)
vacat	intentional empty space
1QS 7:7	document column and line in documents for which column structure is an integral part of the publication
4Q339 1	line numbers for manuscripts represented by only one fragment
4Q502 76 1	fragment and line number in fragments with no columns
4Q491 11 ii 13	fragment, column, and line number
4Q512 51–55 ii 7	combined fragments

Additional Sigla and Text-Critical Abbreviations

//	items in the text are paralleled𝔊
√	verbal root
א	Aleppo Codex
α′	Aquila
A	Codex Alexandrinus
‿	conjunction
∧	disjunction
𝔊	Old Greek (original Septuagint)
$\mathfrak{G}^{-}$	base text of the Göttingen edition
$\mathfrak{G}_{var}$	variant found in the Göttingen critical apparatus
𝔥	Hebrew University Bible Project base text
ל	Leningrad Codex
$\text{LXX}^{A\ \mathit{31}}$	Septuagint manuscripts (e.g., manuscripts A and *31*)
𝔐	Masoretic Text
פ	petuhah (“open” section)

𝔖/Pesh	Peshitta
S	Codex Sinaiticus
ס	setumah (“closed” section)
σ′	Symmachus
T/Tg	Targum
θ′	Theodotion
γ′	the Three (Symmachus, Aquila, Theodotion)
α'_{var}	different sources offering conflicting evidence
V	Codex Venetus
○	Versional quotations involving variation
𝔙	Vulgate

Ancient Compositions

1 Apol.	Justin, *First Apology*
1 En.	1 Enoch
1–4 Esd	1–4 Esdras
1–4 Macc	1–4 Maccabees
1Q17	1QJubilees^{a}
1Q18	1QJubilees^{b}
1Q20	Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar)
1Q21	1QLevi
1Q26	1QInstruction
1Q29	1QLiturgy of the Three Tongues of Fire
1Q34	1QFestival Prayers
1Q35	1QHodayot^{b}
2Q19	2QJubilees^{a}
1QH^{a}	1QHodayot^{a}
1QIsa^{a}	1QIsaiah^{a}
1QIsa^{b}	1QIsaiah^{b}
1QM	1QWar Scroll
1QpaleoLev-Num^{a}	1Qpaleo Leviticus-Numbers^{a}
1QpHab	Pesher Habakkuk
1QS	1QSerekh ha-Yaḥad
1QSa	1QRule of the Congregation
1QSb	1QRule of Benedictions
4Q137	4QPhylactery J
4Q158	4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch^{a}
4Q173	4Qpesher Psalms^{b}

4Q174	4QFlorilegium
4Q176 a	4QJubilees?
4Q177	4QCatena A
4Q179	4QApocryphal Lamentations A
4Q180	4QAges of Creation A
4Q181	4QAges of Creation B
4Q185	4QSapiential Work
4Q200	4QTobit[e]
4Q201	4QEnoch[a]
4Q202	4QEnoch[b]
4Q204	4QEnoch[c]
4Q213	4QLevi[a]
4Q213a	4QLevi[b]
4Q213b	4QLevi[c]
4Q214	4QLevi[d]
4Q214a	4QLevi[e]
4Q214b	4QLevi[f]
4Q220	4QJubilees[e]
4Q221	4QJubilees[f]
4Q222	4QJubilees[g]
4Q223–224	4Qpapyrus Jubilees[h]
4Q225	4QPseudo-Jubilees[a]
4Q226	4QPseudo-Jubilees[b]
4Q227	4QPseudo-Jubilees[c]?
4Q230	4QCatalogue of Spirits[a]
4Q252	4QCommentary on Genesis A
4Q254	4QCommentary on Genesis C
4Q259	4QSerekh ha-Yaḥad[e]
4Q364	4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch[b]
4Q365	4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch[c]
4Q369	4QPrayer of Enosh?
4Q379	4QApocryphon of Joshua[b]
4Q380	4QNon-Canonical Psalms A
4Q381	4QNon-Canonical Psalms B
4Q385	4QPseudo-Ezekiel[a]
4Q388	4QPseudo-Ezekiel[d]
4Q388a	4QPseudo-Moses[c]
4Q393	4QCommunal Confession
4Q395	4QHalakhic Letter[b] (Miqṣat Maʿaśê ha-Torah)

4Q397	4QHalakhic Letter[d] (Miqṣat Maʿaśê ha-Torah)
4Q398	4QHalakhic Letter[e] (Miqṣat Maʿaśê ha-Torah)
4Q400	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[a]
4Q401	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[b]
4Q402	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[c]
4Q403	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[d]
4Q404	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[e]
4Q405	4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[f]
4Q415	4QInstruction[a]
4Q416	4QInstruction[b]
4Q417	4QInstruction[c]
4Q418	4QInstruction[d]
4Q423	4QInstruction[g]
4Q427	4QHodayot[a]
4Q431	4QHodayot[e]
4Q434	4QBarkhiNafshi[a]
4Q435	4QBarkhiNafshi[b]
4Q436	4QBarkhiNafshi[c]
4Q437	4QBarkhiNafshi[d]
4Q438	4QBarkhiNafshi[e]
4Q439	4QLament by a Leader
4Q445	4QLament A
4Q453	4QLament B
4Q547b	4QEschatological Hymn
4Q458	4Q Narrative A
4Q471b	4QSelf-Glorification Hymn[a]
4Q491	4QWar Scroll[a]
4Q392	4QWorks of God
4Q398	4QHalakhic Letter[e] (Miqṣat Maʿaśê ha-Torah)
4Q399	4QHalakhic Letter[f] (Miqṣat Maʿaśê ha-Torah)
4Q493	4QWar Scroll[c]
4Q501	4QApocryphal Lamentations B
4Q502	4QRitual of Marriage
4Q504	4QWords of the Luminaries[a]
4Q505	4QWords of the Luminaries[b]?
4Q506	4QWords of the Luminaries[c]
4Q508	4QFestival Prayers[b]
4Q509	4QFestival Prayers[c]
4Q511	4QSongs of the Sage[b]

4Q512	4QRitual of Purification B
4Q522	4QProphecy of Joshua
4Q525	4QBeatitudes
4Q541	4QApocryphon of Levi^{b}?
4Q542	4QTestament of Qahat
4Q545	4QVisions of Amram^{c}
4Q552	4QFour Kingdoms^{a}
4Q554	4QNew Jerusalem^{a}
5Q13	5QRule
11Q11	11QApocryphal Psalms
11Q17	11QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice
11Q19	11QTemple Scroll^{a}
1QGen	1QGenesis
1QpPs	1QPsalms Pesher
4QCant^{a}	4QCanticles^{a}
4QCant^{b}	4QCanticles^{b}
4QCant^{c}	4QCanticles^{c}
4QDeut^{h}	4QDeuteronomy^{h}
4QDeut^{n}	4QDeuteronomy^{n}
4QEzek^{b}	4QEzekiel^{b}
4QGen-Exod^{a}	4QGenesis-Exodus^{a}
4QH^{a}	4QHodayot^{a}
4QIsa^{a}	4QIsaiah^{a}
4QIsa^{b}	4QIsaiah^{b}
4QIsa^{c}	4QIsaiah^{c}
4QIsa^{d}	4QIsaiah^{d}
4QIsa^{f}	4QIsaiah^{f}
4QIsa^{g}	4QIsaiah^{g}
4QJer^{a}	4QJeremiah^{a}
4QJer^{b}	4QJeremiah^{b}
4QJer^{c}	4QJeremiah^{c}
4QJer^{d}	4QJeremiah^{d}
4QJosh^{a}	4QJoshua^{a}
4QJudg^{a}	4QJudges^{a}
4QLXXLev^{a}	4QLXX Leviticus^{a}
4QLXXNum	4QLXX Numbers
4QLXXpapLev^{b}	4QLXX papyrus Leviticus^{b}
4QM^{a}	4QWar Scroll^{a}
4QMMT	4QHalakhic Letter^{a} (Miqṣat Maʿaśê ha-Torah)

4QMyst^{c}	4QMysteries^{c}
4QNum^{b}	4QNumbers^{b}
4QpaleoDeut^{r}	4Qpaleo Deuteronomy^{r}
4QpaleoExod^{m}	4Qpaleo Exodus^{m}
4QpaleoGen^{m}	4Qpaleo Genesis^{m}
4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l}	4Qpaleo Genesis-Exodus^{l}
4QpaleoJob^{c}	4Qpaleo Job^{c}
4QpaleoParaJoshua	4QpaleoParaphrase of Joshua
4QpapPrQuot^{a}	4QDaily Prayers^{a}
4QParaGenExod	4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus
4QpPs^{a}	4QPsalms Pesher^{a}
4QpPs^{b}	4QPsalms Pesher^{b}
4QPs^{c}	4QPsalms^{c}
4QPs^{j}	4QPsalms^{j}
4QS^{a}	4QSerekh ha-ʾEdah^{a}
4QS^{b}	4QSerekh ha-ʾEdah^{b}
4QS^{c}	4QSerekh ha-ʾEdah^{c}
4QS^{d}	4QSerekh ha-ʾEdah^{d}
4QS^{h}	4QSerekh ha-ʾEdah^{h}
4QS^{i}	4QSerekh ha-ʾEdah^{i}
4QS^{j}	4QSerekh ha-ʾEdah^{j}
4QSam^{a}	4QSamuel^{a}
4QtgLev	4QTargum Leviticus
4QtgJob	4QTargum Job
6Q18	6QHymn
8QGen	8QGenesis
11QMelch	11QMelchizedek
11QpaleoLev^{a}	11Qpaleo Leviticus^{a}
11QPs^{a}	11QPsalms^{a}
11QtgJob	11QTargum Job
Acts Pil.	Acts of Pilate
Adv. Jud.	Tertullian, *Against the Jews*
Ag. Ap.	Josephus, *Against Apion*
A.J.	Josephus, *Antiquitates judaicae*
ALD	Aramaic Levi Document
Ant.	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquites*; Sophocles, *Antigone*
Apoc. Ezra	Apocalypse of Ezra
Apoc. Sedr.	Apocalypse of Sedrach
Apos. Con.	Apostolic Constitutions and Canons

ArBib	Aramaic Bible
Ascen. Isa.	Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah 6–11
Av.	Aristophanes, *Aves* (*Birds*)
Bar	Baruch
Barn.	Letter of Barnabas
b. B. Bat.	Baba Batra (Babylonian Talmud)
b. Ber.	Berakot (Babylonian Talmud)
b. Hul.	Hullin (Babylonian Talmud)
B.J.	Josephus, *Bellum judaicum*
b. Meg.	Megillah (Babylonian Talmud)
b. Menah.	Menahot (Babylonian Talmud)
Bodl.	ALD texts of the Oxford Bodleian Library
b. Qidd.	Qiddusin (Babylonian Talmud)
b. Sotah	Sotah (Babylonian Talmud)
Cambr.	ALD texts of the Taylor-Schechter collection at Cambridge University Library
CD	Damascus Document
Cels.	Origen, *Contra Celsum*
Comm. Jo.	Origen, *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis*
Contempl.	Philo, *De vita contemplativa*
Dial.	Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*
Eccl. Hist.	Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*
Ep. Apos.	Epistula Apostolorum
Epid.	Irenaeus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*
G (or LXX)	Septuagint
G	Genizah fragment
GenAp	Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar)
Gen. Rab.	Genesis Rabbah
Geogr.	Strabo, *Geographica*
H	Hodayot
Haer.	Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*
Hell.	Xenophon, *Hellenica*
Hist.	Herodotus, *Histories*; Tacitus, *Histories*; Polybius, *Histories*
Jub.	Jubilees
J.W.	Josephus, *Jewish War*
LAB	Pseudo-Philo, Liber antiquitatum biblicarum
Life	Josephus, *The Life*
LXX (or G)	Septuagint

M	War Scroll
Mas1k	Masada Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice
MasDeut	Masada Deut (Mas 1c)
MasEzek	Masada Ezekiel (Mas 1d)
MasGen	Masada Genesis (Mas 1)
MasLev^{b}	Masada Leviticus^{b} (Mas 1b)
MasPs^{a}	Masada Psalms^{a} (Mas 1e)
MasPs^{b}	Masada Psalms^{b} (Mas 1f)
Midr. Pss.	Midrash on the Psalms
Mos.	Philo, *On the Life of Moses*
m. Sotah	Sotah (Mishnah)
MT	Masoretic Text
Mt. Athos	ALD text of the Mount Athos Koutloumousiou monastery
MT^{k}	what is written (*ketiv*)
MT^{Kenn}	consonantal reading found in Kennicott's collation
MT^{q}	what is read (*qere*)
m. Yad.	Yadayim (Mishnah)
Nat.	Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*
NETS	Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
OG	Old Greek
OL	Old Latin
P	Paris Manuscript
Pan.	Epiphanius, *Panarion*
P.Cair.Zen.	Edgar, C. C., O. Guéraud, and P. Jouguet, eds. *Zenon Papyri: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. 5 vols. Cairo: Fouad, 1925–1940.
P.Corn.	Westermann, Willaim L., and Casper J. Kraemer Jr., eds. *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926.
P.Count	Clarysse, Willy, and Dorothy J. Thompson. *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*. 2 vols. CCS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
P.Fouad	Bataille, A., O. Guéraud, P. Jouguet, N. Lewis, H. Marrou, J. Scherer, and W. G. Waddell, eds. *Les Papyrus Fouad I (Nos. 1–89)*. Cairo: Société Fouad I de Papyrologie, 1939.

P.Oxy.	Grenfell, Bernard P., et al., eds. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898–.
P.Sed.	El-Ashiry, Mohamed, and Mohamed Kashaf. "Account of Livestock from Fayum Villages." *BCPS* 27 (2010): 5–12.
Ps.-Jonathan	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
P.W.	Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*
Q	Qur'an
Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
Sir	Sirach (Ben Sira)
Somn.	Philo, *De somniis*
Sop.	Soferim
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
Syr	Syriac (version)
Syr.	Syriac (language)
T/Tg	Targums
Ta'an.	Ta'anit
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin
Tg. Ps.-J.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
Thuc.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Thucydide*
T. Job	Testament of Job
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
t. Sotah	Sotah (Tosefta)
V	Vaticanus
Virtues	Philo, *On the Virtues*
Vulg.	Vulgate
y. Ketub.	Ketubbot (Jerusalem Talmud)
y. Meg.	Megillah (Jerusalem Talmud)

Journals, Reference Volumes, and Monograph Series

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
AEF	Aethiopistische Forschungen
AGWGPH	Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-Historische Klasse
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity

AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
ALC	*Across Languages and Cultures*
AmSc	*American Scientist*
ANRW	Temporini, Hildegard, and Wolfgang Haase, eds. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.* Part 2, *Principat*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–.
ANYAS	Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences
ARevE	*Annual Review of Entomology*
AS	*Aramaic Studies*
ATDan	Acta Theologica Danica
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BA	La Bible d'Alexandrie. Paris: Cerf, 1986–.
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BBM	Between Bible and Mishnah
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BCPS	*Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological Studies, Ain Shams University*
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
BDSS	Abegg, Martin G., Jr. "The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Hebrew Syntax." Pages 163–72 in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection*. Edited by Jean Duhaime, Peter W. Flint, and Kyung S. Baek. EJL. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHK	Kittell, Rudolph, ed. *Biblia Hebraica*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905–1906.
BHQ	Schenker, Adrian, et al., eds. *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004–.

BHS	Elliger, Karl, and Wilhelm Rudolph, eds. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.
BHWJB	Bericht der Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BL	British Library
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*
BMI	The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters
BMW	Bible in the Modern World
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BRev	*Bible Review*
BS	Biblical Studies
BTS	Biblical Tools and Studies
ByzZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBS	Core Biblical Studies Series
CC	Continental Commentaries
CCS	Cambridge Classical Studies
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 B.C. to A.D. 200
CDCH	Clines, David J. A. *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009.
CFRRC	Capuchin Franciscan Research and Retreat Center
CI	*Critical Inquiry*
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum

CSBS	Canadian Society of Biblical Studies
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CSIFM	Cataloghi sommari e inventari dei fondi manoscritti
CTR	*Canadian Theological Review*
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
DBSup	Pirot, Louis, and André Robert, eds. *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément*. Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1928–.
DJBA	Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DNTB	Evans, Craig A., and Stanley E. Porter, eds. *The Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2000.
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DSSR	Parry, Donald W., and Emmanuel Tov, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*. 6 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2004–2005.
EC	*Early Christianity*
ECA	Early Christian Apocrypha
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
ECDSS	Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls
EDEJ	Collins, John J., and Daniel C. Harlow, eds. *Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
EDSS	Schiffman, Lawrence H., and James C. VanderKam, eds. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EH	*Ethnohistory*
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
EP	*Ekklesiastikos Pharos*
EPSL	*Earth and Planetary Science Letters*
ErIsr	*Eretz-Israel*
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FIOTL	Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
Folio	*Folio*
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature

FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FSMS	Fordham Series in Medieval Studies
GBS	Guides to Biblical Studies
GD	Gorgias Dissertations
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
GRM	Graeco-Roman Memoirs
HALOT	Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
HBAI	*Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
HBCE	The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition
HCEC	McBrien, Richard P., ed. *The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*. New York: Harper Collins, 1995.
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HCSB	Holman Christian Standard Bible
HDSS	Qimron, Elisha. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. HSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
HEBT	Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud
HOSANE	Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section One: The Ancient Near East
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUBP	Hebrew University Bible Project
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
IJAL	*International Journal of American Linguistics*
Int	*Interpretation*
IOQS	International Organization for Qumran Studies
IR	Iconography of Religions
Iraq	*Iraq*
JAB	*Journal for the Aramaic Bible*
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*

Jastrow	Jastrow, Morris, comp. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature with an Index of Scriptural Quotations*. London: Luzac; New York: Putnam, 1903.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBT	*Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie*
JBW	*Jahrbuch der biblischen Wissenschaft*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JCT	Jewish and Christian Texts
JE	Singer, Isidore, ed. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 12 vols. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–1926.
JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JOTSSA	*Journal of the Old Testament Society of South Africa*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JS	*Journal of Seismology*
JSCS	*Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSSup	Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
König. Bib.	Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin
KUSATU	*Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library

LD	Lectio Divina
Lingua	*Lingua*
LISOR	Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions
LLBIS	Kutscher, E. Y. *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaa)*. STDJ 6. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MASES	Modern Approaches in Solid Earth Sciences
MBFJ	*Mitteilungen und Beiträge der Forschungsstelle Judentum*
Meta	*Meta: Journal des traducteurs / Translators' Journal*
MG	*Materia Giudaica*
MOTP	Bauckham, Richard, James R. Davila, and Alexander Panayotov, eds. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*. 2 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013–.
Msr	Ofer, Yosef. *The Babylonian Masora of the Pentateuch: Its Principles and Methods* [Heb.]. Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001.
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NETS	Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
NHMS	Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies
NICNT	New International Commentary of the New Testament
NIDB	Sakenfeld, Katharine Doob, ed. *New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. 5 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 2006–2009.
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIHP	Wilson, Paul Scott, ed. *The New Interpreter's Handbook of Preaching*. Nashville: Abingdon, 2008.
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version

OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OCD	Hornblower, Simon, and Anthony Spawforth, eds. *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
OHO	Oxford Handbooks Online
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OS	*Ostkirchliche Studien*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	Charlesworth, James H., ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
PAM	Palestine Archaeological Museum
PapCol	Papyrologica Coloniensia
PEQ	*Palestinian Exploration Quarterly*
PGM	Preisendanz, Karl, and Albert Henrichs, eds. *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974.
PGSIST	Publications of the Green Scholars Initiative: Semitic Texts
Philol	*Philology*
PIM	Monographs of the Peshitta Institute
PJ	*Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PJEGL	*Proceedings: Journal of the Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies*
PNTC	Pillar New Testament Commentary
PPSSHJ	Princeton-Prague Symposia Series on the Historical Jesus
PRR	Princeton Readings in Religions
PSer	Pseudepigrapha Series
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
Questes	*Questes: Revue pluridisciplinaire d'études médiévales*
RAPH	Recherches d'archéologie de philologie et d'histoire
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RCHL	*Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*

RCT	*Revista catalana de teología*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RI	*Recherches Intertestamentaires*
RILP	Roehampton Institute London Papers
ROC	Rockefeller Museum inventory number
RSE	*Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
RStB	*Ricerche storico bibliche*
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RT	Radical Thinkers
SAeth	Scriptores Aethiopici
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLCS	Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBOT	Sacred Books of the Old Testament
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
ScrJC	*Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia*
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SCSer	Septuagint Commentary Series
SD	Septuaginta Deutsch. Edited by Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011–.
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
Sem	*Semitica*
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplements to Numen)
SJ	Studies in Judaica (Sydney, N.S.W.)
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SPB	Studia Post-Biblica
SPOT	Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament.
SSETS	Symposium Series of the Evangelical Theological Society
Stages	Stages
StB	*Studies in Bibliography*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

STJHC	Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture
StL	Storie e linguaggi
StPB	Studia Post-biblica
StSam	Studia Samaritana
StT	Studi e Testi, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
SwJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology*
SymS	Symposium Series
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
Tarbiz	*Tarbiz*
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TCT	Textual Criticism and the Translator
TDNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TECC	Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros"
Textus	*Textus*
THAT	Jenni, Ernst, with assistance from Claus Westermann, eds. *Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. 2 vols. Munich: Kaiser; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1971–1976.
THBSup	Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible
THEOT	Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament
ThWQ	Fabry, Heinz-Josef, Ulrich Dahmen, and George J. Brooke, eds. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011–2013.
TLG	University of California, Irvine. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*. http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546p.
TLSM	Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TS	Texts and Studies
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum / Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
TSHL	Texts and Studies in the Hebrew Language and Related Subjects

TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
TT	Topics in Translation
TTr	Texts and Translations
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
UUA	Uppsala Universitetsårskrift
VCSNC	Viking Collection: Studies in Northern Civilization
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WD	*Wort und Dienst*
WLAW	Wisdom Literature from the Ancient World
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

The Story of a Scholar: The Life and Academic Legacy of Peter W. Flint

Kyung S. Baek and Andrew B. Perrin

> Continually engaged in the study of Torah, day and night …
> —1QS 6:6–7

1. Introduction

Like many Festschriften, the present volume began in hushed conversations out of earshot from its honoree. In the fall of 2013, plans were made to organize, edit, and present a collection of essays by students and colleagues to Professor Peter Flint. As is also the case with many Festschriften, such secrets are difficult to keep. As his sixty-fifth birthday neared (21 January 2016), the editors disclosed to Peter that the volume was in the works and could be expected to appear in the year ahead in one of his favorite series, Early Judaism and Its Literature. Peter was honored and grateful to hear that this celebratory volume was well under way. A moment that at first seemed like a spoiled surprise was in retrospect a true blessing. When the shocking news of Peter's passing on 3 November 2016 came, we as editors found a small comfort in knowing that he did not leave us without a knowledge of this project honoring his life work. As the complete bibliography of Peter's contributions in the appendix attests, his research made a lasting impact on both the academic and public knowledge on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and the Second Temple background of New Testament writings. Not unlike the model of community and scribal encounters with Scripture noted above in an excerpt from the Community Rule, Peter was truly a scholar continually engaged in the study of Scripture at all times.

This preface proceeds with two sections setting the context and direction of the Festschrift and memorial volume. First, a short synopsis

of Peter's life and work is presented, drawing on details and samplings from the many memorial notes and eulogies published or delivered in the months after his passing. Second, an overview of the structure of the volume and a necessarily brief summary of its twenty-seven individual contributions is provided to give a sense of the whole.

2. A Biographical Sketch of the Life and Career of Peter W. Flint

Peter William Flint was born on 21 January 1951, in Johannesburg, South Africa, and passed away on 3 November 2016, in Langley, British Columbia, Canada. He was not only a renowned biblical scholar but also a dedicated son, husband, father, and grandfather.[1]

As the eldest of three sons, he was a hardworking student. He graduated from the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg with a BA (1972) and Teacher's Higher Education Diploma (1973). From the University of South Africa in Pretoria, he earned an Honors BA (*cum laude*) in Classical Hebrew (1979) and an MA shortly thereafter (1983). Peter's studies at the University of Notre Dame allowed him to fulfill his dream of working on the Dead Sea Scrolls, which resulted in a second MA (1990) and then a PhD (1993) in Old Testament and Second Temple Judaism. His doctoral dissertation, directed by Eugene Ulrich, entitled "The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms," was revised and subsequently published in 1997 (Leiden: Brill).

Education ran through Peter's blood. His teaching career commenced in high schools and colleges in Johannesburg, Soweto, and Umtata. Later, he was appointed Assistant Professor of Bible and Biblical Languages at the University of Transkei (1984–1987). Following the completion of his doctoral studies at Notre Dame, he was appointed Associate Professor of Biblical Studies at Southwestern College in Phoenix, Arizona (1993–1995). Around this time, Craig Evans was sowing the seeds for Qumran research at Trinity Western University in Langley, British Columbia, Canada. In 1995, Peter Flint and Martin Abegg were hired in tandem and took up positions as Associate Professors of Religious Studies. In the years that

1. This historical section primarily follows the memorial note by Robert J. V. Hiebert, "Peter W. Flint," *JSCS* (forthcoming). For additional reflections on Peter's life and academic work see those by Andrew B. Perrin, "Remembering Peter W. Flint (1951–2016)," *RevQ* 28 (2016): 153–55; and Martin Abegg, "Peter W. Flint (1951–2016)," *Henoch* 38 (2016): 413; "Peter W. Flint (1951–2016)," *BAR* 43 (2017): 14.

followed, Abegg, Evans, and Flint cultivated Trinity as a destination for advanced research in the emerging field of Qumran studies and a regular meeting place for engaging the public on insights and ideas discovered in the newly available writings of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 2000, Peter was promoted to the rank of full professor, and in 2004 he was awarded a prestigious Tier 1 Canada Research Chair in Dead Sea Scrolls Studies, an appointment that he held until the time of his death.

In all of his positions, Peter was a dedicated teacher exhibiting an unmatched passion for his subjects of study. As he became more prolific in his scholarly contributions, his classroom extended to include audiences around the globe in both academic and public venues. He was an active member of a variety of scholarly organizations, including the Society of Biblical Literature, the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies, the Catholic Biblical Association, the International Organization for Qumran Studies, and the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies.

The impact of Peter's academic publications was recognized by several major awards. In 2002, the coauthored volume with James VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), received the Biblical Archaeological Society's award for the "Best Book Relating to the Hebrew Bible." In 2009–2010, this same accolade was awarded to the edition of the Cave 1 Isaiah scrolls, coedited with Eugene Ulrich for the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series, *Qumran Cave I.II: The Isaiah Scrolls* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2010). Peter's enthusiasm for the Dead Sea Scrolls and unique ability to engage the general public on these discoveries led to a new introduction, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2013) and his best-selling English translation of the biblical texts, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), prepared in collaboration with his colleague, Martin Abegg, and mentor, Eugene Ulrich.

Peter's keen eye and desire to advance the research of others in the academic guild resulted in invitations to coedit a number of leading series. These include: The Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature (Brill); Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Brill); Eerdmans Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature (Eerdmans); and The Bible at Qumran (Brill); he served as an area editor for the Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition (SBL Press). Peter was also a prominent member of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (Oxford) editorial team and contributed textual editions

and critical analyses of a variety of biblical and psuedepigraphal works in volumes 16, 22, 28, 32, and 38.

In light of Peter's unexpected passing and due to his far-reaching influence, a number of peers, past students, and colleagues delivered memorials and tributes both in print publications and at gatherings in his memory. The following words are excerpts from such memorials that celebrate not only Peter's academic work but, more importantly, his heart, character, and person.

> Peter had a great heart, which was wide and deep, noble and loving, boundless in energy, beating and functioning always generously toward others, and especially his students. One of his most admirable qualities and enduring legacies was that he was constantly, devotedly nurturing and helping to promote the next generation.
>
> He was passionate about his academic activity, always dreaming big, and with keen eyes zooming in on widely useful projects that would benefit the broader public. He frequently participated in scholarly conferences and was eager and eminently gifted for speaking to the wider public about biblical and scrolls scholarship in an engaging way in churches and synagogues. He was a unique and prolific scholar and personality, and I will dearly miss him. But his publications and the many students he was so devoted to will carry his memory for decades to come.
>
> —Eugene Ulrich at Peter Flint's Memorial Service in Langley, British Columbia, Canada (17 November 2016)

> Peter and I had offices side-by-side for these twenty years. At the end of nearly every week, he would shuffle into my room in his stocking feet, sit in the chair by the door and ask, "Do you think it's all worth it?" I picture now my children when they were small after an especially lengthy and life-threatening tussle about the living room. They would always say, "Let's do it again!" So, yeah, Peter, it was certainly worth it. Let's do it again.
>
> As I now think on my good friend and colleague, the best description that I have imagined of Peter came to me as I was reading the Gospel of John and the comment that Jesus made when he saw Nathanael: "Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile!" (John 1:47).
>
> This was Peter, a gentle soul, like a brother.
>
> —Martin Abegg at Peter Flint's Memorial Service in Langley, British Columbia, Canada (17 November 2016)

> Of the many areas of technical expertise Peter trained me in—textual criticism, Hebrew language, philology, Dead Sea Scrolls—the greatest

impact he had on me was not so much what he said; it was what he did, and how he did it.

Working with Peter was an apprenticeship. It entailed learning the craft of scholarship—watching, learning, applying. As I worked through this rigorous yet informal apprenticeship over the years, I learned that it was possible to develop a great mind, but this should never come with a big ego. I also grasped that the best scholar is a dual citizen: spending focused time in the ivory tower to create new ideas, but functioning as a public servant to share that knowledge with even the least. I learned that a wise academic does not wax eloquent in the abstract but makes the complex accessible, engaging, meaningful, even inspiring. I understood that intelligence should always be blended with modesty, critique with compassion, and that faith and academics have a common footing in asking good questions.
—Andrew Perrin at Peter Flint's Memorial Service in Langley, British Columbia, Canada (17 November 2016)

I greatly lament the death of a dear friend, Peter Flint, who died far too soon, when he still had so much to give to this world, as a human being and as a scholar.

Peter was a loyal collaborator and a thorough scholar. He had a very special approach towards scholarly projects and assignments: he wanted to please everyone. More than any other scholar I know or knew, Peter was a charismatic and God-inspired speaker. He always found the right words, the right tone. He was inspired and he inspired others. I remember the conferences he organized at Trinity Western; when he spoke the people in the room would have done or bought anything Peter recommended. Peter's greatest professional pride was the Canada Research Chair in Dead Sea Scrolls Studies that he had obtained in recognition of his many publications and activities. Within that framework, he fulfilled his tasks with great dignity and with a sense of mission.
—Emanuel Tov at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, San Antonio (21 November 2016)

Peter was the kind of teacher and mentor that every student dreams of knowing—a familiar refrain you will hear from those of us who studied under him is that he was instrumental in each of our own successes in academics and in life.

But it was in the general public that Peter's gift was especially pronounced. He produced an infectious enthusiasm wherever he went, and in any venue about biblical scholarship, history, and in particular the Dead Sea Scrolls. This irresistible passion and his frequent appearances on television, in large churches and synagogues, and in public lectures

> made him something of a local celebrity, as those listening would hang on his every word.
> —Kipp Davis at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, San Antonio (20 November 2016)

> For Professor Peter Flint, Trinity Western University was his home—not only his academic home but a family where he invested in his relationships with colleagues, students, and friends. Although he was an established scholar with many professional accomplishments, he valued and cared for people (and this was especially true for his students). He was always concerned with their academic growth as well as their spiritual and emotional well-being.
>
> So, in his life and along the way, Peter made many, many friends. This bench represents for me, and hopefully for everyone who sits on it, a stop on the road—a moment with God. Going from one class to another, going from one conference to another, going from one project to another can be exhausting. Peter knew all about this, but he also knew how to stop and catch his breath. Often, he would make me stop and sit down and take a break. And what would happen is that quite randomly he would start a conversation with someone and share the wonders of ancient manuscripts and the current events of the world, while all along displaying the love of God. This bench will remind me of Peter's hospitality.
> —Kyung Baek at the Trinity Western University Peter Flint Bench Dedication, Langley, British Columbia, Canada (29 April 2017)

3. From Transmission to Reception: The Volume in Outline

The present volume is organized into two thematic sections. In light of Peter's many contributions to the publication of primary texts, insights into the text-critical impact of ancient manuscripts, and studies on the forms and formation of Scripture in antiquity, part 1 of the book includes twelve studies that detail the various representations of ancient authoritative texts and contemporary methods and approaches for presenting these materials in modern editions.

The first cluster of essays in part 1, Hebrew Scriptures in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions, pertains to the state and forms of Scripture that took shape in, and emerged out of, the Second Temple period. Eugene Ulrich describes the complex overlap and interplay of literary and text-critical phenomena attested in the Qumran biblical scrolls, surveys the works attested in variant editions at Qumran, and presents a fresh profile of biblical texts discovered at Masada. Emanuel Tov undertakes a com-

prehensive survey of ancient translations of the Hebrew Scriptures—the Septuagint, Peshitta, Targumim, Vulgate, and so on—and thus provides a tool for recovering the textual histories and reception of Scripture in early Jewish and Christian communities. Martin Abegg revisits the data behind volume 3 of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* and identifies nineteen types of orthographic and morphological variations between the Qumran biblical scrolls and Masoretic Text that add a new tier of data in support of what Tov has previously described as “Qumran Scribal Practice.” Timothy Lim contextualizes pre-Samaritan texts at Qumran in light of the larger question of determining the historical origins of the Samaritan Pentateuch, perhaps as early as the second century BCE. Steve Delamarter collates and analyzes the content and order of Old Testament books in 332 Ethiopic manuscripts to shed light on the textual history of individual writings and the formation of Ethiopic Scriptures.

Following this, three essays profile modern projects employing different approaches to constructing critical editions of central traditions of the Hebrew Scriptures. Gary Knoppers discusses past and in-progress editions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, underscores how select Qumran Pentateuch texts have impacted research and critical editions, and provides some methodological considerations for ongoing textual studies on the scriptural heritage of Samaritan Judaism. Michael Segal outlines the text-critical methods and approaches of the Hebrew University Bible Project and illustrates these with a full sample of Ezek 1:18–23. Robert Hiebert draws on ongoing work for a critical edition of 4 Maccabees in the Göttingen Septuaginta series to identify linguistic features indicating recensional activity within the textual history of the Greek texts.

The final five essays of part 1 explore the ways in which our current knowledge of the diversity and development of texts in antiquity calls for reflection on traditional text-critical goals or requires close consideration in using individual case studies of texts at Qumran and in the Septuagint. Ronald Hendel explores the resurgence of textual criticism in view of the Dead Sea finds and the present need for philosophical and methodological reflection on the discipline’s implicit guidelines and epistemological bases. Utilizing insight from material philology, Sarianna Metso and James Tucker reevaluate the aims and methods of traditional textual criticism as applied to manuscripts developed through dynamic processes of scribal transmission, such as those of the Community Rule and associated texts. Donald Parry documents methods for identifying *hapax legomena* in biblical literature and presents a detailed study and statistical evaluation of

these singularly occurring words in the Isaiah witnesses of the Masoretic Text and at Qumran. Based on uses of Jeremiah in Barkhi Nafshi and the Rule of Benedictions, Armin Lange gauges the textual affiliation of Jeremiah citations in view of previously known text traditions and versions. In a case study on Lev 19:1–10, Dirk Büchner considers the modern commentator's task of ascertaining ancient cultural expectations of a translated text, understanding the process of the Septuagint's production, and accounting for the linguistic relationship between the original and translated texts.

To reflect Peter's broader interest in recovering how scriptural texts were interpreted—from minute scribal interventions all the way up to their theological recontextualization by early Jewish and Christian writers and communities—part 2 of the book adopts an overarching theme of the reception of texts and redeployment of scriptural traditions in antiquity.

The first eight studies treat a cross section of literatures in the Dead Sea Scrolls that are, in various ways, steeped in, and extend from, scriptural concepts and traditions. John Collins considers predominantly nonhalakic uses of Torah when it was merged with wisdom discourses in narrative settings of select Qumran Aramaic texts (1 Enoch, Genesis Apocryphon, and Aramaic Levi Document) and the Hebrew writing of 4QInstruction. George Brooke reassesses the use of Isaac traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and suggests that descriptions of the Teacher of Righteousness and references to the Kittim in the Damascus Document possibly depend on antecedent patriarchal traditions, such as in Gen 22 and Jub. 24. Kipp Davis studies the use and interpretive possibilities of the term ספר התהלים in the context of the War Scroll as a way of advancing discussions on Scripture and the authority of the Psalms traditions in Second Temple Judaism. Drawing on the concept of literary editions, Andrew Perrin considers the available texts of Aramaic Levi Document and concludes that, while the witnesses indicate a degree of pluriformity in variant passages, there is insufficient evidence to discern the existence of two full versions of the work as a whole. In a study on the Genesis Apocryphon, John Screnock draws on insights from translation studies as a way of accounting for the balance between preservation and change that results from various activities of rewriting in ancient Jewish texts often described as "rewritten Scripture." Eileen Schuller situates the fragmentary remains of 1Q35 in the larger history of research on the Hodayot and opens questions of the nature of the fragments as hailing from a potential excerpted text, originating in different locations in the now lost manuscript, or representing a scribal note or exercise. Dorothy Peters considers the reuse and reconfiguration of scriptural idioms and concepts

of lament in a selection of poem-songs of the Hodayot as a way of ascertaining how language at once affirmed afflicted "insiders" and delineated adversarial "outsiders." Daniel Falk examines and compares the influence of Ps 51 on Qumran texts without explicit sectarian diction (e.g., Communal Confession, Words of the Luminaries, and Plea for Deliverance) as well as its influence on the language and themes of two key sectarian texts (i.e., Community Rule and Hodayot).

The final subset of six essays in part 2 explores some dynamics of the development of traditions, ranging from their earliest coalescence in Israelite writings, to appropriations in Jewish texts of the Hellenistic and Greco-Roman periods, to theological interpretations in New Testament books. Ryan Roberts explores potential parallels between Isa 6 and Amos 9:1–6 based on the shared language and imagery of seismic disaster and the preserved memory of an earthquake behind the prophetic oracles. James VanderKam revisits the question of the cohesive or composite authorial origins of the book of Jubilees and argues for its unity in a case study on the narrative and legal developments of Noah's planting a vineyard in Jub. 7 against the background of Gen 9:20–21. Robert Kugler considers the Testament of Job and aims to recover how the ideas, genres, and styles of discourse included therein reveal the influence of Septuagint Job as well as provide potential insights into the book's setting in Greco-Roman Egypt. Steve Mason focuses in on the tradition of Elisha at Jericho in *J.W.* 4.459–465 and demonstrates that the unit indeed flowed from the pen of Josephus and indicates an authorial knowledge of the biblical passage of 2 Kgs 2:19–22. In view of King David's increasing identification as a prophet in ancient Jewish literature, Craig Evans refocuses early Christian messianic paradigms in light of Second Temple traditions that merged expectations of a royal and prophetic messiah. In light of ancient Near Eastern divination and interpretive patterns of the Qumran pesharim, Kyung Baek describes Matthew's use of dream-visions and fulfilment quotations as a strategy for contemporizing the Hebrew prophets and identifying Jesus as the Messiah for the early church.

4. Closing Remarks in Memory and Expectation

Peter Flint was an unabashed evangelist for the Dead Sea Scrolls, a flagship faculty member of Trinity Western University, and as the foregoing outline indicates, a dedicated teacher, diligent scholar, and regular conversation partner with students and colleagues in the many subfields of biblical

studies. For Peter, research in these topics was at once life-giving and life-changing. At such a time as this, it seems fitting to conclude our preface with a passage that was forever changed by the Qumran discoveries and was a regular item of Peter's repertoire of examples underscoring how the words of the scrolls demanded fresh consideration of the historical, textual, and theological worlds of Scripture. At Isa 53:11, 1QIsaiah[a] reads as follows: "Out of the suffering of his soul *he will see light* [יראה אור], and find satisfaction. And through his knowledge his servant, the righteous one, will make many righteous, and he will bear their iniquities."[2]

We will miss you, may you rest in peace.

2. Hebrew text from Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, eds., *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls, Part 1; Plates and Transcriptions*, DJD 32 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 32, 88; with accompanying English translation from Martin G. Abegg Jr., Peter W. Flint, and Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 360.

Part 1
Hebrew Scriptures in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions

Section 1.1
Forms of Scripture in Antiquity

Variant Editions of Biblical Books Revealed by the Qumran Scrolls

Eugene Ulrich

1. Introduction

In 1997 Peter Flint published an excellent comprehensive study of the collection of Psalms scrolls from Qumran.[1] In addition to the immense amount of factual data carefully arranged and clearly explained, one of the most important theoretical conclusions was that the Great Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a]) presented an alternate or variant edition of the biblical Psalter.

This idea was not totally new, since the original publication of the scroll by James Sanders in 1965 entitled it *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân*, with the claim that it was a true Psalter.[2] In the years that followed, there was immediate and multisided rebuttal of that claim by major established scholars, and it is probably safe to say that, from the date of the publication of volume 4 of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert until the publication of Flint's book in 1997, the *denial* of scriptural status of the scroll was the *opinio communis eruditorum*.[3] Flint, however, set out the evidence completely, explained it soberly, and showed convincingly that the form of the

1. Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, STDJ 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997). It is a pleasure to honor the life of Professor Flint, my friend and coauthor, and to memorialize his numerous insights and tireless efforts in mining the riches of the Dead Sea Scrolls for scholars, for his students, and for the broader public.

2. James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs[a])*, DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965).

3. Shemaryahu Talmon, "*Pisqah Beʾemṣaʿ Pasuq* and 11QPs[a]," *Textus* 5 (1966): 11–21; Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, "The Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a]): A Problem of Canon and Text," *Textus* 5 (1966): 22–33; and Patrick W. Skehan, "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs[a]," *CBQ* 34 (1973): 195–205.

text exemplified by 11QPs[a]—with the fragmentary 11QPs[b] and 4QPs[e] in agreement—qualified as a previously unknown alternate edition of the biblical Psalter.[4]

Clarity regarding variant editions of the biblical books is one of the results of the publication and study of the complete corpus of the Qumran scriptural scrolls. Although the scriptural scrolls are well known to some scholars, in the hope that knowledge of the phenomenon will be beneficial to a broader audience, this essay will (1) review the many variant editions of biblical books directly or indirectly illumined by the scrolls through comparison with the MT, SP, and LXX; (2) consider the chronological aspects of the variant editions; (3) challenge the demarcation between literary criticism and textual criticism, based on the study of the different categories of textual variation; and (4) explore the ramifications for the Masada scrolls.

The term *variant editions* refers to two or more literary forms of an entire book or large passage evident in copies of the same work. One form was completed by one author or editor, but another form was intentionally reformulated by another scribe or editor according to a discernible pattern. That extent of the reformulation was large enough that—like a revised, corrected, updated, and expanded textbook—it deserves to be called a *new and revised edition* of the earlier text. Usually one form can be recognized as the earlier one and the other as secondary; in that case they can be termed *successive editions*. If neither form appears to have derived from the other, they can be termed *parallel editions*.[5] The formulation and reformulation of scriptural texts resulting in variant editions is illumined by the collective study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, MT, SP, and LXX.

2. Variant Editions of Full Books Highlighted in the Scrolls

The scrolls reveal a number of examples of variant editions, but not for all books. For example, all the Qumran fragments of Genesis, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy show basically the same edition as that found in the MT, SP, and LXX of these books. In fact, all the textual evidence from antiquity

4. For detailed discussion of this and several other topics in this essay, see Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*, VTSup 169 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), parts of which are used here with permission from Brill.

5. The Aramaic and Greek narratives of Dan 4–6 provide an example of parallel editions (see Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 236–48).

attests to only a single edition of these books. This will have a serious bearing on the claims that the scriptural scrolls found in the caves apart from Qumran were all proto-MT. For other books, however, even of the Torah, variant editions do appear.

2.1. Exodus

4QpaleoExod^{m}, as is well known, presents a text very close to the expanded SP edition against the shorter MT. This scroll and the SP include five instances (plus a sixth that can be confidently reconstructed) of the addition of an explicit report that Moses did carry out God's command, where the MT implicitly assumes that Moses did what God had commanded. One such example is found in Exod 7:18^{b} (4QpaleoExod^{m} 2:5–11), where the scroll, together with the SP, simply repeats Exod 7:16–18 as in the MT, with the necessary grammatical adjustments (MT words are underlined):[6]

5 water from the Nile.' " *va*[*cat* And Moses and Aaron went to Pharaoh]
6 and [s]aid to him, "The LO[RD God of the Hebrews sent us to you, saying,]
7 'Let my people go that [they] may serve [me in the wilderness.' And behold, you have not listened until now.]
8 Thus the LORD said: By [this you shall know that I am the LORD: behold I am]
9 s[trikin]g [the water which is in the Nile] with the rod that [is in my hand and it shall be turned to blood]
10 and [the f]ish that are in the mi[dst of the Nile shall die and the river shall stink and
11 the]E[gyp]tians [shall weary] of dri[nking water from the Nile."
12 And] the LORD [sa]id

5 מיׄם מן היׄאר *va*]*cat* [18b]וילך משה ואהרון אל פרעה]
6 וי[א]וׄמר אליו יה[וה אלהי העברים שלחנו אליך לאמור]
7 שלח את עמי ויעבד[ני במדבר והנה לא שמעת עד כה]
8 כה אׄמר יהוה בז[את תדע כי אני יהוה הנה אנכי]

6. The following transcription is from Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, eds., *Qumran Cave 4: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*, DJD 9 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 75, with corresponding translation with slight revision from Martin G. Abegg Jr., Peter W. Flint, and Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999), 34.

9 מׄ[כ]הׄ במטה אשר [בידי על המים אשר ביאר ונהפכו לדם]
10 ו[הד]גה אשר בת[וך היאר תמות ובאש היאר ונלאו]
11 מׄ[צ]ריים לש[תות מים מן היאר 19ו]
12 י[או]מׄר יהוה[...]

Conversely, in one instance (plus two reconstructed) where Moses relays a message from God to Pharaoh, though God's command is lacking in the MT, the scroll and the SP in anticipation add the wording of God's message to Pharaoh.[7]

Moreover, in addition to at least two small but exegetically important pluses and two major transpositions of passages, 4QpaleoExod^{m} and the SP contain three certain instances (plus one plausible reconstruction) of the addition of related passages from Deuteronomy that were not included in the MT narrative of Exodus. A clear example of this is Exod 18:25, where the entire summary verse in the MT and LXX ("So Moses chose able men …") is replaced in the scroll and SP with the lengthy and detailed account of the organization of the tribal judiciary described in Deut 1:9–18.

2.2. Numbers

4QNum^{b} similarly presents a text closely allied with the SP. It too includes five instances (plus three confidently reconstructed) of passages added from parallel loci in Deuteronomy, where no such inclusions are made in the earlier MT Numbers narrative. The scroll provides an example in column 13, fragments 17 ii–18. The MT version of Num 21:12 contains only five words (underlined in the text below), but 4QNum^{b} and SP have a full command from God before (Num 21:12^{a}, drawn from Deut 2:9) and another after (Num 21:13^{a}, drawn from Deut 2:17–19) the base material of the MT:[8]

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7. See Exod 10:2b in Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek*, 81. For an English translation, see Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 39–40. Texts and variants for both examples from Exodus given here may also be found in Eugene Ulrich, ed., *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, VTSup 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 42–43.

8. The following transcription is from Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers*, DJD 12 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 228. The corresponding English rendering, with modest revision, is drawn from Abegg, Flint, and Ulrich, *Dead Sea Scrolls Bible*, 125. The original language text and variant list for this passage may also be found in Ulrich, *Qumran Biblical Scrolls*, 150–51.

13 [toward the sunrise. *vacat* And the Lord] sai[d to Moses,]
14 ["Do not harass Moab nor engage them in battle, for] I will not give an[y of its land to you as a possession,]
15 [since I have given Ar to the desendants of Lot for a possession." <u>From there they set out and camped] in the Valley of Zer[ed</u>. *vacat*]
16 [And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, "Today you are going to cross at Ar, the] border of M[oab;]
17 [and when you approach the Ammonites, do not harass them or engage them,] for [I will not give you any of the territory]

13 [מזרח השמש *vacat* [12a]ו]יואמׄ[ר יהוה אל]
14 [מושה אל תצור את מואב ואל תתגר בם מלחמה כיא]לוא אתן מׄ[ארצו ירושה]
15 [כיא לבני לוט נתתי את ער ירושה [12b]<u>משם נסעו ויחנו</u>]<u>בנחל זׄרׄ[ד</u> *vacat*]
16 [[13a]וידבר יהוה אל מושה לאמור אתה עובר היום את] גבול[ ] מׄ[ואב את]
17 [ער וקרבתה מול בני עמון אל תצורם ואל תתגר בם]כׄיׄאׄ ל[וא אתן מארץ]

Thus, variant editions of two of the five books of the Pentateuch were circulating and in use during the late Second Temple period. The rationale for the revised editions appears to be both the explicit reporting of balance between divine commands and human fulfillment of those commands and the enhancement of the narratives of Exodus and Numbers through additions from Deuteronomy. The Samaritans, though earlier accused of making many changes in the rabbinic Pentateuchal text, made very few, if any, changes to the shared Samarian-Judean text.[9] It should also be noticed that 4QNum^{b}, a Judean "deluxe scroll" with special red ink, was still in use at the turn of the era, although it was a form of the Torah shared with the Samaritans.[10]

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9. The Samarians presumably did add their tenth commandment, though it consists entirely of verses in common with the MT. However, if the past בחר, and not the future יבחר, was the original form in Deuteronomy, as Adrian Schenker ("Le Seigneur choisira-t-il le lieu de son nom ou l'a-t-il choisi? L'apport de la Bible grecque ancienne à l'histoire du texte samaritain et massorétique," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJSup 126 [Leiden: Brill, 2008], 339–51) and others propose, the commandment was the only change they made.

10. The production date of 4QNum^{b} is likely "between 30 B.C.E. and 20 C.E." (Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VII*, 21).

2.3. Joshua

4QJosh[a] clearly presents a narrative sequence different from those in the MT and LXX. The text of Josh 8:34–35 in the MT and Josh 9:2e–f in the LXX occurs at the end of Josh 4 in the scroll. 4QJosh[a] continues with a transitional sentence that is in neither the MT nor LXX and then proceeds with the text of Josh 5 in a form in agreement with the MT and LXX. Though several different interpretations have emerged, the present writer finds the following the most persuasive, in light of the logic of the narrative sequence, the sectarian variants, and the witness by three other divergent ancient sources in agreement with the scroll.[11]

Briefly, most scholars agree that the section positioned at MT Josh 8:30–35 and LXX Josh 9:2a–f is out of place, though it logically occurs at the end of Josh 4 and before Josh 5, as in 4QJosh[a]. At least one, if not both, of the place names in the secondary command in Deut 27:4 regarding the altar, "Mount Ebal" in the MT and LXX versus "Mount Gerizim" in the SP, is sectarian. In contrast, the 4QJosh[a] narrative presumably was neutral, lacking a place name, because it was unnecessary on account of its agreement with Deut 27:2–3a. That is, Moses had commanded Joshua to build an altar "on the day you cross over the Jordan," at the unnamed yet implied location of Gilgal. Moreover, a wide distribution of sources—Josephus (*Ant.* 5.16–19), Pseudo-Philo (LAB 21:7), and rabbinic traditions (m. Sotah 7:5 and t. Sotah 8:7), none of whom were partial to the Qumran community or dependent upon each other—attests to the altar at Gilgal.

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11. Kristin De Troyer, "Building the Altar and Reading the Law: The Journeys of Joshua 8:30–35," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*, ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange, SymS 30 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 141–62, esp. 142, 162; Michaël N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses*, VTSup 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Ed Noort, "4QJosh[a] and the History of Tradition in the Book of Joshua," *JNSL* 24 (1998): 127–44; and Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 314–16. What follows is a condensed summary of the fuller explanation in Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 47–65.

2.4. Jeremiah

As is well-known, 4QJer[b, d] preserve a Hebrew form of the book in agreement with the short edition attested in the Old Greek (OG), in contrast to the noticeably longer edition in 4QJer[a, c] and the MT.[12]

2.5. Psalms

11QPs[a] contains thirty-nine psalms that occur also in the last third of the MT Psalter, though in a different order, as well as ten additional compositions. It was understandable, from the viewpoint of early scroll analysis, that it would therefore have been seen as a postbiblical work, building on and expanded beyond, but different from, the canonical Psalter. In light of the subsequent witness, however, of major additions in, and variant orders of, many other scriptural manuscripts (not to mention the lack of discernible order for the full MT Psalter), it becomes clear that 11QPs[a] is simply an alternate edition of the Psalter. The rationale appears to be both the inclusion of additional new psalms in the older biblical style (as opposed to recent hymns such as the Hodayot), and the attribution of the book to David as an inspired recipient of divine prophecy. This final item provides an explicit claim of authoritative Scripture for the humanly composed Psalter.

Thus, the scriptural scrolls from Qumran when compared to the MT, SP, and LXX illumine variant editions in five of the twenty-four biblical books. Note that for Exodus, Numbers, and Psalms, the MT has the earlier edition, whereas for Joshua and Jeremiah, the MT exhibits the later edition. The character of the MT, just as that of the LXX, varies from book to book.

3. Variant Editions of Full Books apart from the Qumran Evidence

Once the scrolls had sharpened the categories of textual variation, it became easier to articulate the types of major variation for select scriptural

12. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 286–94. Justus T. Ghormley has enriched this assessment of the Jeremiah "editions" with his work, "Inspired Scribes: The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah and the Vocation of Ancient Jewish Scribal Scholars" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2015).

books already known to scholarship. Two examples illustrate this new perspective.

3.1. Esther

The MT of Esther presents a complete and coherent story. The Greek of Esther "is a translation of a book that reworked [and expanded] a text like [MT]" to form a revised edition of the book.[13]

3.2. Daniel

The source for the Greek translation of Daniel has the well-known major "additions" that are lacking in the Masoretic form of the book. The new and expanded OG constitutes a revised edition of the MT.

4. Variant Editions of Passages Highlighted by the Scrolls

The scrolls also illumine variant editions of certain passages within the scriptural books, but, since in some cases they are small and fragmentary, it would be exceeding the evidence to claim that these proved to be variant editions of their complete book.

4.1. Judges

4QJudg[a] survives in only one small fragment, but that fragment confirms what will be demonstrated below, that the scrolls document with manuscript evidence the types of compositional growth that earlier literary and redaction critics had proposed hypothetically. 4QJudg[a] contains on a single fragment text from Judg 6:2–6 followed immediately without break by Judg 6:11–13, lacking the passage Judg 6:7–10.[14] A number of critics have characterized Judg 6:7–10 as a theological insertion by a later hand. This fragment clearly confirms the conjecture of those critics that the ear-

13. Ghormley, "Inspired Scribes," 317–18.

14. The edition of the scroll is by Julio Trebolle Barrera in Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, DJD 14 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 161–64, with corresponding text and variants now in Ulrich, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 255. See also Julio Trebolle Barrera, "Textual Variants in 4QJudg[a] and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges," *RevQ* 14 (1989): 229–45.

lier text was not interrupted by this report of a nameless “man of God” who reiterates the general theological pattern of Judges; that is, the cyclic historical pattern of God’s salvation, Israel’s infidelity, their punishment by foreign enemies, and their cry for mercy. Natalio Fernández Marcos correctly observed that, since this one fragment is all that survives from the original manuscript, it is impossible to know whether it reveals a variant edition of the complete book or simply a single isolated insertion in an MT-like text.[15]

4.2. Song of Songs

4QCant$^{a, b}$ and 4QCant^{c} present a similar situation. In 4QCant^{a} the passage ending in Song 4:7 appears to be followed directly by Song 6:11, apparently indicating the end of one poetic unit and the start of another.[16] Similarly, in 4QCant^{b}, also on a single fragment within the same column, Song 4:3 is followed directly by Song 4:8. Since all of these verses can be seen as the beginnings or endings of poetic units, these scrolls intentionally present either variant editions of rearranged passages within the Song of Songs or abbreviated manuscripts, and thus not literary editions of the full book.[17]

5. Variant Editions of Passages apart from the Qumran Evidence

As was the case with full books above, the discovery of variant editions in passages within scriptural books at Qumran provided a way of redescribing similar differences in previously known text traditions.

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15. Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Judges,” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, ed. Adrian Schenker, SCS 52 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 1–16, esp. 15.

16. Roland E. Murphy, *The Song of Songs*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 61.

17. For the latter view, see Emanuel Tov, “Three Manuscripts (Abbreviated Texts?) of Canticles from Qumran Cave 4,” *JJS* 46 (1995): 88–111, and Tov’s subsequent treatment in Eugene Ulrich et al., eds, *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD 16 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 195–96.

5.1. Genesis 5 and 11

The ages of the prediluvian and postdiluvian patriarchs in these chapters present several textual and exegetical anomalies. The problem is due to the redactional joining of the flood narratives, usually ascribed to the J source, with the overarching schema of the descendants of Adam, usually ascribed to the P source. Each contained an elaborate dating system. The conjunction of the two sources produced "the scandal that [in the LXX] … Methuselah survives the flood by 14 years," and that after the flood in the MT chronology, "Noah, Shem, and *all* the post-diluvian patriarchs are still alive during Abraham's lifetime, and several survive him."[18] Noticing the incongruities, scribes within the MT, SP, and LXX traditions each altered the dating system in a different way, producing three variant editions of these two chapters.

5.2. 1 Samuel 17–18

The story of David and Goliath in these chapters also shows two editions. As in 4QJer$^{b, d}$, the Greek has a short coherent account, but the MT inserts into that episode details from a different account, producing a longer, double edition.[19]

6. Further Observations

The clear evidence discovered in the scrolls of the phenomenon of variant editions provides additional focusing for text-critical praxis. Just as some earlier judgments required clarification in the light of accumulating evidence, so too the analysis of variant editions confirms that different aspects of scribal activity operate on separate levels, independent from each other. To begin with, the orthography and the script used in a manuscript

18. Ronald S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 61–62 (emphasis in the original).

19. See especially Johan Lust's contribution "The Story of David and Goliath in Hebrew and Greek" as well as that of Emanuel Tov, "The Nature of the Differences between MT and the LXX," in Dominique Barthélemy, David W. Gooding, Johan Lust, and Emanuel Tov, *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism, Papers of a Joint Research Venture*, OBO 73 (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 19–46.

have no necessary coordination with their literary edition. For example, although 4QpaleoExod^{m} is inscribed in the Paleo-Hebrew script, it would be false to conclude that the use of this scribal hand is the reason for the text's agreement with SP. Indeed, 1QpaleoLev-Num^{a}, 4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l}, 4QpaleoDeut^{r}, 4QpaleoJob^{c}, 4QpaleoParaJoshua, and 11QpaleoLev^{a} are all written in the Paleo-Hebrew script, but none shows specific affinity with the SP.

As with orthography and script, individual textual variants usually have no correlation with the edition of the book in which they occur. A series of individual variants that are intentional and establish a unified discernible pattern (such as in 4QpaleoExod^{m}-SP) do constitute a variant edition. In most other cases, individual variants happen on a word-to-word basis and are unrelated to each other and to the edition. Thus, for one example in the passage Exod 7:18^{b} listed above, though for the edition 4QpaleoExod^{m} agrees with the SP against the MT, with respect to the individual variant בת]וך [ה֯יא֯ר ("in the midst of the Nile") in the scroll, the SP has ביאר ("in the Nile"), agreeing with the MT against the scroll. In another example in which 4QpaleoExod^{m} agrees with the SP edition against the MT, the scroll has the individual variant [ו]בזרוע חזק[ה] ("with a strong arm") at Exod 32:11, whereas the SP has ובזרוע נטויה ("with an outstreched arm"), and the MT has וביד חזקה ("with a strong hand").

Similarly, though intentionally and on a larger scale, there are isolated insertions with extra information added in a manuscript; but insofar as these are isolated examples, they usually have no relation to the edition in which they occur. An example is the insertion at Deut 2:7 in SP that is lacking in the MT. Though the SP shares the same edition of Deuteronomy with the MT, unlike the MT it inserts at Deut 2:7 a paragraph drawn from Num 20:14, 17–20.

Thus, the four categories of variant edition, isolated insertion, individual variant, and orthography are independent of each other. Again, this has significant ramifications for perspective on the scriptural scrolls from sites other than Qumran.

7. Chronological Aspects of Successive Variant Editions

To keep the variant editions of the scriptural scrolls in perspective, it is important to reflect on the chronologically limited window (ca. 250 BCE to 68 or 132 CE) of preserved manuscript evidence available for assessing the phenomenon as well as to consider the lifespan of the various editions.

There is no manuscript evidence before that period, and little for a long time after it. Each of the books had its own developmental trajectory, some earlier, some later; some inside that window, some only prior to the time period provided by that timeframe. No variant editions of the Hebrew texts were produced after the Second Jewish Revolt (132–135 CE), as the surviving rabbis maintained one of the extant copies of each book, which from then on was guarded as unchangeable. That collection of books was copied with great care by the Masoretes and forms the medieval codices and the current MT.

In the collection of books that form the Hebrew Bible anthology, each book or subgroup of books has a different history of composition and transmission. For example, there is no reason to think that the books of Leviticus and Jeremiah and Psalms were completed at the same time. Although individual books or subcollections (e.g., the Tetrateuch or the Deuteronomistic History) may have had uniform redaction and completion near the end of the process, their earlier timelines were not related.

As literary and redaction critics have demonstrated, oral and written traditions were gradually gathered and formed into early phases of the various biblical books that have come down to us in the textus receptus. Those critics did not have the advantage of manuscript evidence; rather, they constructed their valuable hypotheses from the historical and literary clues detectable in the received biblical texts. The compositional growth they discovered constitutes the early phases of the lengthy process of textual development which concludes in the late phases seen in the scrolls. Qumran provides manuscript evidence to document those late phases and confirms the general reliability of the hypotheses of those earlier scholars.

Virtually every biblical book experienced a history of development, reaching a form that we could recognize as a forerunner or even exemplar of that book in the textus receptus. We can label that form "edition *n*," the latest form of the book *prior* to our earliest preserved manuscript. Different books reached that stage at different times.

Starting around 250 BCE and continuing until 68 or 132 CE, manuscript evidence begins to appear, though even with the more than two hundred scriptural scrolls now available, only a very small percentage of the manuscript evidence is preserved. The scrolls preserve fragmentary clues regarding the pluriform and developing manuscripts of various books during this period. We can label the first *preserved* form of each book "edition *n* + 1."

The normal practice for scribes would have been to copy a new manuscript that reproduced the source text as exactly as possible. But occasionally, a creative person in a leading capacity (author, scribe, or priest) would revise the current text in a systematic way according to discernible principles, due to the new historical, religious, social, cultural, or literary situation. After the first preserved edition (n + 1), we can label successive new editions n + 2, n + 3, and so on.

Such a new edition could arise at any time, unrelated to new editions of other books. That history was long and slow; seldom would a book have experienced even one revised edition in any given century. Usually, but not necessarily, the newer edition gradually replaced the older.[20] Just as it was unpredictable when a new edition would be produced, so too it was unpredictable when the (usually) older edition would disappear altogether. For long periods, even centuries, the new edition could exist and be in use alongside the older edition.[21]

For some books, the scrolls and the other witnesses preserve no evidence that new variant editions were produced during that three-century window.[22] This suggests that they had reached their final edited form by the third or second century BCE. For other books, evidence is preserved within the limited three-century window of one or more new editions existing alongside older editions.[23]

The OG of the Pentateuch was translated from a Hebrew *Vorlage* in circa 280 BCE, and the Prophets presumably in the late third or early second

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20. The presumably later texts, Jubilees, 11QPs[a], and the Temple Scroll, were rejected by the rabbis, probably because they endorsed the 364-day calendar.

21. The Judean manuscript 4QExod-Lev[f] (ca. 250 BCE) shows distinctive agreement with the SP at Exod 39:21. The OG (ca. 280 BCE) shows the earliest edition (n + 1) of Exod 35–40, and the MT shows a revised and expanded edition (n + 2) for those chapters and must have preceded, as its textual basis, the new edition (n + 3) represented by 4QExod-Lev[f] and SP. Therefore, all three editions of Exodus were circulating from the latter half of the third century BCE down to the turn of the Common Era.

22. Only a single full edition is preserved for Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Samuel, Kings, and Isaiah. For Samuel and Kings there are variant editions for limited passages, but not for the full books. For Samuel and Isaiah, though no variant *editions* survive, there is sufficient evidence to determine different manuscript *families*, e.g., 4QSam[a]-OG-OL-Chr-Josephus vs. MT, and 1QIsa[a] versus 1QIsa[b]-MT.

23. Variant editions are extant for Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, possibly Judges (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the Twelve, and Psalms.

century BCE. The MT set of books was collected after the Roman defeat. Thus, the OG editions are often earlier than those of MT. This appears to be the case for Exod 35–40, Joshua, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Prophets. Ezekiel provides an intriguing case to illustrate this point. Greek Papyrus 967 and the Old Latin Codex Wirceburgensis present an edition with chapters in the sequence of Ezek 36-38-39-37-40. The MT adds to the end of chapter 36 fifteen verses (Ezek 36:23c–38), which appear to be an eschatological preparation for the resurrected bones of chapter 37 in its new, rearranged order. Those verses are lacking in the two aformentioned witnesses. That chapter 37 was originally followed directly by chapter 40 and the vision of the new temple is strongly indicated by the closing verses of chapter 37: "I will … set my sanctuary among them forevermore. My dwelling place shall be with them.… The nations shall know … when my sanctuary is among them forevermore" (Ezek 37:26–28).

The date of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG of Ezekiel was near the end of the third century BCE. All other witnesses—including the Ezekiel manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4 and Masada—attest to the edition reflected in the MT, but they all date only from the middle of the first century BCE and later. This suggests that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG contained an early edition of the book in the late third or early second century BCE but that a newer edition, produced in the second or early first century BCE, eventually replaced it. The newer edition, seen in the first-century Qumran and Masada witnesses and the MT, left no traces of the older edition except for Papyrus 967 and the Old Latin Codex Wirceburgensis.

8. The Intertwining of Literary and Textual Criticism

One of the corollaries of the clarity on variant literary editions of biblical books is that the traditional distinction between "higher criticism" (literary study) and "lower criticism" (textual criticism) is eradicated. Shemaryahu Talmon first made this observation, since he saw the ancient scribe not just as a copyist but as "a minor partner in the creative literary process."[24] Though some scholars prefer to maintain the traditional distinction, it seems progressively more clear that the line is porous at best.[25]

24. Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Textual Study of the Bible—A New Outlook," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 321–400, esp. 381.

25. Tov (*Textual Criticism*, 2) describes a traditional view of textual criticism:

It is important to reflect that it is often through textual criticism that one can discern literary editions. Many of the examples of variant editions listed above were recognized as the result of the emerging cumulative pattern of similar distinctive textual variants that characterize the particular manuscript as a variant edition. In practice, *BHS* in fact lists in its apparatus many individual variants for sections in which the text traditions contain variant editions.

Moreover, there are numerous examples of individual textual variants between an earlier and a later edition in which the later edition preserves an original reading, in contrast to an obviously secondary reading contained in the earlier edition. This is illustrated by a brief sampling of textual variants where in each case a text of a later edition shows an original reading versus an earlier edition showing a secondary reading (see table 1 on p. 28).

Similarly, textual criticism is sometimes valuable for variants in two parallel literary editions; for example, in the parallel editions of the OG and the MT at Dan 4:7 (OG Theodotion lacks וחזוי ראשי added in the MT; compare *BHS* n. 4:7[a-a]). There are also many textual variants in Dan 5, where the readings are not variants between the two editions, but usually pluses against the earlier, no longer preserved, core narrative that both have used as a basis and embellished in different ways.[26]

Thus, it is clear that textual and literary criticism are closely intertwined and must be considered together in the study of the Second Temple period scriptural manuscripts. There were alternate editions in use, and as

"readings that were produced at the literary growth stage of the biblical books (literary or editorial variants) should not be subjected to textual evaluation, since they were not produced during the course of the transmission of texts." A further description comes close to the view proposed here, where Tov relates that "writing processes and textual transmission can and should be discussed beyond those seen in the final literary shape of the bibical books, often included in MT. This approach involves the opening up of new horizons beyond MT" (Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 21). This, however, is later qualified: "The comparative evaluation of variants … is limited to readings created during the textual transmission, excluding those created during the literary growth of the book, even though they are included in textual witnesses" (Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 266). Problematizing the traditional distinction: see George J. Brooke, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism," in Brooke, *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method*, EJL 39 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 1–17.

26. See Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 236–48.

Table 1. Examples of original readings in later texts and secondary readings in earlier texts

Passage	Later Edition	Original Reading	Earlier Edition	Secondary Reading
Exod 10:21	4QpaleoExod[m]	[מצ]רים	MT-SP-LXX	+ וימש (ה)חשך
Exod 35:22	MT	וטבעת	OG (35–40)	+ ועגיל* (*BHS* n. 22[b])
Exod 38:25	SP	שקל	MT	+ בשקל הקדש
Exod 40:17	MT	השנית	OG (35–40)	+ לצאתם ממצרים*
Num 11:35	4QNum[b]	העם	MT-SP-LXX	+ (ה)חצרות
Judg 6:13	MT-LXX	יהוה	4QJudg[a]	אלהים
Judg 6:13	MT	אשר ספרו	4QJudg[a]	שספרו
Jer 7:4	MT	השקר	OG	+ *ὅτι τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ὠφελήσουσιν ὑμᾶς*
Jer 7:10	MT	ובאתם	OG	pr *τοῦ κακῶς εἶναι ὑμῖν*

with virtually every other manuscript, each of the copies of those variant editions was accumulating minor or major textual changes. The two processes were simultaneous and must be studied together.

9. Concluding Case Study: Variant Editions at Masada

Finally, some scholars suggest that not only the scrolls from the caves dating from the Second Revolt (132–135 CE) sites but also the Masada scrolls (contemporary with Qumran) all agree with the proto-MT.[27] These

27. See, as representative examples, Shemaryahu Talmon, "Masada: Written Material," *EDSS* 1:521–25; Dan Barag et al., eds., *Hebrew Fragments from Masada*, vol. 6 of *Masada: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965; Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999), 25, 38, 46, 55, 68, 89, 93; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 172; Emanuel Tov, "A Qumran Origin for the Masada Non-biblical Texts?" *DSD* 7 (2000): 56–73, esp. 72–73; Tov, "The Text of the Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek Bible Used in the Ancient Synagogues," in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays*, TSAJ 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 171–88; Ian Young, "The Stabilization of the Biblical Text in the Light of Qumran and Masada: A Challenge for Conventional Qumran Chronology?" *DSD* 9 (2002): 364–90; Young, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Masoretic Text: A Statistical Approach," in *Feasts and Fasts: A Festschrift in Honour of Alan David Crown*,

suggestions need to be put in perspective. The distinction between variant literary editions and individual variants helps clarify this issue.

Seven scriptural manuscripts were found at Masada: four of the Pentateuch (one of Genesis and Deuteronomy; two of Leviticus), one of Ezekiel, and two of Psalms.[28] Most of these survive only in small fragments. With regard to Genesis, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, it is of high importance to recall that no variant *editions* survive from antiquity for those books. Thus, there are only a few individual variants, or weaker still, orthographic features, to determine textual affiliation. But a handful of individual minor variants is an insufficient basis for any kind of major conclusion. Some of the fragments are identical or very close, not only to the MT, but also to the SP or other Qumran readings.[29] That vitiates the force of suggestions of affiliation specifically with the MT. Moreover, for one reading at Gen 46:8, MasGen (Mas 1) appears to agree with the variant Genesis text used by Jub. 44.11 *against* the otherwise uniform texts here in the MT, SP, and LXX. In fact, the general profile of the Masada Pentateuchal fragments is closer to the SP and LXX than 1QIsa[b]—which is acknowledged to be a proto-MT text of Isaiah—is to the MT.

The largest set of fragments at Masada is MasEzek (Mas 1d). Its edition does, in fact, agree with the MT edition. As mentioned above, the early edition of the book in the late third or early second century BCE, witnessed by Papyrus 967 and the Old Latin Codex Wirceburgensis, was apparently waning and being replaced by the newer, rearranged edition in the second or early first century BCE. Thus, MasEzek, copied in the latter period, simply reproduced the main edition currently available, as did the Qumran Ezekiel scrolls.[30]

The first Masada Psalms manuscript, MasPs[a] (Mas 1e), preserves virtually no overlap with the many Qumran Psalms fragments; but most

ed. Marianne Dacy, Jennifer Dowling, and Suzanne Faigan (Sydney: Mandelbaum, 2005), 81–139; and Armin Lange, *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten*, vol. 1 of *Handbuch der Textfunde von Toten Meer* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 24.

28. The editions are by Shemaryahu Talmon and Yigael Yadin in Barag, *Hebrew Fragments*.

29. In line with the suggestions under discussion, it would be equivalently misleading to suggest that the Masada fragments attested the SP, without mentioning the MT.

30. Would it thus be acceptable to describe the Masada Ezekiel text as "agreeing with the Qumran edition," without mentioning the MT?

differences in Psalms witnesses typically involve minor individual variants, and there is no reason to suspect that the order of psalms differed from that of Qumran.[31] The only meaningful claim of close agreement regarding a shared *edition* specifically with the MT concerns the second Masada Psalms text, MasPs^{b} (Mas 1f). This text clearly shows a large blank area with stitching after MT Ps 150, thus agreeing with the MT tradition that Ps 150 was the final psalm. However, although MasPs^{b} and the MT share the same edition, the individual wording of the Masada text agrees with the LXX as well as the MT. It cannot be determined whether there was a conscious choice between editions. If there were, it does not seem unusual that the non-Qumran scribe of MasPs^{b} would copy a scroll like the MT rather than 11QPs^{a}, since the rabbis did not accept the 364-day calendar endorsed by 11QPs^{a}.

With respect to orthography, for MasLev^{b} (Mas 1b) Talmon argued that the "textual identity of MasLev^{b} with MT is evinced by the meticulous preservation of the defective and plene spellings," and even by "the same inconsistency as MT in the employment of defective and plene spellings."[32] Countering that argument, however, MasDeut (Mas 1c) agrees with a Qumran scroll, 4QDeut^{h}, against MT and SP. Similarly, MasPs^{b}, though agreeing with the MT in edition, differs orthographically from the MT in almost one quarter of the words preserved.

Thus, individual minor variants do not prove or disprove agreement with the MT (against SP or the scrolls). Meaningful proof can be established only on the basis of clear agreement or disagreement at the level of either major variant editions or a series of major distinctive variants (*Leitfehler*).

Reviewing the evidence, it seems that the only meaningful agreements between the Masada scriptural scrolls and the MT obtain for MasEzek and one of the Psalms texts (MasPs^{b}), which agree with the MT *editions* as opposed to the LXX and 11QPs^{a} editions. Even those two agreements, however, are somewhat mitigated. First, it is in common not only with the MT, but also with the Qumran Ezekiel manuscripts, that MasEzek presents the newer edition current near the end of the Second Temple period, the only edition documented in Hebrew texts of that period. Second, for MasPs^{b}, if the choice of the edition were not intentional, there was a statistical 50 percent chance of copying the MT edition or the 11QPs^{a} edition; if

31. The last psalm that survives in MasPs^{a} is Psalm 85, whereas in 11QPs^{a}, with its divergent order, Ps 93 is the earliest psalm preserved.

32. Talmon and Yadin in Barag, *Hebrew Fragments*, 46.

the selection were intentional, the MT edition may have been chosen—not because it was the proto-MT, but because it was not compromised by the 364-day calendar.

Thus, the phenomenon of variant editions, clarified through the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, illumines and helps scholars more accurately understand a number of aspects of the textual history of the biblical books.

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The Origins, Development, and Characteristics of the Ancient Translations of the Hebrew Scriptures

Emanuel Tov

1. The Place of Translations among Scripture in Antiquity

A comprehensive comparison of the primary translations of Hebrew Scripture has not been fully undertaken in past scholarship.[1] Such a comparative analysis must take into account several aspects of individual translation projects and their relation to others. The central items to consider include: (1) reconstructing the background and origin of the ancient translations, (2) articulating the necessity to translate Scripture, (3) evaluation of the different translation styles, (4) assessment of the nature of each translation enterprise, (5) exploring degrees of relation between translations, (6) observing trends for internal revision within translations, (7) defining the scope of translation projects, (8) identifying the original or earliest form, (9) noting variations in the sequence of the books, and (10) establishing the date of individual translations. Analyses of these points allow for an improved understanding of individual translations as well as

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1. An exception is Anthony Gelston, "The Ancient Versions of the Hebrew Bible: Their Nature and Significance," in *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman*, ed. Ada Rapoport-Albert and Gillian Greenberg, JSOTSup 333 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 148–64. Generally, ancient translations as a whole receive little to no attention in introductions to the Old Testament and to textual criticism. Note, for example, Alexander A. Fischer, *Der Text des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009); Dominique Barthélemy, *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*, TCT 3 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012); James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper, eds., *From the Beginnings to 600*, vol. 1 of *The New Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

give further insight into the early transmission and reception histories of the biblical texts.

All the translations analyzed in this study are primary translations; that is, they were translated directly from texts in a source language, although some doubts have been raised regarding the independence of certain translations.[2] At times translators may have looked to other translations for occasional help or guidance, but such consultations do not affect the primary nature of the translations analyzed here. For example, Jerome's Vulgate is clearly a primary translation, even if Jerome accessed other translations for his work, namely, the Hexaplaric versions, especially Aquila and Symmachus. Secondary translations were made from primary translations, as in the cases of the Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic translations, and so on, made from the Septuagint, and even though in some cases the Hebrew source text influenced the secondary translations, they remain secondary translations. Given the proximity of primary translations to their underlying source texts, we may explore a common series of issues relating to their earliest existence, nature, development, and reception.

2. Background and Origin

While a limited amount of information is available about the ancient translations that were prepared by individuals (e.g., Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and Origen [Hexapla] in Greek; Jerome in Latin; Paul of Tella [Syro-Hexapla] and Jacob of Edessa in Syriac; Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan in Aramaic), little is known with certainty about the origin, development, and dates of other translations. Among these, Jerome's translation enterprise is the only one that is well documented. Beyond this, there is little stable evidence of the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of any of the other sources.

While some data are known about the Greek translation of the Torah (based on legends, such as in Aristeas and Philo [e.g., *Mos.* 2.25–41]), the possible circumstances of the creation of the Targumim (mentioned in rabbinic literature [e.g., y. Meg. 4:74d; b. Meg. 3a), and the Arabic versions, nothing is known about the background of the Greek translations beyond

2. The following translations are included in this analysis: the LXX, pre-Hexaplaric translations, Hexapla, post-Hexaplaric translations, and the Samareitikon, all in Greek; the Aramaic Targumim, Syriac Peshitta, Latin Vulgate, and the Rabbanite, Karaite, Christian, and Samaritan Arabic translations.

the Pentateuch, the books of the Peshitta, or the broader Targumic tradition.[3] The origins of the great majority of these translations are shrouded in mystery.

The very fact that Hebrew Scripture should be translated at all is not self-evident. Islam, for example, does not allow for translations of the Qur'an, which should be transmitted only in its original, revealed language: Arabic.[4] For Hebrew Scripture, no such claim was made. To be sure, rabbinic literature often refers to translations as natural phenomena, as necessities of Jewish communities from the third pre-Christian century onwards, a need that increased after the destruction of the Second Temple.[5]

Translation enterprises were of a different nature, prepared at different times, and by different types of persons for different purposes. Judging from the available translations, translators had varying degrees of knowledge and expertise in Hebrew and Aramaic. Likewise, they embraced different approaches toward the text and the act of translating. Most translations were probably rendered by Jews (as is the case in the Greek and Aramaic versions, several Arabic versions, the Torah translation of the Peshitta or its substratum, Aquila, and *kaige*-Theodotion). Others were rendered by persons of related religious traditions. For example, Symmachus may have been an Ebionite, and the Samareitikon was rendered by a Samaritan. A second layer of the Peshitta may have been produced by Christians versed in Hebrew. Non-Jews rarely had the skills and linguistic proficiencies to translate the Hebrew Bible from its Semitic languages into other idioms. Once again, Jerome's Latin translation, the Vulgate, is an exception, but he was apparently aided in this venture by Hebrew teachers. Origen and Lucian produced the Hexapla and the Lucianic recension; however, they likely did so without knowledge of Hebrew.[6]

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3. Especially Saadia Gaon's translations from the tenth century. See Meira Polliack, "Arabic Translations," in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, BrillOnline ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), ch. 1.3.6.1.8.1.

4. This is the traditional view. See, among others, Q Ali 'Imran 3:7.

5. See, for example, b. Meg. 17a. In other instances, rabbinic literature contains statements about the fact that the Torah could not be rendered adequately (Sop. 1.7). However, these statements do not refer to the very act of the translation; rather, they were meant as criticism against the "changes" inserted by the Greek translators of the Torah.

6. See Timothy David Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 92.

3. The Necessity to Translate Hebrew Scripture

The primary and secondary translations were not prepared as scholarly enterprises. Rather, their production was in the service of communities speaking their target languages. Hebrew and, later, Greek Scriptures were subsequently rendered into other languages, as after a certain period these languages were not used or known by religious communities. This development may be thus studied in the contexts of Judaism, Christianity, and Samaritan tradition.

3.1. Judaism

The need for Scripture translations presented itself for several Jewish communities for whom Hebrew ceased to exist as a living language. Thus, Alexandrian Jews turned to a Greek translation of the Torah. It is often claimed that even in the land of Israel, where Aramaic slowly replaced Hebrew as a spoken language from the fourth century BCE onwards, such translations were needed. However, it is not certain that lack of knowledge of Hebrew was the major factor behind the creation of the Targumim. Steven Fraade has argued that Hebrew was not forgotten but coexisted alongside Aramaic in Palestine. In his view, the Targumim provided a dimension of interpretation that was much needed in synagogue worship. Hebrew and Aramaic were close enough for maintaining the same sentence structure, and at the same time the use of a different language allowed for the inclusion of exegetical elements in the translation.[7] The Targumim were, therefore, created as a companion to Hebrew Scripture—they were not intended as a substitute, as in the case of several other versions. For that reason they were not committed to writing for a long period.

Various types of Arabic translations from the ninth to fourteenth centuries, among them Rabbanite and Karaite translations, were created within certain Jewish communities. The large number of these translations and their varied nature reflects their use as educational tools within diverse Jewish groups in the Arabic world.

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7. Steven D. Fraade, "Rabbinic Views on the Practice of Targum, and Multilingualism in the Jewish Galilee from Third–Sixth Centuries," in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lee I. Levine (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1992), 253–86.

3.2. Christianity

If facility in Hebrew steadily decreased in Judaism after a certain period, a more expeditious decline in the ability to access Scripture in its original languages no doubt occurred in early Christianity. In this case, however, the issue was less pressing, as early Christians predominantly inherited the Greek Scriptures, a procedure that would continue so long as Christians knew Greek.

The Syriac Peshitta translation seems to have arisen due to the linguistic needs presented by a geographical location of Christians in the east. Beyond this, it cannot be determined which community created that translation. Several scholars have identified Christian elements in the Peshitta and accordingly believe that this translation originated with the early Christians in the first or second century CE, possibly at the time of the Christian conversion of Abgar IX, King of Edessa.[8] Other scholars showed that this translation contains a distinct substratum of Jewish exegesis, especially in the Torah and Psalms.[9] As such, these translations could still be Christian, yet built on earlier Jewish versions. In view of these possibilities for the origins of the Peshitta, Peter Dirksen concluded that "no decisive arguments for either Christian or Jewish authorship have been advanced."[10] Furthermore, since individual books of the Peshitta probably took shape in different circles, it is likely that the potential for underlying Jewish traditions varies across the collection. Likewise, we should allow for some diversity in the types of Jewish tradition that are visible in some books, be they Jewish-rabbinic, as claimed by Maori, or Jewish-nonrabbinic, as claimed by Michael Weitzman and R.

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8. This is contested by Michael P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction*, UCOP 56 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 240–44.

9. See especially the work of Yeshayahu Maori, *The Peshitta Version of the Pentateuch and Early Jewish Exegesis* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995).

10. Piet B. Dirksen, "The Old Testament Peshitta," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder, CRINT 2.1 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988), 255–96. See also Michael P. Weitzman, "From Judaism to Christianity: The Syriac Version of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire*, ed. Judith Lieu, John North, and Tessa Rajak (London: Routledge, 1992), 147–73.

Bas ter Haar Romeny.[11] In any event, the final formulation of the Peshitta was probably Christian.

The Vulgate likewise fulfilled a need vis-à-vis the Christian community, but in the mind of its translator, Jerome, the translation also expressed an ideology with regard to the Hebrew text. Jerome strongly believed in the primacy of Hebrew Scripture (*hebraica veritas*) as opposed to the use of the LXX. The earlier Vetus Latina translation was based on the LXX, but in his translation Jerome turned to the Hebrew text. Little did the rebellious Jerome know that his own translation, which was made in order to reflect the primacy of Hebrew Scripture, would in due course serve the Christian community as a sacred and liturgical text, instead of the Hebrew source text and the LXX.

3.3. Samaritan Religion

Like the Jewish and Christian communities, the Samaritan community felt the need to translate their Holy Writ, the SP, into Greek (Samareitikon), Aramaic (Samaritan Targum), and Arabic. As is well known, a hallmark of this tradition is the inclusion of theological items that are evident in the earliest Hebrew stratum of the text, which further indicates the community-specific setting of Samaritan materials.

4. Different Translation Styles

All translations, even the most literal ones, contain elements of interpretation, which often involves a move away from the plain sense of Scripture. Such changes are often slight, but sometimes amount to a significant alteration to the original meaning of the text.[12] Scholars frequently describe a rendering of a word or the character of the translation unit as a whole with a wide range of subjective descriptions, in which the

11. Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 239–40; R. B. ter Haar Romeny, "Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.," in *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?*, ed. Huub van de Sandt (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 13–34.

12. Of course, it cannot be defined objectively what constitutes the plain sense or what qualifies as a deviation. What one scholar (or translator) considers a move away from the original meaning of the text may be defined by another as a reflection of its true sense.

categorizations "literal" and "free" are the two extremes. However, these characterizations are often problematical, since they are neither understood nor applied in the same way in the analysis of ancient translations. Furthermore, the translation styles of the various translations have not been studied sufficiently to warrant a sound and universally accepted opinion on translation technique. The study of translation technique has been developed especially with regard to the LXX and, in the case of James Barr's detailed analysis referring to "literalism in ancient biblical translations" in general, is actually based only on examples from one main translation, the LXX.[13]

In spite of these problems of definition, scholars usually agree on the general profile of a given version's style and techniques. All translations include a layer of information beyond the original content of Scripture. The scholarly approach to translations considers this layer an added value that was not a necessary part of the translation enterprise. Translations could be produced with only a minimal amount of exegesis, involving merely linguistic exegesis. All elements beyond the linguistic exegesis may be considered content exegesis visible in various forms. Phrased differently, translations involving merely linguistic exegesis are typically described as literal, and those involving content exegesis are often understood as free, with various gradations in between. However, the notion of freedom in the translation process is complex. If it was the translator's intention to transfer to the target language the spirit of the source text, small changes, omissions, and additions possibly should not be considered exponents of freedom. Therefore, the definition of what is a free rendering needs to be analyzed in greater detail. Both translation styles were acceptable in antiquity. A faithful (i.e., literal) approach to the act of translating was considered respectful to the word of God, but there was also room for contextual, free, and paraphrastic renderings. Such translations were also conceived of as presenting the spirit of the word of God, even if from a formal equivalence point of view free renderings deviated from the plain sense of Scripture.

The two types of translations, with many intermediate models, are recognized in four primary places within a translation:

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13. James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, MSU 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 279–325.

1. Stylistic variations may occur within the same translated verse.
2. Styles may shift in different segments or genres in the same translation (e.g., a free translation of a poem in a book mostly written in prose).
3. Different translation units in the same corpus may exhibit different types of translation (e.g., LXX-Isaiah as a free translation unit, as opposed to the rather literal translations of the other prophetic books: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets).
4. A spectrum of translation styles may be seen in units included in different corpora. Thus the very literal Syro-Hexapla, translated from the Greek Hexapla, differs much from the somewhat free "main" Syriac translation, the Peshitta, rendered from Hebrew.[14] The free and paraphrastic Palestinian Targumim differ in their approach from the literal Babylonian Targumim, yet both were rendered from Hebrew. The relatively free Vulgate rendered from Hebrew differs much from the hyperliteral Vetus Latina, based on the Greek. Two early revisions of the LXX are also notably literal, *kaige*-Theodotion and Aquila, while Symmachus offers a freer rendering. Different translation styles could also be tracked though the Arabic translations.

Once a working profile of the approaches and styles of a translation is established, it may be considered in light of trends in others. Within the realm of Greek translations, it seems that *kaige*-Theodotion was the most consistent (and hence literal) translator. The same could be said for Onqelos and the Samaritan Targum among the Targumim, the Syro-Hexapla among the Syriac versions, and the Vetus Latina among the Latin versions. To put these in comparative perspective in general terms, *kaige*-Theodotian was probably more consistent than Targum Onqelos, since Onqelos was often attentive to context, and *kaige*-Theodotion was not. However, to advance beyond these first impressions, there is a need for additional close, comparative, and statistical analysis of differences between pairs of translations. In a study of a limited semantic field, Moshe J. Bernstein showed that Onqelos contains one-to-one equivalents

14. The different translation styles of the Peshitta books are analyzed by Weitzman (*Syriac Version*, 164–91).

in the area of oaths and vows, but that the translator deviated from them under certain circumstances.[15] On a much wider scale, Posen showed the same principle in the analysis of many words in Onqelos, which evidences deviations from standard equivalents for linguistic, halakic, and midrashic reasons.[16]

Between the opposite approaches of freedom and literalness, many gradations may be discerned in the LXX translation units. These range from extremely paraphrastic (to the extent that the wording of the parent text is hardly recognizable) to slavishly faithful to the lexical equivalents and word order of the source text.

The Vulgate is neither free nor literal when its techniques are compared with the translation styles of the LXX. Since Jerome took pride in rendering according to the sense of Scripture, it may tend slightly closer to a freer style of translation. In the words of Michael Graves, "the general tendency of [the] V[ulgate] as a translation is towards free re-working of the Hebrew into idiomatic Latin."[17] He adds, "Jerome does not follow any strict notion of exact quantitative representation of elements. Words are added freely, usually for the sake of clarity, and words are also freely omitted, usually to avoid redundancy."[18]

The Peshitta translation may be considered relatively free, on account of its small changes, pluses, and minuses.[19] Its freedom is sometimes recognized in more major alterations, such as recognized in the theological changes in the Peshitta in Chronicles.[20] Ignacio Carbajosa described

15. Thus, Onqelos distinguished between regular swearing (קיים) and false swearing (אשתבע); see Moshe J. Bernstein, "Oaths and Vows in the Pentateuchal Targumim: Semantics and Exegesis," in *Sha'arei Lashon: Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic; Studies in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Jewish Languages Presented to Moshe Bar-Asher* [Hebrew], ed. Aaron Maman, Stephen E. Fassberg, and Yohanan Breuer (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2007), 2:20–41.

16. Rafael B. Posen, *The Consistency of Targum Onkelos's Translation* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004).

17. Michael Graves, "Vulgate," in Lange and Tov, *Textual History of the Bible*, ch. 1.3.5.

18. Ibid.

19. For discussion on these points, see Weitzman, *Syriac Version,* 15–67.

20. See the analysis of Piet B. Dirksen, "Some Aspects of the Translation Technique in P-Chronicles," in *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden, 19–21 August 1993*, ed. Piet B. Dirksen and Arie van der Kooij, PIM 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 17–23.

the Syriac translations of Psalms as a free translation, characterized by harmonization and assimilation.[21] This is but one case along the spectrum of books in the Peshitta, some of which were rendered more freely, others in a more literal fashion.[22]

A wide variety of translational models is also evident in the Targumim. Targum Onqelos and Targum Proverbs as well as the early Aramaic translations found at Qumran tend more to a literal translation style, while the Palestinian Targumim exhibit a free, even paraphrastic style.[23] Free translation units are characterized by a multitude of pluses, also found in some literal translation units, among which Philip Alexander distinguished two main types.[24] In "type A" there is a clear difference in style between the bulk of the translation, in which most elements in the translation can be designated as equivalents of words in Hebrew, while the plus elements stand out as distinct from the context. On the other hand, the free renderings in "type B" translations do not enable us to pinpoint the elements added to the Hebrew text, since the whole translation is paraphrastic.[25]

It remains a matter of speculation why different translation styles were used in the various translation corpora, and even more so, why different translators opted for different styles within the same corpus (note, for example, the free translation of Isaiah in the LXX next to the rather literally rendered books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Dodekapropheton). Partial answers to this question have included the following: the adoption of different translation models, influence of the content of the different biblical books on the translators, preferences for different models used in different periods, different milieus, and differing views regarding the sacred char-

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21. Ignacio Carbajosa, "Peshitta," in Lange and Tov, *Textual History of the Bible*, ch. 10.3.4.5.

22. Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 164–65.

23. See two studies by Moshe J. Bernstein: "Translation Technique in the Targum to Psalms: Two Test Cases; Psalms 2 and 137," ed. E. H. Lovering, SBLSP 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 326–45; Bernstein, "The Given Levites: Targumic Method and Method in the Study of the Targumim; An Illustrative Exercise in Targumic Analysis," in *Targum and Peshitta*, vol. 2 of *Targum Studies*, ed. Paul V. M. Flesher, SFSHJ 165 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998), 93–116.

24. See Philip S. Alexander, "Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures," in Mulder, *Mikra*, 217–54.

25. Similar pluses and transpositions characterize the LXX of 1 Kings (3 Reigns), but these are often ascribed to the Hebrew *Vorlage*. See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 306–8.

acter of the books translated. Since none of these options turned out to be satisfactory, I turned to a simpler solution in a study devoted to the LXX.[26] The most compelling solution is that the differences between the translation styles reflected different personal approaches by translators to the act of translating and ultimately to Hebrew Scripture. Such differences are visible also in the approaches of scribes of Hebrew scrolls, such as found in the Judean Desert.

5. Nature of the Translation Enterprises

When analyzing the corpora of the ancient translations, it is imperative to approach them in their own historical and cultural contexts and to resist the inclination to compare them with modern enterprises. Unlike their modern counterparts, ancient translation projects were not organized, but undertaken as translations of individual scriptural books without an overall plan or program for translating larger collections. There were no organizing sessions in which the content of the translated corpus was determined, and there was no central organizing board that compiled a set of instructions or determined a guiding philosophy for how to approach the translation activity. It is also not known whether more than one translation of a given book in the LXX or Peshitta was prepared in different circles or localities. Very few such cases have been preserved, with the possible exception of the Barberini Codex of Hab 3, which may reflect a version parallel to that of the main uncials of the LXX. Alternatively, the many parallel Targumim were created in different milieus, so that they are not typical cases of parallel versions.

Further, the first translator in each translation enterprise struggled with more challenges than those that followed, as he had to determine the approach, technique, style, and vocabulary of the translation. For example, the presumed first translation of the LXX corpus, the book of Genesis, evidences a noticeable developmental vocabulary as the work progresses. Translation options used in the first chapters were changed and stabilized in later ones and continued to evolve in the subsequent books.[27] These first

26. See Emanuel Tov, "Approaches towards Scripture Embraced by the Ancient Greek Translators," in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays*, TSAJ 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 325–38.

27. See Emanuel Tov, "The Septuagint Translation of Genesis as the First Scripture Translation," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint: Collected*

translation units often guided the later translations in matters of approach and translation vocabulary. This is again clearly the case with regard to the LXX-Pentateuch that influenced later books.[28] At the same time, the vocabulary of the Pentateuch was followed only in a general sense in later books, since new translation options were devised and the Pentateuch quotations in the later books were only occasionally harmonized to the Pentateuch translation.

Many studies have been written regarding the relation between the various Targumim, as well as on their oral background and their subsequent development, but nevertheless the growth of the Targumic corpus remains unknown. Even less is known about the development of the Peshitta. To be sure, only the translations that bear the names of individuals, as those of Aquila, Symmachus, *kaige*-Theodotion (all three Greek), Jacob of Edessa (Syriac), Jerome (Vulgate), Origen, Lucian (both Greek), and Onqelos (Aramaic), were created with some degree of consistency. All other translation units were prepared over a longer period by different individuals of diverse character. At a certain point, all these translations were combined into various corpora.

The default position for the characterization of the translation units is that, except for the aforementioned translations that were rendered by individuals, each biblical book was prepared by a different individual. Even the books of the Greek Pentateuch, which traditionally were conceived of as having been created as a whole, probably constitute five separate translations.[29] Likewise, each of the Five Scrolls was rendered by a different person. This also pertains to all the Targumim of the post-Pentateuchal translations.[30] Similarly, the individual books of the Peshitta were rendered by different individuals, each translating in his own style.[31]

Essays, VTSup 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 504–20; Tov, "Genesis 49 in the Septuagint: Trial and Error," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, 490–503.

28. See Emanuel Tov, "The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 183–94.

29. Hayeon Kim, "Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch" (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007).

30. Paul V. M. Flesher and Bruce Chilton, *The Targums: A Critical Introduction* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2011), 169, 229.

31. Thus Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 164–91. Dirksen ("Old Testament Peshitta,"

At the same time, some translators probably rendered more than one translation unit. In Greek Scripture, one translator rendered Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, and another one rendered both Job and Proverbs.[32] This phenomenon extends possibly to clusters in the Peshitta, as mentioned by Weitzman (e.g., Ezekiel and the Dodekapropheton; Jeremiah and Daniel).[33]

Cooperation between ancient translators, although often mentioned in the scholarly literature, cannot be proven easily and is unlikely. The concept of cooperation is modern, based on the assumption of a seminar-like meeting between translators, who would have compared translation notes. In my view, the possibility of such cooperation may be discarded. The only type of relation between translators that may be assumed is of translations influencing other ones. The main type of influence known within a corpus is that of the Pentateuch on the later translation units in the LXX and Peshitta.[34]

The media of our earliest translations must also be assessed. All translations were probably prepared as written documents, with the exception of the Targumim, which have clearer oral performative and exegetical dimensions. Furthermore, once the Targumim were created, they continued to have a place in the worship service; and ultimately, when written down, they were often combined with the Scripture text itself in the form of one biblical verse followed by a verse of the Targum.

Once a translation corpus was taking shape, in the case of the Targumim, Peshitta, Vulgate, and the Arabic translations, there seems to have been a growing interest in supplementing these corpora to reflect the dimensions of the Masoretic corpus. This presented a particular challenge for those translation units not known in a Masoretic-like archetype and resulted in degrees of diversity within the resultant translated collections. Against this background, we have to see the multifarious nature of the

260) noted the stylistic spectrum with the examples of Judges, which follows the Hebrew text closely, and Chronicles, the translation of which is very free.

32. See Emanuel Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8*, HSM 8 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).

33. Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 186, 203, 205. Prior to this, Joshua Bloch ("The Authorship of the Peshitta," *AJSL* 34–35 [1917–1919]: 215–22) discussed different translators of the Peshitta.

34. For the LXX, see Tov, "Impact of the LXX Translation"; for the Peshitta, see Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 191–94.

various corpora as visible in the following, partly overlapping parameters: the corpus of the LXX includes both original (Old Greek) and revised versions; early and late versions; and literal, free, and paraphrastic versions.[35] Likewise, the corpora of the Peshitta and Targum Jonathan are composed of units of a different nature.[36] In Targum Pseudo-Jonathan we find, alongside the relatively literal translations of the Prophets, very paraphrastic translations of Canticles, Lamentations, and Esther, as well as the Targum of Proverbs, which leans heavily on the Peshitta.

6. Relationships between Translations

Each ancient translation was created as an independent enterprise in a new language in a distinct cultural setting. Due to these different settings at the outset, cross-translational influences are unlikely. However, because of the central status of the LXX, Targum, and Peshitta, and with the lack of other written tools, some translations, oral or written, may have been consulted when new translations were created. In all cases, alternative explanations of the closeness between translations need to be considered first before influence from another translation is assumed.

The existence of linguistic and exegetical links between translations has, at times, given rise to assumptions of cross-translational influences. Such theories are often based on shared exegetical traditions that cannot be coincidental and on shared lexical understanding, suggesting a translator may have consulted another translation as a source of information. While the determination of translational borrowing has at times been made in haste, certain links between translations are nevertheless viable and likely. At the same time, it is very hard to distinguish between common exegetical traditions, which do not involve a direct relation between translations, and borrowing among translations. A common tradition is assumed when a word or verse was presumably explained orally in a certain way, and when that oral tradition was reflected in a written form in different translations. Borrowing is assumed when a translation, for example, the Peshitta, presumably used the earlier translation of the LXX, or when large sections of the Targum of Proverbs were copied from the Peshitta version

35. See Emanuel Tov, "Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, 429–48.

36. On the Peshitta, see Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 164–91.

of that book. The close proximity of translation units has been substantiated regarding certain books and collections—mainly the Torah, the three Major Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Qohelet, and Canticles—although the scholarly literature is replete with hypotheses regarding details in most books of Scripture.

To be sure, Jerome is the only certain case of borrowing from earlier translations. This interaction has been mentioned in his opening remarks in his commentaries, which indicate his consultation of the "Three" when preparing his Vulgate translation.[37] All other instances of borrowing are hypothetical. The relations between the versions are exemplified below with a focus on three primary possibilities: (1) borrowing as a form of consulting an earlier version, (2) common exegetical tradition, and (3) LXX translations made from Aramaic. A fourth possible explanation of such closeness pertains to the influence of the LXX on individual manuscripts of the Peshitta.

6.1. Borrowing

The most plausible instance of borrowing pertains to the Targum of Proverbs, significant portions of which were developed on the basis of the Peshitta. One-third of the verses are nearly identical, and the direction of borrowing most probably extended from the Peshitta to the Targum. Another tier to consider is that several scholars consider the Peshitta's borrowing from the LXX almost a fact.[38]

Other scholars, however, consider borrowing in the opposite direction, from the Targumim to the Peshitta, which would indicate a Jewish origin of the Peshitta, or at least suggest Jewish influence on the Syriac translation. This view, suggested by several researchers for a number of scriptural books, has been reviewed in detail by Dirksen, who concluded that this arrangement is possible in some cases, but in fewer books than is usually assumed.[39] Weitzman's detailed evaluation of the Peshitta and the

37. See Jerome's remark in his preface to his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*.

38. On this, see the discussion by Weizmann (*Syriac Version,* 70–78), who notes it is unnecessary to posit consistency in the degree or type of borrowing on the part of the Syriac translators, as this no doubt ranged from occasional consultation to more regular reliance.

39. Dirksen, "Old Testament Peshitta," 295–96.

Targumim in the Pentateuch concluded that, for these books, the translations reflect common traditions.[40]

6.2. Common Exegetical Tradition

The wisdom literature provides at least two ready examples to consider shared exegetical backgrounds of translations. Carbajosa assumed a common tradition for the book of Job in the LXX, Peshitta, and Targum.[41]A common exegetical layer of the LXX and Peshitta appears to have also existed in the case of Proverbs, at least in the view of Carbajosa, while others proposed alternative solutions.[42] Hermann Pinkuss and Jan Joosten thought in terms of direct influence of the LXX on the Syriac translator.[43] At the same time, Pinkuss suggested that some readings that betray the influence of the LXX may have entered as late interpolations, as is the case with the double readings.[44] According to Joosten, the Peshitta translator followed the Hebrew, but when experiencing difficulties, he followed the LXX, at times even including illogical translational solutions attested in the Greek.[45] However, Baumgartner argued that this influence took place only in the course of the manuscript transmission, when the dominant LXX tradition influenced the manuscripts of the Peshitta.[46]

6.3. The LXX Was Rendered from Aramaic

A final combination to consider concerns the potential basis for some LXX texts in early Aramaic translations. Lienhard Delekat suggested that the LXX of Isaiah was not rendered from Hebrew but from an Aramaic

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40. Weizmann, *Syriac Version,* 92–107.

41. See Carbajosa, "Peshitta," 10.3.5.

42. Ibid.

43. Hermann Pinkuss, "Die syrische Übersetzung der Proverbien," *ZAW* 14 (1894): 65–141, 161–222.

44. Pinkuss, "Syrische Übersetzung der Proverbien," 103–6.

45. Jan Joosten, "Doublet Translations in Peshitta Proverbs," in *Language and Textual History of the Syriac Bible: Collected Studies*, TS 9 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2013), 71–83.

46. Antoine J. Baumgartner, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte des Proverbes d'après les principales traductions anciennes* (Leipzig: Drugulin, 1890).

Targum.[47] Realizing the closeness between the LXX, the Targum, and the Peshitta, Delekat suggested that this closeness resulted from the translator's *Vorlage* and not from influence or borrowing. Brown presented the opposite case, that the Aramaic Targumim, especially Onqelos, consulted the LXX.[48] However, this is a very unlikely solution since the two differ significantly.

7. Internal Revision

Most, possibly all, translations underwent stages of revisional activity, which are still recognizable in a variety of sources. In all such instances uncertainty remains regarding the shape of the original translations.

7.1. Change toward the Proto-Masoretic Text

The most frequent revisional activity involved the changing of the original wording of the translation toward the proto-Masoretic text when the original text of that translation deviated from it. Since the LXX was not translated from a proto-MT text, this interest readily presented itself. The same concern for revision holds true even in the case of the other versions, the base texts of which were presumably more remote from the proto-MT in their shape and wording. In the course of the transmission of the ancient translations, and with the greater acceptance of the proto-Masoretic Text in ancient Israel, the general trend was an increasing awareness of these differences from MT coupled with a desire to adapt the translations to MT.

7.2. Changes of Isolated Elements in Single Manuscripts of the LXX

Many ancient sources contain isolated elements identical with MT that probably replaced earlier renderings. Thus an early form of the OG, possibly its archetype, as well as the uncial manuscripts A and B, were probably altered occasionally in the direction of the proto-MT.[49] Based

47. Lienhard Delekat, "Ein Septuagintatargum," *VT* 8 (1958): 226–52.

48. John P. Brown, "The Septuagint as a Source of the Greek Loan-Words in the Targums," *Bib* 70 (1989): 194–216.

49. See John W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Numbers*, MSU 16 (Göttingen:

on a comparison with such early sources as 4QLXXLev[a], 4QLXXpapLev[b], and 4QLXXNum, which differed more from MT than the uncials, it is assumed that the text common to these uncials often reflects later revisional elements.[50] The same pertains to the comparison of the uncial manuscripts of the LXX with the pre-Hexaplaric Chester-Beatty-Scheide papyrus 967 (early third century CE), for example in the order of the chapters in Ezekiel. In this detail, papyrus 967 differs from the MT and OG and may well represent an earlier sequence. However, the degree of the presumed changes inserted in the OG will never be known, and we possess no manuscripts evidencing the presumed corrections.[51]

7.3. Later Translations Revising the OG

Most of the revised elements inserted into the OG were recorded in new translations or revisions different from the original ones, namely the pre-Hexaplaric versions *kaige*-Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus, the Hexapla,

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Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 73–76; Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*, MSU 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 48–51.

50. Some revisional elements are evident in the following comparisons: Ra 848 ("Deut I") with P.Fouad 266b of Deut 17–33 (mid-first century BCE); for publication, see Françoise Dunand, *Papyrus grecs bibliques (Papyrus F. Inv. 266): Volumina de la Genèse et du Deutéronome*, RAPH 27 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1966); Ra 847 ("Deut II") with P.Fouad 266c (847) of Deut 10–11, 31–33 (50–1 BCE); for publication, see Zaki Aly and Ludwig Koenen, eds., *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint: Genesis and Deuteronomy*, PTA 27 (Bonn: Habelt, 1980); Ra 805 with 7QpapLXXExod of Exod 28 (first century BCE); Ra 943 with 8ḤevXIIgr, hands A and B (late first century BCE); and Ra 2227 with P.Oxy. 77.5101 of Psalms (first or second century CE); for publication, see D. Colomo and W. B. Henry, "5101. LXX, Psalms xxvi 9–14, xliv 4–8, xlvii 13–15, xlviii 6–21, xlix 2–16, lxiii 6–lxiv 5," in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. A. Benaissa, GRM 98 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2011), 77:1–11. For additional analysis, see Jannes Smith, "The Text-Critical Significance of Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 5101 (Ra 2227) for the Old Greek Psalter," *JSCS* 45 [2012]: 5–22).

51. According to several scholars, even the non-*kaige* segments in Samuel and Kings underwent a *kaige*-like revision in the archetype of all our manuscripts. See, for example, Sigmund Kreuzer, "Ursprüngliche Septuaginta (Old Greek) und hebraisierende Bearbeitung: Die Entwicklung der Septuaginta in ihrer Bedeutung für die Zitate und Anspielungen im Neuen Testament, untersucht an Hand der Zitate aus dem Dodekapropheton," in *Worte der Weissagung: Studien zu Septuaginta und Johannesoffenbarung*, ed. Johannes de Vries and Julian Elschenbroich, ABG 47 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014), 17–55.

and the post-Hexaplaric revisions of Origen and Lucian. An early scroll belonging to the *kaige*-Theodotion group, the Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever from the late first century BCE, presents such an early revision. In turn these early revisions often contaminated the manuscripts of the original OG translation in the course of its manuscript transmission. In this way, Hexaplaric readings (usually reflecting the proto-MT text) penetrated the manuscript tradition of the OG.

7.4. The Shape of the Targumim and the Proto-MT Tradition

The *Vorlagen* of the known Targumim were presumably very close to the proto-MT text, but it is usually assumed that the text of the Targumim was adapted to MT from an early period onwards, especially since the Targumim were conceived of as the "official Jewish translations." It should be remembered, however, that the oldest known Aramaic translation of a book of Hebrew scripture, that of Job from Qumran (11QtgJob), differs appreciably more from MT than the ones that are known from the later manuscripts.[52] Furthermore, from an early period onwards the text of the Targumim was juxtaposed in the manuscripts with MT, verse after verse. This proximity increasingly brought the text of the two closer together.

7.5. Peshitta

To date, there has been a limited conversation regarding internal revision to or away from MT. According to ter Haar Romeny, some manuscripts of the Peshitta (e.g., MSS 9a1 and 5b1) were occasionally adapted to MT.[53] Carbajosa, however, observed that it would be hard to imagine the cultural context for such revisional activity.[54]

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52. See Rafael Weiss, "Recensional Variations between the Aramaic Translation to Job from Qumran Cave 11 and the Masoretic Text" [Hebrew with English summary], *Shnaton* 1 (1975): 123–27; Weiss, *The Aramaic Targum of Job* [Hebrew with English summary] (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1979).

53. See R. B. ter Haar Romeny, "Techniques of Translation and Transmission in the Earliest Text Forms of the Syriac Version of Genesis," in *The Peshitta as a Translation: Papers Read at the II Peshitta Symposium Held at Leiden, 19–21 August 1993*, ed. P. B. Dirksen and Arie van der Kooij, PIM 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 177–85. For further examples, see Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 272–77.

54. Ignacio Carbajosa, *The Character of the Syriac Version of Psalms: A Study of Psalms 90–150 in the Peshitta*, PIM 17 (Brill: Leiden, 2008), 353–79.

7.6. Changes toward the Central Vocabulary of a Source

It is often assumed that the vocabulary of a translation as reflected in early manuscripts was adapted to the standard of the later forms of that vocabulary. Thus, it has been suggested that 4QLXXLev^{a}, 4QLXXpapLev^{b}, and 4QLXXNum reflect a more original form of the LXX than the text included in the later uncials. Assuming that the uncials had been adapted to the majority vocabulary of the LXX, these early Greek texts from the Judean Desert would then give insight into the vocabulary of a tradition that underwent revision.[55]

7.7. Christianizing Changes

While the earliest manuscripts of Greek Scripture (such as those found in the Judean Desert) were undoubtedly copied by Jews, the great majority of the manuscripts in our possession have been transmitted by Christians. The early Christians have at times been charged with tampering with the text of the LXX in order to adapt it to their views. If such a process took place it would be understandable, since Christianity was in the peculiar situation of being based on a Jewish source, the LXX. However, Christian interferences with the manuscripts of the LXX for theological purposes is evidenced only sporadically. Although there are undoubtedly Christian changes and interpolations in the manuscripts, such changes are negligible.[56] Some such revision is recognized in areas that are important for Christian dogma, while other instances of revision are visible in the Old Testament texts quoted in the New Testament. Such texts are frequently corrected in the Septuagint on the basis of the wording in the New Testament, including the addition of neighboring verses.[57]

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55. See Emanuel Tov, "The Greek Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert," in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran*, 339–64.

56. See Emanuel Tov, "The Septuagint between Judaism and Christianity," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, 449–70.

57. Ibid., 463–66.

7.8. Improving the Style of Translation

In rare cases, the style of the Hebraistic translations was improved. Symmachus, though basing himself on *kaige*-Theodotion, improved its lexical consistency and Greek diction.[58]

8. Scope

If some translation projects were impressionistic, as mentioned above, their scope was not likely determined at the outset. The older projects started with one or more early translations, which were eventually supplemented in accord with certain canonical understandings. The clearest example of this is the later translation project of the Targumim, which reflects the exact same canon as the MT.

8.1. Septuagint

In addition to the joint canon of MT and the Targumim, another Jewish canonical concept is reflected in the LXX, which contains a number of compositions in addition to the Greek translation of the twenty-four canonical Hebrew-Aramaic books. These books not included in the canonical Hebrew Bible are subsequently named *Apocrypha* (the "hidden" books) in Greek and *sefarim hisoniyyim* (the "outside books") in Hebrew. These books, named deuterocanonical in the Catholic Church, consist of two groups. First, a Greek translation of books whose Hebrew or Aramaic source has been lost or preserved only in part, such as Ben Sira and Baruch. Second, a few works composed in Greek, such as the Wisdom of Solomon.

8.2. Hexapla

The Hexapla, incorporating an edition of the LXX, reflects the same canonical concept as the LXX, including the additional compositions. However, it is unclear how many books were revised by *kaige*-Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus beyond the Jewish canon. Origen's revision and the minor Jewish translators cover the books of the MT canon with some additions. All three represent the longer ending of Job. Theodotion also

58. For examples, see Peter Gentry, "Pre-Hexaplaric Translations, Hexapla, post-Hexaplaric Translations," in Lange and Tov, *Textual History of the Bible*, ch. 1.3.1.2.5.

includes all the Additions to Daniel, revising the Old Greek versions of these works. Theodotion and Aquila are recorded as revising the book of Baruch.[59] In similar form to the other versions referenced here, Origen and Lucian included most of the Apocrypha.

8.3. Vulgate

While adhering to the *hebraica veritas* in his philological approach to Scripture, Jerome shared the canonical concept of the LXX. His Vulgate translation therefore incorporated Tobit and Judith (which he claims to have translated from a Semitic source), while some Vetus Latina translations of the Apocrypha (e.g., Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and 1–2 Maccabees) were added in the standard editions of the Vulgate from the ninth century onward.[60]

8.4. Peshitta

The canonical concept of the Peshitta was close to that of MT. We may disregard the Syriac Psalms not included in MT (Pss 151, 154, and 155), as they are only included in medieval manuscripts of the Peshitta. Hence their agreement with 11QPs[a], which likewise contains these Psalms, need not be emphasized.

9. Original Form of the Translations

At some point, all or most translations were created in a written form, and therefore the assumption of an original form for each translation is the most logical one. Thus, most scholars accept the view of de Lagarde, according to which all LXX manuscripts derive from a single translation that was repeatedly revised to the changing Hebrew text.[61] The same

59. For all these, see the Göttingen editions of the LXX.

60. Graves ("Vulgate," 1.3.5) observed that "in his 'Preface to Samuel-Kings,' Jerome says that books such as the Wisdom of Solomon, Ben Sira, Judith, Tobit and 1–2 Maccabees should not be listed among the scriptural books, but should instead be reckoned among the 'apocryphal' writings. Similarly, in his 'Preface to Proverbs-Ecclesiastes-Song of Songs,' Jerome states that the church reads Judith, Tobit, and the books of Maccabees for edification, but does not include them among the canonical Scriptures."

61. Paul de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), 2–4.

assumption may apply to the other ancient translations. The original text of the LXX has been reconstructed in the editions of Rahlfs and those of the Göttingen Septuagint.

The case of the Targumim may differ from that of the other versions since they were initially created orally. Additionally, those versions were submitted to writing at a given moment, but some scholars nevertheless describe their initial status, together with the other versions, with the aid of an alternative model. This model, suggested by Paul Kahle, presupposes multiple parallel translations at the base of the presently known manuscripts of the Targumim.[62] However, in no case do we have manuscript evidence supporting parallel original texts for any of the translations (including the Targumim), and the minute differences between manuscripts such as invoked by Kahle do not substantiate this theory.[63] It is not impossible that parallel formulations of ancient translations existed before the available manuscript evidence, but this assumption cannot be proven.

The Peshitta offers a special challenge. Alfred Rahlfs divided the Peshitta manuscripts into two traditions with substantial theological differences, which made it impossible to reconstruct the text prior to the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.[64] However, almost a century later, Dirksen called into question Rahlfs's theory, which had almost developed into accepted fact in scholarship. On the basis of recent studies on the textual transmission of the various books of the Peshitta, he concluded that the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches "has been of no consequence for the transmission of the text of the O.T. Peshitta."[65] In any event, modern critical editions are based on single manuscripts and do not attempt to reconstruct the original form of this translation, although Weitzman analyzed the possibilities for reconstructing such a text.[66]

62. Paul Kahle, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," *TSK* 88 (1915): 399–439.

63. Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed. (London: Blackwell, 1959).

64. Alfred Rahlfs, "Beiträge zur Textkritik der Peschitta," *ZAW* 9 (1889): 161–210.

65. P. B. Dirksen, "East and West, Old and Young, in the Text Tradition of the Old Testament Peshitta," *VT* 35 (1985): 478.

66. Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 263–322.

10. Sequence of the Books

The question of the development of the sequence of translations is similar to that of their scope. The Targumim and the primary Arabic translations follow the sequence of the MT. The LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate exhibit a sequence that is different from the canonical conception of the MT. The twenty-four books of the Hebrew canon included in the LXX, together with the so-called Apocrypha, are arranged in a sequence different from that of Hebrew Scripture in several aspects. This difference extends to the place and arrangement of the apocryphal books, which are inserted in different locales among the canonical writings. In the case of the Vulgate, several different sequences are attested in the manuscripts, influenced both by different Greek manuscripts and by different Vulgate traditions. This variety indicates that there is no central sequence of the Vulgate.

As for the Peshitta, Codex Ambrosianus (ca. sixth–seventh centuries CE) differs in many ways from the MT and LXX. A traditional association of Mosaic authorship to the book of Job (see b. B. Bat. 14b–15a) seems to have resulted in the placement of this book immediately after the Pentateuch. Ambrosianus evidences two other significant variations in sequence: the book of Psalms is situated between 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings, and, as in the LXX yet unlike the MT, the Prophets conclude the collection.

11. Date

The oldest Scripture translation from antiquity is the LXX. The youngest ones, dating from the Middle Ages, are the medieval Arabic translations. Part of the difficulty in determining the internal sequence of the translations is due to challenges in distinguishing between the supposed date of the translation and that of later elements inserted into them. This is especially the case for the Targumim. For these translations we cannot simply give a single date, since they incorporate elements from different periods. Beyond these general comments and considerations, some particulars may be given for each translation.

11.1. Creation of the Septuagint (285–150 BCE)

The earliest evidence for the LXX translation dates to the second and first centuries BCE, coming in the form of papyri and leather fragments of the Torah from Egypt and the Judean Desert. According to the generally

accepted explanation of the testimony of the Letter of Aristeas, the Torah translation was carried out in Egypt in the beginning of the third century BCE. This tradition is compatible with the early date of the aforementioned Greek fragments from Qumran and Egypt. The remaining Greek Scripture books were translated afterwards at different times. Some evidence for their dates is external (e.g., quotations from the LXX in ancient sources), while some is internal (e.g., reflections or allusion to historical situations or events within the translation). The post-Pentateuchal translations used the vocabulary of the Torah, and several of them also quote from its text. Since the Prophets and several of the Hagiographa were known in their Greek version to the grandson of Ben Sira at the end of the second century BCE, we may infer that most of these were translated at the beginning of that century or somewhat earlier.

11.2. Chronology of the Targumim: Origins and Development

It is well known that the Targumim date to different periods. The earliest specimens of Aramaic Scripture translations from Qumran date to the second century BCE (4QtgLev) and the first century CE (4QtgJob; 11QtgJob). The Aramaic translations of SP date to the third century CE. The earliest shape of Targum Onqelos probably dates to 50–150 CE, but its revision in Babylon would have lasted until 600 CE. The Palestinian Targumim seem to have been authored between the late second century CE to the end of the fifth century CE. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is dated to approximately 400 CE. All these dates refer to the bulk of the translations, while later additions may be as late as the seventh or eighth centuries, evidenced most clearly by the references to Islamic times in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan in Gen 16:12, 25:13, 35:22, and Num 7:87. Leeor Gottlieb leaves the possibility open that this translation was completed only in the tenth century.[67] It has been suggested that Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Prophets dates to the period between 70 and 135 CE (with the first stage being produced in Palestine) and the fourth century CE (with the second stage undertaken in Babylon).[68] Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Writings is likely the latest Targum, created in the seventh or eighth century CE.

67. Leeor Gottlieb, "Composition of Targums after the Decline of Aramaic as a Spoken Language," *AS* 12 (2014): 1–8.

68. Chilton, in Flesher and Chilton, *Targums*, 179–80.

Gottlieb also extends the date range of the Targum of Chronicles based on his suggestion that it contains elements dating to the tenth century.[69]

11.3. Dates of the Peshitta and Vulgate

While those translations described above had a longer range of possible compositional dates or developed over time, the dating of the Peshitta and Vulgate can be narrowed with some confidence. It is generally believed that the Peshitta was created between 150 and 200 CE (Weitzman).[70] In the case of the Vulgate, Jerome's own reflections provide a stable date of the Latin translation of the books from 391 to 405 CE.

12. Closing Remarks

The primary translations of the Hebrew Bible, created in different periods, under different circumstances, and reflecting different approaches, nevertheless should be examined together in order to better understand the special features of the individual translations. Such a comprehensive comparison of the primary translations of Hebrew Scripture has not been undertaken in past scholarship. It leads to observations on the various qualities and characteristics of individual translated collections and enterprises, their relationship to others, the question of original forms and subsequent revisions, the development of the sequence of books and canonical shaping, and the plausible date ranges for translations.

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69. Ibid., 3.

70. See Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 258.

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Scribal Practice and the Pony in the Manure Pile

Martin G. Abegg Jr.

1. Introduction

Peter Flint (ז״ל) and I had offices side by side in "Seal Kap House," the home of the Religious Studies faculty at Trinity Western University, for twenty years. The marvelous discussions that took place in our comfortable end of the building among students, faculty, and visiting professors are beyond numbering. There is no doubt that these stimulating and spirited environs were in large part due to my esteemed colleague Peter. So, it seemed only apropos to contribute a study to Peter's memory that began as a conversation in the hallway outside our offices, subsequently played a role in a graduate student thesis, and now takes additional shape as a contribution in honor of my long-time friend.

As is often the case with students, the hallway conversation involved the choice of thesis topics. The focus was the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11—an item of long-running interest for Peter—and the student's name was David Sigrist, one of Peter's graduate assistants. In the discovery stage of his thesis research, David had amassed a tremendous amount of data, cataloguing every variable in the thirty-plus Psalms scrolls from the Judean Desert. He was, as I have come to think of it, "looking for the pony in the manure pile," for he had come to realize that his mountain of data was not a thesis.[1] That evening I surveyed my own catalogue of Psalms variants—the fruit of the years spent working on *The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert*, volume 3 of *The Dead Scrolls Concordance*—and discovered

1. This a reflection of the old joke about the optimistic farm boy who asked his parents for a pony for his birthday and was found on the morning of his day—having not found a pony tied to the foot of his bed—in the barn digging through the manure pile: "There must be a pony in here somewhere!"

over thirty tables I had constructed documenting various types of repeated variables, ranging from orthographic features (e.g., כול for כל), to morphological characteristics (e.g., הואה for הוא), and the numerous alternations with MT (e.g., presence or lack of the definite article, ה).[2] An evening spent with a spreadsheet, aided by word frequency and manuscript size data extracted from Accordance, all added to the graphing capability of Excel, and I had a graph of the fifty largest biblical manuscripts (by count of extant morphological forms) on the horizontal axis with the number of word variables plotted on the vertical axis (see fig. 1). The manuscript that had piqued David's interest in the first place—11QPs[a]—was conveniently situated at the peak of the curve, exhibiting the largest number of variable features by frequency of occurrence. "I think there might be a 'pony' in this," I told him as I showed him the graph the next day. David went on to produce a fine thesis—including his own revised version of my graph—describing scribal approaches evidenced in the Judean Desert manuscripts.[3] His research continues to inform his linguistic interests as he pursues his PhD studies at Stellenbosch University.

I reproduce here the graph that I constructed for David (see fig. 1). The frequency of variables—normalized to a unit scale—make up the vertical axis, while the largest fifty biblical manuscripts from the Judean Desert discoveries form the horizontal axis. The hallway conversation, the graph, and David's subsequent thesis have continued to play in my mind, and I have become convinced that there may be at least one more "pony" lurking in the manure pile, in addition to the one David detailed in his own study. So for this paper I have checked all of my original data, added additional components that were not factored into the original graph, and moved the previous focus from 11QPs[a] to the entirety of the biblical remains from the Judean Desert. In the following sections, I list the fifty largest manuscripts and detail the forty-two components whose data points drive this study.

2. Martin G. Abegg Jr., James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert*, vol. 3 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

3. David J. Sigrist, "Tracking Changes: A Proposal for a Linguistically Sensitive Schema for Categorizing Textual Variation of Hebrew Bible Texts in Light of Variant Scribal Practices among the Judaean Desert Psalms Witnesses" (MA thesis, Trinity Western University, 2015).

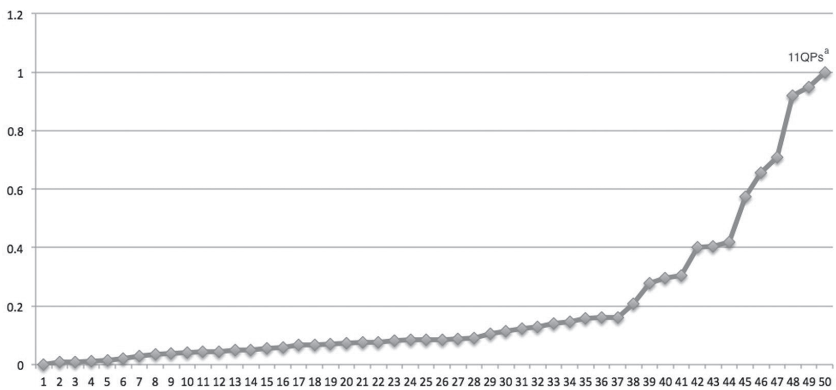


Fig. 1. Variability in the fifty largest biblical manuscripts

2. The Manuscripts

Table 1 documents the fifty largest biblical manuscripts from the Judean Desert, ranked by the frequency of the data points from the forty-two components detailed in tables 2–4.[4] For this study I have decided to present the relationship between the affected words and the total number of words as a rank rather than a percentage for the simple fact that my data is only representative, that is, there are other affected words—especially those marked by orthographic variance—that I have not included, and thus to establish a percentage would be misleading. So in keeping with our culture's predilection to speak of scales of one to ten, for this paper I have assigned a rank of ten to 4Q137, the most variable of the largest fifty manuscripts.[5]

Then, upon considering the possibilities lurking in my revised and expanded spreadsheet, I decided to divide 1QIsa[a] into two parts, bifurcated

4. I am indebted to my daughter, Stephanie Abegg, who brought her graduate mathematics expertise and writing skills to bear on my study, saving me from numerous missteps among the tables, graphs, and analyses.

5. This decision determines that there will be a handful of smaller and highly variable manuscripts that will be ranked greater than ten. This notice should alert the reader to the fact that the greater than ten ranking of a few of the tefillin manuscripts mentioned in the conclusion of this paper is not for hyperbolic effect, as in "these [volume controls] go to eleven," in the classic scene from the movie by Karen Murphy, Christopher Guest, and Rob Reiner, *This Is Spinal Tap: A Rockumentary*, DVD (Los Angeles: Embassy Pictures, 1984).

by the long-recognized halves of the scroll that are evident visually in the manuscript by means of the three blank lines at the bottom of the significantly narrower column 27. This *vacat* divides the book into two sections: Isa 1:1–33:24 and 34:1–66:24. The two halves of the manuscript exhibit quite different scribal approaches, and I was anxious to see where they would appear in the table and subsequent graph. This decision increased the manuscript count to fifty-one.

Table 1. Revised variability data for the fifty largest manuscripts

	Reference	Abbreviated title	Ranking	Words affected	Total words
1	Mur4	MurPhyl	0.1	1	591
2	Mas1b	MasLev^{b}	0.1	1	593
3	4Q2	4QGen^{b}	0.1	1	512
4	Mur88	MurXII	0.2	23	4,865
5	Mas1d	MasEzek	0.2	3	633
6	5/6Ḥev1b	5/6ḤevPs	0.3	4	739
7	4Q23	4QLev-Num^{a}	0.3	9	1,517
8	11Q1	11QpaleoLev^{a}	0.3	9	1,488
9	4Q55	4QIsa^{a}	0.4	4	521
10	4Q1	4QGen-Exod^{a}	0.4	11	1,273
11	XḤev/Se5	XḤev/SePhyl	0.4	5	572
12	4Q24	4QLev^{b}	0.4	7	784
13	4Q11	4QpaleoGen-Exod^{l}	0.5	11	1,184
14	4Q22	4QpaleoExod^{m}	0.5	25	2,622
15	4Q72	4QJer^{c}	0.6	10	803
16	8Q3	8QPhyl	0.6	15	1,182
17	4Q56	4QIsa^{b}	0.6	17	1,328
18	XQ1	XQPhyl 1	0.7	7	487
19	4Q60	4QIsa^{f}	0.7	6	411
20	4Q33	4QDeut^{f}	0.7	8	538
21	1Q8	1QIsa^{b}	0.8	72	4,628
22	4Q35	4QDeut^{h}	0.8	8	510
23	4Q112	4QDan^{a}	0.8	13	803
24	4Q52	4QSam^{b}	0.9	8	446
25	4Q30	4QDeut^{c}	0.9	13	718
26	4Q45	4QpaleoDeut^{r}	0.9	10	541

27	4Q14	4QExod[c]	0.9	21	1,091
28	4Q70	4QJer[a]	1.0	19	956
29	4Q85	4QPs[c]	1.1	10	447
30	4Q59	4QIsa[e]	1.2	10	423
31	4Q58	4QIsa[d]	1.2	14	583
32	XQ2	XQPhyl 2	1.3	12	443
33	4Q76	4QXII[a]	1.5	15	491
34	4Q82	4QXII[g]	1.5	36	1,160
35	4Q84	4QPs[b]	1.6	20	614
36	XQ3	XQPhyl 3	1.6	16	479
37	4Q130	4QPhyl C	2.0	19	461
38	4Q13	4QExod[b]	2.1	23	530
39	4Q51	4QSam[a]	2.7	200	3,681
40	1QIsa[a] 1–27	1QIsa[a] 1–27	3.4	767	10,945
41	4Q27	4QNum[b]	3.7	151	2,002
42	4Q57	4QIsa[c]	3.8	91	1,161
43	4Q37	4QDeut[j]	4.2	36	425
44	4Q41	4QDeut[n]	4.3	60	685
45	4Q78	4QXII[c]	4.3	51	582
46	4Q83	4QPs[a]	5.8	61	516
47	11Q5	11QPs[a]	7.2	482	3,299
48	1QIsa[a] 28–54	1QIsa[a] 28–54	7.7	1847	11,751
49	4Q128	4QPhyl A	9.4	86	451
50	4Q138	4QPhyl K	9.8	94	473
51	4Q137	4QPhyl J	10.0	101	496

3. The Components

There is a total of 4,543 points of data among the 42 components that produce the tables and graphs in this study. This is clearly more data than can be documented in this context, so I will give but one example for each of the various components in the tables that follow.

I also considered how I might determine whether the right-hand side of the original graph—where the gradual slope makes a rather sharp turn and climbs upward—exhibits a consistent increase of each of the data components, or whether a particular data set increased more than the

rest. To investigate this, I first noted that in my revised data (table 1) the rank increases gradually from manuscript 1 (MasLev^{b}) to manuscript 37 (4QExod^{b}), rising from 0 to only 1.6 in what amounts to approximately three-quarters of the manuscript evidence. Then at manuscript 38 (4QPhyl C) the curve begins a sharp increase, climbing from 2.0 (4QPhyl C) to 10 (4QPhyl J) over the course of only 12 manuscripts. I reasoned that if the right-hand side of the graph is driven by specific components of the overall data, a comparison of frequency for each of the components between the first 37 manuscripts and the last 13 should reveal them. Noting that there are 37,506 morphological forms among the first 37 manuscripts and 36,928 in the second group of 13—50.3 percent and 49.7 percent of the whole, respectively—it stands to reason that if a component occurs evenly, the frequency of occurrence for the first 37 manuscripts compared to the last 13 manuscripts would be approximately 50 percent-50 percent. Thus, to make this comparison for each of the 42 components, I divided the number of occurrences in the last 13 manuscripts by the total number of occurrences in all 50 manuscripts and expressed the resultant quotient as a percentage. As an example: על occurs for אל a total of 33 times among the 50 manuscripts, with 19 occurrences in the last 13 manuscripts; thus, 57.6 percent of the occurrences of על for אל are in the final 13 manuscripts. In this way the components are each assigned a percentage representing the frequency of occurrences in the last 13 manuscripts.

In the following tables I have organized the 42 components according to their general category: orthography, morphology, and alternations with MT. For each component I provide a short description, the number of data points is recorded, an example is provided from the manuscripts, a reference—if available—to a fuller discussion in the secondary literature is offered, and, finally, the percentage of the data points that occur in the final 13 manuscripts is noted.[6]

6. In addition to those that appear in this volume's abbreviations list, the table includes the following abbreviations: "DJD 32.2" denotes Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, eds., *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls, Part 2; Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants*, DJD 32 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2010); and "Morphosyntax" denotes Takamitsu Muraoka, "An Approach to the Morphosyntax and Syntax of Qumran Hebrew," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde, STDJ 36 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 193–214.

Table 2. Orthography

	Description	Data points	Example	Reference	% in 13 MSS
1	Plene לוא	691	4Q37 1:9 (Deut 5:7)	*HDSS* §100.51	94.9%
2	Plene כול	511	4Q27 6–10 15 (Num 16:3)	*HDSS* §100.2	95.9%
3	Digraph כיא	247	4Q57 6 6 (Isa 11:9)	*HDSS* §100.51	100%
4	Plene דויד	83	4Q51 29–33 1 (1 Sam 25:4)	*HDSS* §100.32; *LLBIS* 99	96.0%
5	Plene זואת/זאות	57	11Q5 6:6 (Ps 132:14)	*HDSS* §100.5	98.0%
6	Plene ירושלים	51	1QIsa[a] 2:7 (Isa 2:1)	*HDSS* §500.1; *LLBIS* 106–7	95.6%
7	Plene כוה	45	4Q78 30–33 6 (Amos 7:4)	*HDSS* §100.51	100%
8	Plene מושה	43	4Q13 3i–4 16 (Exod 2:14)		100%

Table 3. Morphology

	Description	Data points	Example	Reference	% in 13 MSS
1	Long 2ms suffix	799	4Q22 25:5 (Exod 22:24)	*HDSS* §322.12; DJD 32.2, 33	97.0%
2	Long 2mp suffix	191	4Q128 1 22 (Deut 10:15)	*HDSS* §322; DJD 32.2, 33	100%
3	Long 2ms perfect	175	1Q8 25:8 (Isa 58:3)	*HDSS* §310.11; DJD 32.2, 31	88.8%
4	Long 3mp suffix	121	4Q41 6:3 (Deut 5:29)	*HDSS* §322; DJD 32.2, 35–36	100%
5	"Pausal" *qal* imperfect	95	4Q27 65–71 7 (Num 32:27)	*HDSS* §311.13; DJD 32.2, 32	96.7%
6	מאודה	57	4Q137 1 61 (Deut 6:3)	*HDSS* §340; DJD 32.2, 36	90.6%
7	Long 2mp perfect	56	4Q128 1 3 (Deut 5:5)	*HDSS* §310.11	100%
8	Added cohortative	56	4Q51 9e–I 16 (1 Sam 10:14)	*HDSS* §310.122; DJD 32.2, 32	87.5%
9	Long 3mp pronoun	53	4Q70 26–28 5 (Jer 17:15)	*HDSS* §321.16; DJD 32.2, 35–36	61.9%
10	"Pausal" *qal* imperative	43	4Q22 38:29 (Exod 32:27)	*HDSS* §311.14; DJD 32.2, 32	95.0%

11	Long 3ms pronoun	39	4Q138 1 4 (Deut 10:17)	*HDSS* §321.13; DJD 32.2, 33–34	100%
12	Long 2mp pronoun	27	1QIsa[a] 3:19 (Isa 3:14)	*HDSS* §321.15; DJD 32.2, 33	100%
13	Long prefix conjugation / MT short	23	1QIsa[a] 23:19 (Isa 29:11)	"Morphosyntax," 208	88.2%
14	Lack of cohortative	22	4Q27 23–26 12 (Num 23:3)	*HDSS* §310.122; DJD 32.2, 32	72.2%
15	Long imperative / MT short	18	4Q51 89–92 7 (2 Sam 11:6)	"Morphosyntax," 196	64.3%
16	Long 3fs pronoun	12	4Q27 3ii+5 10 (Num 13:20)	*HDSS* §321.13; DJD 32.2, 35	100%

Table 4. Alternations, minuses, and plusses

	Description	Data points	Example	Reference	% in 13 MSS
1	Added conjunction ו	584	4Q1 19ii 11 (Exod 3:15)	DJD 32.2, 36	81.5%
2	Lack of conjunction ו	310	4Q11 1+39 5 (Exod 1:1)	DJD 32.2, 36	67.2%
3	Verbal alternations[7]	308	4Q14 6:38 (Exod 15:14)	DJD 32.2, 37–38; BDSS 167–68	86.3%
4	Added definite article	118	11Q1 3:5 (Lev 24:10)	BDSS, 166	78.6%
5	Lack of definite article	101	1QIsa[a] 10:23 (Isa 11:5)	BDSS, 166	74.7%
6	Alternations for name of deity	96	4Q1 1 1 (Gen 22:14)	DJD 32.2, 39–40	76.0%
7	Added direct object marker	66	4Q76 3:13 (Mal 3:10)	BDSS, 166–67	74.1%
8	Added preposition ל	52	4Q52 6–7 3 (1 Sam 20:29)	BDSS, 170	88.6%
9	על for אל	38	4Q130 1 8 (Exod 13:11)	BDSS, 169	54.6%

7. The most common fourteen verbal alternations of sixty-four are accounted for here; e.g., imperfect (MT) to *vav* + imperfect (DSS) being the most frequent, with sixty-nine occurrences.

10	Lack of DO marker	33	4Q14 2:27 (Exod 9:19)	BDSS, 166–67	60.7%
11	אל for על	30	4Q11 20 12 (Exod 18:23)	BDSS, 169	71.4%
12	Lack of paragogic *nun*	27	11Q5 Eii 8 (Ps 104:28)	*HDSS* §310.127; DJD 32.2, 36	69.6%
13	Lack of directive ה	18	4Q22 5:8 (Exod 9:8)	*HDSS* §340; DJD 32.2, 36	68.8%
14	ל for אל	17	4Q130 1 11 (Exod 13:14)	BDSS, 169	70.0%
15	Lack of preposition ל	16	4Q14 6:41 (Exod 15:18)	BDSS, 170	46.2%
16	Added paragogic *nun*	15	4Q138 1 21 (Deut 11:9)	*HDSS* §310.127; DJD 32.2, 36	36.4%
17	אל for ל	14	1QIsa[a] 40:23 (Isa 48:18)	BDSS, 169	84.6%
18	Added directive ה	5	4Q52 6–7 14 (1 Sam 21:1)	*HDSS* §340; DJD 32.2, 36	40.0%

An examination of the right-hand column of these tables, which records the percentage of data points that occur in the final 13 manuscripts of table 1, demonstrates that while some of the components occur rather evenly across the manuscript evidence—that is, על for אל at 57.6 percent among the last 13 manuscripts and 42.4 percent elsewhere—there are nine components (e.g., the spelling כיא) for which every occurrence is among the last 13 manuscripts. Adopting 90 percent as an arbitrary cutoff point and bifurcating the first table (table 1) with the 18 components that achieved greater than 90 percent in dark grey and all other components represented by light grey produces the graph shown in figure 2.

This graph makes it ultimately clear that the components detailed above are not distributed homogenously among the manuscripts. Rather, one particular set of components forms a steadily increasing "background" (light grey), whereas a second set (dark grey; the "90-percent components") reveals a unique group of components that characterizes those manuscripts on the right side of the graph. The next section of my study will examine the components that inform this character.

4. The Pony's Name

In the following list, I have included the eighteen components that produce the dark grey area of the graph above (fig. 2), for which over 90 percent of occurrences are in the final thirteen manuscripts:

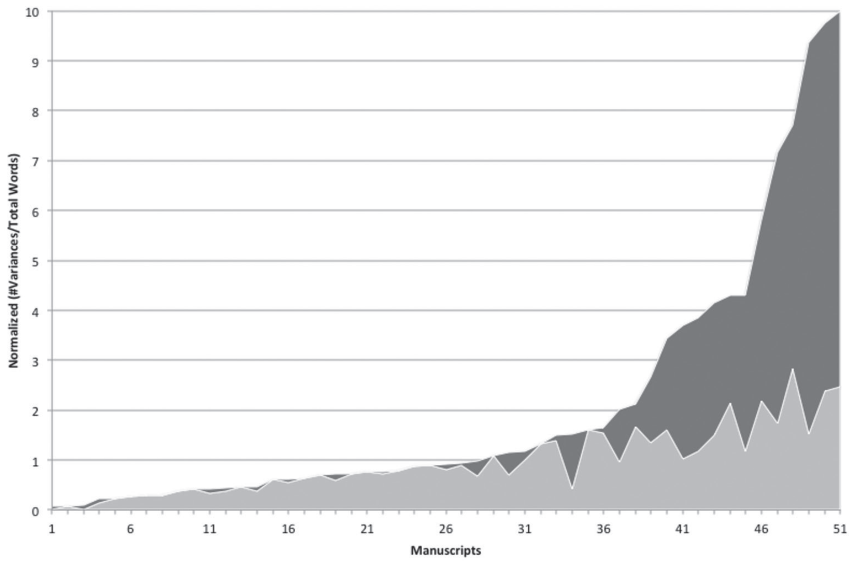


Fig. 2. Bifurcation of components

Full orthography: כול	98.3%
Full orthography: לוא	94.9%
Full orthography: ירושלים	95.6%
Full orthography: דויד	96.0%
Full orthography: מושה	100%
Full orthography: כיא	100%
Full orthography: כוה	100%
Full orthography: זאות	98.0%
“Pausal” *qal* imperfect: יקטולו	96.7%
“Pausal” *qal* imperative: קטולו	95.0%
Long 2mp perfect: קטלתמה	100%
Long 3ms pronoun: הואה	100%
Long 3fs pronoun: היאה	100%
Long 2mp pronoun: אתמה	100%
Long 2ms suffix: כה-	97.0%
Long 2mp suffix: כמה-	100%
Long 3mp suffix: המה-/מה-	100%
“adverbial” *he*: מאודה	90.6%

This list is a nearly perfect match to the group of eighteen indicators that Emanuel Tov has termed *Qumran Scribal Practice*.[8] Only the spelling of the names ירושלים, דויד, and the "pausal" *qal* imperative are new to the ensemble. In Tov's list, but not in the list above, is the long 2ms perfect, קטלתה. This form is conveniently (!) the first component below my arbitrary 90 percent cutoff, at 88.8 percent, so it would make good sense to add it to the list above. Also on Tov's list is the long 3mp pronoun, המה, but my analysis demonstrates that this form is not nearly specific enough to be included in the set of components that form the unique character, as only 61.9 percent of the occurrences are found in the last thirteen manuscripts of table 1. Thus, my study has both expanded and reduced the list of the key indicators of Tov's Qumran Scribal Practice. This list also has another common feature that sets these nineteen components (those of my list above plus the long 2ms perfect) apart from the remaining twenty-three "background" components: whereas the background components are produced in large part by a comparison to the MT, the nineteen components of unique character are not. Removing the background components produces the following table (table 5), which can now be used to rank the fifty largest manuscripts from the Judean Desert according to their allegiance to the unique character better known as Qumran Scribal Practice (hereafter, QSP). In addition, because this list is not comparative, MT can take its place among the Judean Desert witnesses (see at no. 18 below). Note that the manuscript list now has fifty-two entries, expanded from the original fifty by the bifurcation of 1QIsa[a] (see at nos. 41 and 48 below) and the addition of MT.

Table 5. Manuscript ranking according to QSP

	Reference	Abbreviated title	Ranking	Words affected	Total words
1	11Q1	11QpaleoLev[a]	0.0	0	1,488
2	4Q56	4QIsa[b]	0.0	0	1,328
3	4Q1	4QGen-Exod[a]	0.0	0	1,273
4	4Q72	4QJer[c]	0.0	0	803
5	4Q30	4QDeut[c]	0.0	0	718
6	Mas1d	MasEzek	0.0	0	633

8. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 337–40.

7	4Q84	4QPs[b]	0.0	0	614
8	Mas1b	MasLev[b]	0.0	0	591
9	4Q33	4QDeut[f]	0.0	0	538
10	4Q55	4QIsa[a]	0.0	0	521
11	4Q85	4QPs[c]	0.0	0	447
12	4Q52	4QSam[b]	0.0	0	446
13	4Q23	4QLev-Num[a]	0.0	1	1,517
14	4Q14	4QExod[c]	0.1	1	1,091
15	4Q112	4QDan[a]	0.1	1	803
16	4Q24	4QLev[b]	0.1	1	784
17	1Q8	1QIsa[b]	0.1	6	4,628
18	MT	MT	0.1	688	419,838
19	Mur4	MurPhyl	0.1	1	593
20	4Q11	4QpaleoGen-Exod[l]	0.1	2	1,184
21	8Q3	8QPhyl	0.1	2	1,182
22	XḤev/Se5	XḤev/SePhyl	0.1	1	572
23	4Q45	4QpaleoDeut[r]	0.1	1	541
24	4Q2	4QGen[b]	0.1	1	512
25	4Q35	4QDeut[h]	0.1	1	510
26	Mur88	MurXII	0.1	10	4,865
27	4Q60	4QIsa[f]	0.1	1	411
28	5/6Ḥev1b	5/6ḤevPs	0.2	2	739
29	4Q22	4QpaleoExod[m]	0.2	8	2,622
30	4Q58	4QIsa[d]	0.2	2	583
31	4Q76	4QXII[a]	0.2	2	491
32	XQ1	XQPhyl 1	0.2	2	487
33	XQ3	XQPhyl 3	0.2	2	479
34	XQ2	XQPhyl 2	0.3	2	443
35	4Q70	4QJer[a]	0.4	6	956
36	4Q59	4QIsa[e]	0.6	4	423
37	4Q13	4QExod[b]	0.9	8	530
38	4Q130	4QPhyl C	1.4	11	461
39	4Q82	4QXII[g]	1.4	28	1,160
40	4Q51	4QSam[a]	1.7	105	3,681
41	1QIsa[a] 1–27	1QIsa[a] 1–27	2.4	437	10,945

42	4Q41	4QDeut[n]	2.9	34	685
43	4Q57	4QIsa[c]	3.4	66	1,161
44	4Q27	4QNum[b]	3.5	118	2,002
45	4Q37	4QDeut[j]	3.8	27	425
46	4Q78	4QXII[c]	4.0	39	582
47	4Q83	4QPs[a]	4.5	39	516
48	1QIsa[a] 28–54	1QIsa[a] 28–54	6.2	1234	11,751
49	11Q5	11QPs[a]	7.0	388	3,299
50	4Q138	4QPhyl K	9.5	76	473
51	4Q137	4QPhyl J	9.6	80	496
52	4Q128	4QPhyl A	10.0	76	451

The bold line in table 5 marks the first manuscript (4Q13) found in the list of QSP manuscripts of Tov's appendix 9 in *Scribal Practices and Approaches*.[9] Manuscripts following 4Q13 in the table are either included in Tov's list or are considered for possible inclusion in the discussions below.

One more observation will aid us in the examination of the various manuscripts in the next section of the study. We might say that the presence of any of the nine 100-percent components in the list at the beginning of this section comes close to guaranteeing QSP. On the other hand, only a few of these components can be regularly expected in QSP documents. Using Tov's list of manuscripts as my search parameters, it may seem surprising that while the presence of the long form of the 3ms pronoun הואה is indicative of QSP—that is, 100 percent of the occurrences are in the last 13 manuscripts of table 1—it only occurs in 50 (38.5%) of 130 possibilities within Tov's QSP documents. The long 3fs pronoun (50%), long 3mp suffix (56.9%), digraph כיא (46.3%), the long 2mp plural perfect (58.8%), or "pausal" imperfect (about 35%) do not fare much better. So while presence is significant, absence is not, except in the following seven notable cases that we will call "consistent indicators." These components are found in QSP manuscripts with greater than 90 percent consistency: long 2mp pronoun (26 long, 0 short: 100%), plene spelling of דויד (28 plene, 0 defective: 100%), כול (405 plene, 23 defective: 94.6%), זאות/זואת (53 plene, 3 defective: 94.6%), לוא (592 plene, 12 defective: 98.0%), מושה (37 plene, 0 defective: 100%), and the long 2ms perfect (127 long, 13 short: 90.7%).[10]

9. Ibid., 339.

10. The remaining components ordered by frequency of occurrence in QSP:

So ideally, for a sure categorization as QSP, we would hope to satisfy two constraints: a ranking greater than 0.9 on table 5, a good representation of the 19 components from the list at the beginning of this section, and no cases of the above seven consistent indicators that are spelled defectively or short.

5. Emanuel Tov—Appendix 9: Qumran Scribal Practice

On pages 339–40 of *Scribal Practices and Approaches*, Tov lists the biblical manuscripts that he has determined display evidence for QSP. In the list below, I assess seventeen manuscripts that Tov does not include in his list. These manuscripts should, according to my ranking, be considered for inclusion. Those manuscripts marked with an asterisk (*) are large enough to appear in the tables and figures above.[11] Manuscripts with fewer than seventy morphological forms were judged not to be of sufficient size to justify assessment.[12]

The evidence adduced for the inclusion of these documents is of three types. First is the ranking according to the frequency of the nineteen components judged to be determining factors for QSP in the previous section of this study. This ranking is provided in parentheses following the manuscript reference. Second, I drill down into these components and list them according to the percentage of data points occurring in the last thirteen manuscripts of table 1 and figure 2. These components are here termed 80-percent forms (e.g., long 2ms perfect, קטלתה), 90-percent forms (e.g., plene כול), and 100-percent forms (e.g., digraph כיא). Third, I mention any occurrence of the seven consistent indicators that the evidence leads us to expect to be long or full when present in any QSP manuscript (e.g., plene לוא).

long 2ms suffix (83.3%), long form 3mp pronoun (82.4%), the plene spelling of כוה (74.6%), the plene spelling of ירושלים (71.9%), long 2mp suffix (66.2%), long 2mp plural perfect (58.8%), and long form 3mp suffix (56.9%).

11. It should be noted that although the tables and graphs in the first half of the paper document the 50 largest manuscripts, in preparation for this study I calculated a ranking for each of the 266 biblical manuscripts from the Judean Desert that are present in my transcriptional database.

12. Manuscripts that are smaller than seventy morphological forms that might possibly be QSP include: 1Q12, 2Q11, 2Q14, 2Q17, 3Q3, 4Q12, 4Q16, 4Q20, 4Q26b, 4Q62, 4Q65, 4Q98b, 4Q98c, 4Q110, 4Q116, 4Q149, 5Q4, 6Q1, and 6Q6.

1Q1 (1.9). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms but does have two 90-percent forms: 1 (of 1) "pausal" *qal* imperfect and 1 (of 1) plene כול; and the one 80-percent form: 1 (of 2) long 2ms perfect. In addition to the one short 2ms perfect, there is also one occurrence of a defectively written זאת. I guardedly consider 1Q1 as QSP.

2Q3 (3.0). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 1 (of 1) plene spellings of the name מושה; and two 90-percent forms: 2 (of 2) plene כול and 1 (of 1) long 2ms suffix. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

4Q26 (2.4). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but does have two 90-percent forms: 2 (of 2) plene כול and 3 (of 4) plene לוא. Although 4Q26 has one defective occurrence of לא, this manuscript should probably be considered as QSP.

***4Q41 (2.9).** This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 1 (of 12) long 3mp suffix; four 90-percent forms: 1 (of 2) "pausal" *qal* imperfect, 11 (of 13) plene כול, 17 (of 19) plene לוא, and 1 (of 1) plene זואת; and the one 80-percent form: 4 (of 8) cases of the long 2ms perfect. In addition to the 4 short occurrences of the 2ms perfect, the manuscript has a defective spelling of משה. I guardedly include 4Q41 as QSP.

***4Q51 (1.7).** This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 2 occurrences (of 30) of the digraph כיא. In addition it has eight 90-percent forms: 1 (of 9) "pausal" *qal* imperfect, 40 (of 48) plene כול, 22 (of 30) plene לוא, 2 (of 39) long 2ms suffixes, 1 (of 9) "pausal" *qal* imperative, 48 (of 48) plene דויד, and 1 (of 1) plene ירושלים. It also has the one 80-percent form: 5 (of 7) cases of the long 2ms perfect. However, there are 3 occurrences of defective זאת and a defective spelling of the 2mp pronoun. 4Q51 is a doubtful candidate for QSP.

4Q61 (1.7). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms and only one 90-percent form: 3 (of 6) plene לוא. It has 1 defective occurrence of כל and 2 short instances of the 2ms perfect. 4Q61 is a doubtful candidate for QSP.

***4Q83 (4.5).** This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but does have five 90-percent forms: 1 (of 2) "pausal" *qal* imperfect, 6 (of 6) plene כול, 5 (of 5) plene לוא, 24 (of 24) long 2ms suffixes, 2 (of 2) plene דויד; and the one 80-percent form: 1 (of 1) long 2ms perfect. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

4Q87 (2.5). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but does have five 90-percent forms: 1 (of 1) "pausal" *qal* imperfect, 1 (of 1) plene כול,

4 (of 4) plene לוא, 1 (of 1) doubtful case of plene דויד, 3 (of 3) long 2ms suffixes; and the one 80-percent form: 1 (of 1) long 2ms perfect. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

4Q98 (2.6). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but does have two 90-percent forms: 5 (of 5) plene כול and 1 (of 1) plene דויד. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

4Q113 (1.4). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but does have four 90-percent forms: 1 (of 1) "pausal" *qal* imperfect, 2 (of 2) plene כול, 2 (of 6) plene לוא, 3 (of 3) long 2ms suffixes; and the one 80-percent form: 1 (of 1) long 2ms perfect. Four defective occurrences of לא are the only consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should guardedly be considered as QSP.

4Q130 (1.4). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but does have one 90-percent form: 11 (of 11) plene כול, and the one 80-percent form: 1 (of 7) long 2ms perfect. However, all 5 occurrences of לא are defective, as is the one case of משה. Despite the fact that scribe has adopted the QSP spelling of כול, there is little else to commend this manuscript as QSP.

4Q134 (3.9). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: plene מושה, and three 90-percent forms: 8 (of 9) plene כול, 8 (of 9) plene לוא, and 4 (of 26) long 2ms suffixes. There are, however, 2 (of 2) instances of a short 2ms perfect. This manuscript should guardedly be considered as QSP.

4Q135 (2.6). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but does have three 90-percent forms: 8 (of 8) plene כול, 1 (of 1) plene לוא, and 6 (of 10) long 2ms suffixes. The manuscript does not conform to the expectation of a long 2mp pronoun, and there are 3 cases of a short 2ms perfect. It should guardedly be considered as QSP.

4Q136 (1.4). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 2 (of 2) cases of מושה; two 90-percent forms: 1 (of 3) plene לוא, and 1 (of 9) long 2ms suffix. On the other hand, there are also 2 (of 2) occurrences of defectively written כל, 1 (of 1) occurrence of a defective spelling of זאת, and 2 (of 2) short 2ms perfects. Despite the occurrences of plene מושה, this manuscript is highly doubtful as QSP.

4Q140 (9.9). This manuscript has five 100-percent forms: 1 (of 1) plene מושה, 2 (of 2) long 2mp perfects, 1 (of 1) long 2mp pronoun, 1 (of 2) long 3ms pronoun, and 7 (of 7) long 2mp suffixes; four 90-percent forms: 3 (of 3) plene כול, 4 (of 4) plene לוא, 20 (of 20) long 2ms suffixes, 3 (of 3)

plene זואת; and the one 80-percent form: 6 (of 6) long 2ms perfects. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should certainly be considered as QSP.

4Q141 (4.9). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but it does have three 90-percent forms: 1 (of 1) long 2ms suffix, 1 (of 1) long 2mp suffix, 2 (of 5) long 3mp suffixes; and the one 80-percent form: 2 (of 2) long 2ms perfects. There are, however, 3 (of 3) occurrences of defectively written לא. This manuscript should guardedly be considered as QSP.

11Q2 (2.0). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 1 (of 1) digraph כיא; and one 90-percent form: 2 (of 2) plene כול. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

A check of the manuscripts that Tov includes in appendix 9 reveals eleven doubtful inclusions that he indicates with a question mark (?). I review these here in order to take advantage of the new diagnostic tools.

2Q2 (1.6). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 2 (of 2) cases of plene מושה; two 90-percent forms: 1 (of 2) plene לוא, 1 (of 1) long 2ms suffix; and the one 80-percent form: 1 (of 1) long 2ms perfect. There are, however, 3 (of 3) occurrences of defectively written כל and one case of defectively written לא. This manuscript should guardedly be considered as QSP.

2Q7 (4.6). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 1 (of 1) long 2mp perfect, and one 90-percent form: 1 (of 1) plene כול. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. Although the manuscript has only 26 morphological forms, it should probably be considered as QSP.

2Q12 (3.1). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 1 (of 1) long 3fs pronoun. Aside from this, there is no more evidence to be wrung from the 19 morphological forms. The manuscript should probably be considered as QSP.

***4Q13 (0.9).** This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 5 (of 5) cases of מושה; one 90-percent form: 1 (of 1) adverbial מאודה; and the one 80-percent form: 2 (of 2) long 2ms perfects. There is 1 (of 1) doubtful occurrence of a defectively written כל and 2 (of 2) cases of a defective לא. This manuscript should guardedly be considered as QSP.

4Q20 (2.5). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 1 (of 1) case of מושה. There is, however, 1 (of 1) occurrence of a defectively written כל. This manuscript should guardedly be considered as QSP.

*4Q37 (4.0). This manuscript has three 100-percent forms: 2 (of 2) long 2mp pronouns, 1 (of 7) long 2mp suffix, and 3 (of 3) cases of מושה; two 90-percent forms: 8 (of 8) plene כול, 4 (of 5) plene לוא, 7 (of 11) long 2ms suffixes; and the one 80-percent form: 4 (of 4) long 2ms perfects. On the other hand, there are 2 (of 2) doubtful occurrences of a defective spelling of זאת. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

*4Q82 (1.4). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but it does have five 90-percent forms: 5 (of 6) plene כול, 7 (of 13) plene לוא, 12 (of 16) long 2ms suffix, 1 (of 4) "pausal" imperative, 1 (of 1) doubtful case of plene דויד; and the one 80-percent form: 2 (of 3) long 2ms perfects. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

4Q96 (4.2). This manuscript has one 100-percent form: 1 (of 1) of the digraph כיא; and one 90-percent form: 1 (of 1) plene לוא. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. Although consisting of only 28 morphological forms, this manuscript should be considered as QSP.

*4Q137 (9.6). This manuscript has three 100-percent forms: 4 (of 4) long 2mp perfects, 7 (of 7) long 2mp suffixes, and 11 (of 11) long 3mp suffixes; five 90-percent forms: 8 (of 8) plene כול, 10 (of 10) plene לוא, 35 (of 35) long 2ms suffixes, 1 (of 1) "pausal" imperative, and 1 (of 1) plene זואת; and the one 80-percent form: 4 (of 4) long 2ms perfects. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should certainly be considered as QSP.

11Q7 (3.2). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but it does have two 90-percent forms: 1 (of 1) plene כול, 7 (of 7) long 2ms suffixes; and the one 80-percent form: 3 (of 3) long 2ms perfects. There are no instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

11Q8 (2.4). This manuscript has no 100-percent forms, but it does have five 90-percent forms: 1 (of 2) very doubtful "pausal" imperfect, 1 (of 2) plene לוא, 2 (of 2) long 2ms suffixes, 1 (of 1) adverbial מאודה, and 1 (of 1) of plene דויד. Aside from the one defective case of לא, there are no additional instances of consistently expected QSP forms that do not conform. This manuscript should be considered as QSP.

Table 6 constitutes my conclusions regarding what biblical manuscripts should justifiably be considered QSP. I have added fourteen manuscripts to Tov's table from appendix 9, for a total of forty-six QSP

biblical manuscripts. I have also verified the inclusion of every biblical manuscript that Tov recorded in the table in appendix 9 of *Scribal Practices and Approaches*.[13]

Table 6. QSP biblical manuscripts

Reference	Abbreviated Title	Ranking	Certainty
1Q1	1QGen	1.9	?
1Q4	1QDeut^{a}	5.4	yes
1QIsa^{a} 1–27	1QIsa^{a} 1–27	2.4	yes
1QIsa^{a} 28–54	1QIsa^{a} 28–54	6.2	yes
2Q2	2QExod^{a}	1.6	?
2Q3	2QExod^{b}	3.0	yes
2Q7	2QNum^{b}	4.6	yes
2Q12	2QDeut^{c}	3.1	yes
2Q13	2QJer	4.0	yes
4Q13	4QExod^{b}	0.9	?
4Q20	4QExod^{j}	2.5	?
4Q26	4QLev^{d}	2.4	yes
4Q27	4QNum^{b}	3.5	yes
4Q37	4QDeut^{j}	4.0	yes
4Q38	4QDeut^{k1}	5.3	yes
4Q38a	4QDeut^{k2}	8.8	yes
4Q40	4QDeut^{m}	11.2	yes
4Q41	4QDeut^{n}	2.9	?
4Q53	4QSam^{c}	3.9	yes
4Q57	4QIsa^{c}	3.4	yes
4Q78	4QXII^{c}	4.0	yes
4Q80	4QXII^{e}	3.3	yes
4Q82	4QXII^{g}	1.4	yes
4Q83	4QPs^{a}	4.5	yes
4Q87	4QPs^{e}	2.5	yes
4Q96	4QPs^{o}	4.2	yes

13. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 339–40.

4Q98	4QPs[q]	2.6	yes
4Q109	4QQoh[a]	4.1	yes
4Q111	4QLam	4.1	yes
4Q113	4QDan[b]	1.4	?
4Q128	4QPhyl A	10.0	yes
4Q129	4QPhyl B	11.2	yes
4Q134	4QPhyl G	3.9	?
4Q135	4QPhyl H	2.6	?
4Q137	4QPhyl J	9.6	yes
4Q138	4QPhyl K	9.5	yes
4Q139	4QPhyl L	12.6	yes
4Q140	4QPhyl M	9.9	yes
4Q141	4QPhyl N	4.9	?
4Q142	4QPhyl O	10.7	yes
4Q143	4QPhyl P	9.2	yes
4Q144	4QPhyl Q	11.1	yes
11Q2	11QLev[b]	2.0	yes
11Q5	11QPs[a]	7.0	yes
11Q6	11QPs[b]	5.8	yes
11Q7	11QPs[c]	3.2	yes
11Q8	11QPs[d]	2.4	yes

The data recorded in table 6 reveal that the ranking my analyses offers is not by itself a precise indicator, but as a diagnostic tool it is certainly helpful. Coupled with the check of the nineteen characteristic components, on the one hand, and the seven consistent indicators, on the other, I would suggest that a high degree of certainty has been established. I conclude the following:

1. There are no QSP manuscripts that Tov or myself have recognized below a ranking of 0.9.
2. Between a ranking of 0.9 and 1.7, only one manuscript was determined to be QSP with certainty (4Q82); three were questionable (2Q2, 4Q13, 4Q113), and four (4Q51, 4Q61, 4Q130, 4Q136) were rejected.

3. Between 1.8 and 2.9, six manuscripts were accepted (2Q4, 4Q26, 4Q87, 4Q98, 11Q2, 11Q8) and four are questionable (1Q1, 4Q20, 4Q41, 4Q135), but none were rejected.
4. Of the thirty-three manuscripts ranked 3.0 and above, each was determined to be QSP with some certainty, except 4Q134, with 2 short 2ms perfects; and 4Q141, with a defective spelling of לא.

6. Conclusions and Observations

The most important contribution that this study has to offer is the independent discovery of a unique set of components (nineteen) among a much larger group of variables (forty-two). This unique set of components is virtually identical to those indicators that Emanuel Tov has used to identify what he has termed Qumran Scribal Practice. I do not pretend here to verify the "Qumran" element of the terminology in this study—although this seems likely—but there is without doubt a well-defined approach to the copying of texts that evidences a particular scribal practice among the biblical manuscripts.

To Tov's list of indicators I have only added the names ירושלים, דויד, and the "pausal" *qal* imperative. More importantly, I have removed the long 3mp pronoun, המה, as it is not specific enough.

I have also added the ability to compute a rank that has proved helpful in both the verification of some of Tov's doubtful inclusions and the addition of a significant number of manuscripts to the group defined by QSP. It is important to note that I have not identified even one biblical manuscript among those listed in Tov's appendix 9 that I would remove from those that Tov has himself identified as displaying Qumran Scribal Practice.

At least two additional observations are of note. First, the presence of three tefillin at the top of table 5 raises the question concerning the relationship of these special-use "biblical manuscripts" to QSP. To answer this question, a most important character of these documents is revealed when they are divided into two groups on the basis of their agreement or conflict with the rabbinical injunction (b. Menah. 34a–37b, 42b–43b) that determines their content. It is significant that although the group of "conflict" tefillin and mezuzot includes both QSP and non-QSP manuscripts, all of the QSP tefillin and mezuzot are in conflict with the rabbinical

injunction.[14] This of course also determines the converse: those tefillin and mezuzot that are in agreement with the rabbinical injunction are without exception non-QSP.[15]

The second observation concerns the decision to bifurcate 1QIsa[a] in the data. The result of this determination is in keeping with the conclusions I reached in my linguistic study of this manuscript.[16] The first half of the manuscript ranks a modest 2.4 on my scale, whereas the second half of the manuscript ranks 6.2, the thirteenth highest of the forty-six QSP manuscripts in table 6. This difference in ranking is brought about by a notable increase in the number of components, beyond the original seven consistent indicators, that are now constant. Note the following table.

Table 7. Bifurcation of 1QIsa[a] and frequency of components

Description	Frequency in 1QIsa[a] 1–27	%	Frequency in 1QIsa[a] 28–54	%
Long 2ms suffix	18 of 119	15.1%	213 of 233	91.4%
Long 2mp suffix	16 of 58	27.6%	85 of 92	92.4%
Long 2mp perfect	4 of 17	23.5%	13 of 13	100%
Long 3ms pronoun	0 of 65	0%	30 of 32	93.8%
Digraph כיא	36 of 164	22.0%	164 of 168	97.6%
Plene ירושלים	9 of 24	37.5%	25 of 26	96.2%
Plene כוה	1 of 14	7.1%	38 of 38	100%

The bifurcation of 1QIsa[a] suggests that the increased ranking of the latter half of the manuscript brings a corresponding increase in the number of components that are consistent. Further study will be required to determine whether there are patterns to be discovered among the components that become consistent at various rankings.

14. The ranking of "conflict" tefillin and mezuzot: 1Q13 (0.0), 4Q128 (10.0), 4Q129 (11.2), 4Q134 (3.9), 4Q135 (2.6), 4Q136 (1.4), 4Q137 (9.8), 4Q138 (9.5), 4Q139 (12.6), 4Q140 (9.9), 4Q141 (4.9), 4Q142 (10.7), 4Q143 (9.2), 4Q144 (11.1), 4Q149 (10.1), 4Q150 (0.0), 4Q151 (0.0), 8Q3 (0.1), 8Q4 (0.2), XQ1 (0.2), XQ2 (0.3), XQ3 (0.2).

15. The ranking of "agreement" tefillin and mezuzot: 4Q130 (1.4), 4Q131 (0.0), 4Q132 (0.0), 4Q145 (0.4), 4Q146 (0.0), 4Q152 (0.0), 4Q153 (0.0), 4Q154 (0.0), 34Se1 (0.3), Mur4 (0.1), XḤev/Se5 (0.1). For further discussion, see Tov, *Scribal Practices,* 270–71.

16. See Ulrich and Flint, *Isaiah Scrolls*, 40–41.

In addition, there are at least four more matters for investigation requiring further discussion that is not possible here:

1. I have not focused on the background components in this study, but the conclusion that there is a high degree of correspondence between the gradual increase in these components and the presence of QSP is clear from the graph in figure 2 and the percentages in tables 2–4.
2. The fact that the MT and 4Q22 (a "pre-Samaritan" manuscript) are near neighbors according to their ranking (0.1 and 0.2 respectively) in table 5 reminds us that text-type and scribal practice are distinct issues.
3. It is of course noteworthy that no document from Murabbaʿat, Naḥal Ḥever, or Masada ranks higher than 0.2 (5/6ḤevPs) in table 5.[17] However, lest we conclude from this that the dating of manuscripts is an important factor, it is significant that both QSP and conservative manuscripts have been dated paleographically early and late.[18] This suggests that the low rank of documents from the non-Qumran sites is due to the origin of the manuscripts rather than the date, and thus representative of a distinct scribal culture.
4. Finally, a study of the nonbiblical manuscripts from the Judean Desert with a similar approach is a desideratum.

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17. XḤev/Se2 is the highest ranking of all non-Qumran manuscripts at 0.5. But the size of the manuscript—127 morphological forms and one variable—makes this highly uncertain.

18. Early: 4Q83, with a paleographic date of 150 BCE, is QSP (rank 4.5); whereas 4Q2, with a paleographic date of 150–125 BCE, is conservative (rank 0.1). Late: 4Q37, with a paleographic date of 50 CE, is QSP (rank 3.8); whereas 5/6Ḥev1b, with a paleographic date of 50–68 CE, is conservative (rank 0.2).

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The Emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch

Timothy H. Lim

1. The Quest for the Samaritan Pentateuch

The study of the formation of the sacred Scriptures of the Samaritans has received renewed interest in the light of the recognition that some of the Dead Sea Scrolls are textually harmonistic, classified and described by some as "the pre-Samaritan" text-type.[1] Something of a scholarly consensus has emerged on the second century BCE dating of the emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch.[2] The text-type of these scrolls (e.g., 4QpaleoExod^{m},

It is a pleasure to dedicate this article to Peter W. Flint, whose discussions of the Samaritan Pentateuch in relation to the pre-Samaritan biblical scrolls are found in *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2013), 40–46, and his coauthored textbook, written with James C. VanderKam, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 91–95. This topic is a fitting tribute to a scholar who has devoted his career to the understanding of the Bible, especially the Psalter and the book of Isaiah, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is with sadness that this dedication should now also be made in his memory: may you rest in peace.

1. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 114–17. This designation has been questioned by Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel ("Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al, VTSup 94 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 215–40), who argue that while these scrolls reflect features of textual harmonization characteristic of the Samaritan Pentateuch, they do not include the specific sectarian readings that mark out a scroll as Samaritan. The Eshels state: "It is therefore preferable to label the texts that underwent harmonistic revision 'harmonistic texts'" (Eshel and Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation," 221).

2. So Robert T. Anderson and Terry Giles, *The Samaritan Pentateuch: An Introduction to Its Origin, History, and Significance for Biblical Studies*, RBS 72 (Atlanta:

4QNum[b], 4QDeut[n], 4Q158) characteristic of the Palestinian recension, has been paleographically dated to the time when John Hyrcanus destroyed the temple on Mount Gerizim.[3] It was during this time, so it is thought, that the Samaritans chose the harmonistic text-type of the Pentateuch and added a layer of sectarian readings that accentuated the importance of Mount Gerizim.

But how could the text-critical study of some of the Dead Sea Scrolls lead to the view that the Samaritan community *chose* the Pentateuch as their canon? It is the community that explicitly or implicitly defines the list of authoritative Scriptures; canon is the construct of a community. The harmonistic scrolls were not found in some Samaritan genizah that evidenced their authoritative status for that group, but among the collection of one or more Jewish sects associated with the Essenes and the site of Qumran. Text-critical studies, therefore, need to be supplemented by a sociohistorical discussion of what may be known about the emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch within Samaritan tradition and communities.

2. Early Notices of the Samaritan Pentateuch

There is no ancient source that describes the process by which the Samaritans chose the first five books of the Hebrew Bible as their canon. This absence is neither surprising nor unique to the history of the Samaritan Pentateuch. There is a similar paucity of information on the formation of the Jewish Torah and canon.[4]

Rabbinic literature mentions the "Cutheans" several times. This designation refers to the Samaritans, following the name given to them in 2 Kgs

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Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 14–16; and Gary Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 177. All three scholars, however, argue that the scholarly consensus needs to be reconsidered and that the origins of the Samaritan Pentateuch predate the second century.

3. Eshel and Eshel ("Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation") built on and updated the paleographical work of James D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect*, HSM 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), and suggested that the Samaritan script developed from the Paleo-Hebrew script used by Jews in the second century BCE.

4. See Timothy H. Lim, *Formation of the Jewish Canon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

17.[5] The rabbinic discussions center on the Cutheans' variant readings in the Torah, their observance of the written laws, and their scrupulous observance of rituals. Sifre Deuteronomy 56:1 reports a dispute over the area specified by Deut 11:26–30: some rabbis argue that the land on which the Israelites are to pronounce their blessing is in Samaria, whereas others reject this view by interpreting the clause that Mount Gerizim and Ebal are on "the other side of the Jordan" (בעבר הירדן) indicates the Transjordan.[6] The dispute involves various arguments, including a charge by R. Eleazar b. R. Yose that the Samaritan scribes have falsified the Torah, by adding "Shechem" to "the oak of Moreh" (Deut 11:30; compare Gen 12:6), without any exegetical gain.

The Babylonian Talmud mentions the Samaritans several times; for example, as illustrated by a discussion on table fellowship in b. Ber. 47b. The text stipulates that when there are two guests, the pair needs to wait for one another; the one breaking the bread stretches out his hand first. However, if there are three, then they need not wait. At this point, it is specified that a Cuthean may be counted as one of the three, since the Cutheans tithe their produce in the proper way and "are very scrupulous about any injunction written in the Torah" (b. Ber. 47b).

In b. Hul. 3b–5a the Rabbis declared that "the slaughtering of the Cuthean is valid" under certain circumstances. There are differences of opinion, however, on whether the unleavened bread of the Cuthean may be eaten by an Israelite on Passover. Rabbi Eliezer says that it may not be eaten, because the Cutheans do not know the precepts of an Israelite; whereas R. Simon b. Gamaliel holds that they are fastidious in the observance of the precept, even more so than the Israelite (see b. Qidd. 76a; b. Ber. 47b). The dispute revolves around the issue of whether a Cuthean observes the written and unwritten laws of the Torah.

The clearest statements of the canon of the Samaritans, however, come from patristic sources. Epiphanius describes that which distinguishes the Samaritan from the Jew:

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5. For a description of Jewish legislation against the Samaritans in the extratalmudic tractate, Masseket Kutim, see James Montgomery, *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect; Their History, Theology, and Literature* (Philadelphia: Winston, 1907), 196–203.

6. See Reuven Hammer, *Sifre: A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy*, YJS 24 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986).

> The first difference between them and the Jews is that they were given no text of the prophets after Moses but only the Pentateuch, which was given to Israel's descendants through Moses, at the close of their departure from Egypt. (By "Pentateuch" I mean Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy; in Hebrew their names are *Bereshith*, *Elleh shmoth*, *Vayyiqra*, *Vayidabber* and *Elleh hadvarim*). (*Pan.* 9.2.1)[7]

The bishop of Salamis's notice, dated to 374 or 375, leaves no doubt of which books were included in the Samaritan Pentateuch, by naming their titles twice: in Greek and in Hebrew, the latter in transliteration.[8] He, moreover, excludes the books of the prophets as part of the Samaritan canon.

Another early reference is found in Origen's *Contra Celsum*, in which we find the passing comment: "And even if the Samaritans and Sadducees, who accept only the books of Moses, say that the Messiah has been prophesied in those books, yet even so the prophecy was not spoken in Jerusalem, which in Moses' time had not been mentioned" (*Cels.* 1.49).[9] The date is 248 CE, and the context is the church father's dispute with the pagan philosopher Celsus about the Christian belief in the Bible's prophecy concerning Jesus.[10] Celsus had invoked an imaginary Jew as interlocutor to interject that a certain prophet had said once in Jerusalem that God's son would come to judge the holy and punish the unrighteous. To this, Origen responds that (1) Celsus evaded the strongest argument confirming Jesus's authority, namely that he had been foretold by the Jewish prophets; and (2) the statement of Celsus's imaginary character is improbable, because a Jew would not prophesy that God's son would come to judge. Rather, so Origen claims, the Jews would say, "the Christ of God [i.e., the messiah] will come." Moreover, it is not only one but several prophets who foretold

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7. Translation from Frank Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Book 1 (Sects 1–46)*, rev. and enl. ed., NHMS 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 33.

8. József Zsengellér ("Canon and the Samaritans" in *Canonization and Decanonization: Papers Presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) Held at Leiden, 9–10 January 1997*, ed. Arie van der Kooij and Karel van der Toorn, SHR 82 [Leiden: Brill, 1998], 161–71) argues on the basis of a notice in Photius that one of the Samaritan sects, the Dositheans, may have included the book of Joshua in its canon, but that it was later decanonized by mainstream Samaritanism.

9. Translation from Henry Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 46.

10. Chadwick, *Origen*, xiv.

Jesus. Celsus's fictive character is inconceivable, Origen continued, since his claim is based on the canon of the Pentateuch and the establishment of the city of Jerusalem. Jerusalem is not mentioned in the laws of Moses, and the restriction of the canon of sacred Scriptures to the Pentateuch is found among the Samaritans and Sadducees, and not the Jews.

Origen also referred to the canon of the Samaritans in an earlier work, his *Commentarii in evangelium Joannis*. Origen quotes and reflects on the text as follows: "The woman says to him: 'I know that the Messiah is coming, who is called the Christ. Whenever he comes, he will tell us all things' (John 4:25). It is worthwhile to see how the Samaritan woman, who accepts only the Pentateuch of Moses, expects the coming of Christ as announced by the law" (*Comm. Jo.* 13.154).[11] The writing of the commentary on the Fourth Gospel took ten years, between 232 or early 233 and 241 or 242 CE, interrupted as it was by Origen's move from Alexandria to Caesarea and the persecution of Maximinus Thrax.[12] In the pericope of the Gospel of John, Jesus encounters a Samaritan woman in Sychar, a city in Samaria and near Jacob's well, and asks her for a drink of water. Puzzled by Jesus's request, the woman asks why it is that a Jew would ask a Samaritan for a drink. The Johannine author inserts an explanatory gloss: "Jews do not share things in common with Samaritans."[13] In his comment on 4:25, Origen focuses on the source of the woman's knowledge of the coming of the Messiah. He wonders whether the source may have included Jacob's blessing on Judah (Gen 49:8–10) and Balaam's oracle (Num 24). Where did she derive this belief, he asks? Origen determines that, since the woman was part of the community of the Samaritans, which accepts only the Pentateuch, her messianic outlook must stem from these books.

By the first half of the third century, therefore, it was known that the Samaritans had their own canon that consisted of the Pentateuch alone, without the rest of the books of the Jewish canon. There is, however, some earlier evidence that the Samaritan Pentateuch may have emerged prior to this time.

11. Translation from Ronald E. Heine, *Origen: Commentary on the Gospel According to John; Books 13–32* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1993), 101.

12. Ibid., 4–19.

13. This gloss likely reflects divergent traditions regarding the use of vessels for fetching water.

In the first century, Josephus recounts a quarrel between the Jews and Samaritans over the holiness of the temples in Jerusalem and Gerizim. The account implies differences in their understanding of "the laws of Moses." There are two accounts of this same dispute in *Ant.* 12.7–10 and 13.74–79, the relevant section of each, implying the differences in practice, text, and interpretation, is quoted here:

> Their [i.e., the Jews'] descendants, however, had quarrels with the Samaritans because they were determined to keep alive their fathers' way of life and customs, and so they fought with each other, those from Jerusalem saying that their temple was the holy one, and requiring that the sacrifices be sent there, while the Shechemites wanted these to go to Mount Gerizim. (*Ant.* 12.10 [Thackeray, LCL])

> Now there arose a quarrel between the Jews in Alexandria and the Samaritans, who worshipped at the temple on Mount Gerizim, which had been built in the time of Alexander, and they disputed about their respective temples in the presence of Ptolemy himself, the Jews asserting that it was the temple at Jerusalem which had been built in accordance with the laws of Moses, and the Samaritans that it was the temple on Gerizim. (*Ant.* 13.74 [Thackeray, LCL])

The quarrel evidently took place in the time of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE), but the original historical context is difficult to ascertain. In the longer account in *Ant.* 13.74–79, the Samaritans and Jews brought their case before the royal court and requested that the king, his council, and friends adjudicate the dispute. The Samaritans were legally represented by Sabbaeus and Theodosius, while the Jews had an advocate in Andronicus, the son of Messalamus. Proofs for either side were to be brought from the laws of Moses, and the losers were to be put to death.

This account is best understood within what Erich Gruen described as "a category of concocted legends."[14] It falls in line with an identifiable pattern of Jews writing themselves into imperial history.[15] There are many legendary features. For instance, it is inconceivable that Ptolemy would concern himself with a dispute between the Jews and Samaritans over the location of the temple of worship outside Egypt and in Judaea and

14. Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, HCS 30 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 236.

15. Ibid., 189–245.

Samaria.[16] Moreover, invoking the death sentence as the punishment of what amounts to be an ideological dispute seems highly improbable.

Did Josephus know the Samaritan Pentateuch? Josephus discusses the defined canon of the Jews in *Ag. Ap.* 1.38–41.[17] Why did he not mention that the Samaritans considered only the Pentateuch as authoritative, as he did when he discussed the Sadducees' acceptance of the written laws of Moses alone and their rejection of the traditions of the forefathers (*Ant.* 13.297, 18.16)? Reinhard Pummer judges that Josephus's apparent lack of awareness of the Samaritan Pentateuch is due to his general disinterest in the Samaritans. The Flavian historian was uninterested in the beliefs and customs of the Samaritans, and he mentions them only to make a point.[18]

It is likely that Josephus used a source that he adapted and inserted into his paraphrase of 1 Maccabees. This is evident by the insertion of the same story into two different places in *Ant.* 12.7–10 and 14.74–79. Precisely what was his purpose is debated.[19] He may not have been interested in the Samaritans as such, but his source reflects distinctive traditions of the location of the temple that is based on the text and interpretation "according to the laws of Moses" (*κατὰ τοὺς* Μωϋσέος *νόμους*), the Jews claiming that it is Jerusalem and the Samaritans, Mount Gerizim.

It seems possible that Josephus's source, dated before the first century BCE, already preserves knowledge of a distinctive Samaritan version of Deuteronomy, if not of the whole Pentateuch.

3. The Contribution of the Harmonistic Qumran Scrolls

The dating of the emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch to the second century BCE has been supported in recent years by the recognition that

16. Adolf Büchler's view that the original story involved the temple of Onias or of Dositheos in Egypt has been rightly rejected as contradictory to the plain sense of the account; see Reinhard Pummer, *The Samaritans in Flavius Josephus*, TSAJ 129 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 189.

17. Lim, *Formation of the Jewish Canon*, 43–49.

18. Pummer, *Samaritans in Josephus*, 283–84. Pummer argues that Josephus variously uses the Samaritans as a foil against which he represents the Jews to the Romans. Note that Josephus's antagonism towards the Samaritans is evident in *Antiquities*, but not in *War.*

19. Seth Schwartz, "The 'Judaism' of Samaria and Galilee in Josephus's Version of the Letter of Demetrius I to Jonathan (*Antiquities* 13, 48–57)," *HTR* 82 (1989): 377–91, argues that Josephus is promoting a new Jewish leadership of a rabbinic kind.

some of the Dead Sea Scrolls belong to the pre- or proto-Samaritan text-type. James Purvis began this line of argument in his published doctoral dissertation that sought to contribute to the origins of the Samaritan sect and the emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch.[20] These two issues are in fact distinct, but Purvis argued that they are related.

According to Purvis, the destruction of the Samaritan temple by the Hasmonean priest-king John Hyrcanus, which he dated to 128 BCE, was decisive in the history of the Samaritans. Josephus recounts this historical event in *Ant.* 13.254–257 (see also *J.W.* 1.62–63):

> So soon as he heard of the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus marched out against the cities of Syria.… He captured Medaba after six months, during which his army suffered great hardships; next he captured Samoga and its environs, and in addition to these, Shechem and Garizein, and the Cuthean nation, which lives near the temple built after the model of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, which Alexander permitted their governor Sanaballetes to build for the sake of his son-in-law Manasses, the brother of the high priest Jaddua.… Now it was two hundred years later that this temple was laid waste. (Thackeray, LCL)

Purvis argued that Hyrcanus's actions were motivated by political and religious expediency that sought to vanquish the rival priestly hierarchy of the temple of Gerizim. The Samaritans needed to redefine their relationship with the Jews, and to justify their existence by an appeal to "the chief sectarian monument of the community—their redaction of the Pentateuch."[21] Purvis asserted that the dating of the sectarian recension of the Samaritan Pentateuch to the second century BCE showed that "the work was produced in the late Hasmonaean period."[22]

Purvis's thesis is possible but not necessary. It is not so much argued as asserted, depending as it does on the convergence of his dating of the Samaritan script and the destruction of the Samaritan temple in the second century. No source tells us that this was so, nor is there any need to see the destruction of the temple as the catalyst for a sectarian recension of the Pentateuch. The establishment rather than the destruction of the temple on Mount Gerizim could equally serve as a possible historical event that engendered the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Samaritans had a distinctive

20. Purvis, *Samaritan Pentateuch*.
21. Ibid., 117.
22. Ibid.

version of the Pentateuch that justified the building of an alternative cultic site. Josephus dates the building of the Gerizim temple to the time of Alexander (ca. 330 BCE), but archaeological evidence shows that this was an error and that a sacred precinct on Mount Gerizim already existed in the Persian period.

Twenty-five years later, Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, to his blessed memory, developed Purvis's argument in several ways by refining his paleographical and historical discussion.[23] Acknowledging their debt to Purvis and the more limited data then available to him, the Eshels argued that the Paleo-Hebrew script was used by Jews and that the Samaritans adopted this Jewish script for the compilation of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The scrolls, classified as "pre-Samaritan texts" or "Proto-Samaritan texts," are better described as harmonistic scrolls, since they do not contain the sectarian readings that make them distinctively Samaritan. "These scrolls did not belong to the Samaritans," they stated, "rather they adopted a biblical version similar to those scrolls when the SP was compiled."[24] The latter part of this sentence is significant, since the Eshels assume that the SP was compiled in the second century. Their task was to show how the harmonistic scrolls related to that fact. In effect accepting Purvis's reconstruction, the Eshels argue that it was the destruction of the temple on Mount Gerizim—which they date to 111 BCE (so it seems based on the archaeological evidence)—that prompted the Samaritans to choose the harmonistic version and create the Samaritan Pentateuch.[25]

The Eshels have improved our understanding of the harmonistic scrolls and the Jewish basis of the Paleo-Hebrew script and text-type. But their historical reconstruction of the emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch goes no further than that of Purvis. Why should one suppose that the harmonistic text-type represented among the Dead Sea Scrolls preceded the compilation of the Samaritan Pentateuch?

The Dead Sea Scrolls are associated with one or more Jewish sects of the Essenes. The corpus of nine hundred or so scrolls is a heterogeneous collection from different historical and social settings.[26] They are copies,

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23. Eshel and Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation."

24. Ibid., 220.

25. "Consequently, the discovery of texts with more comprehensive editing than the SP, which are written in Hasmonean and Herodian script,… prove that the primary version of the SP was created during the second century BCE" (ibid., 239).

26. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, "Introduction: Current Issues in Dead

and not autographs, which affect the dating by paleographical typology and development. That the harmonistic text-type was found among this collection attests to the tolerance of the communities reflected in the scrolls for different text-types. It is not necessary to hold that the Samaritan Pentateuch was compiled *after* this period. It is more likely that the development of the Samaritan Pentateuch occurred independently, rather than sequentially, to the reception of the harmonistic text-type among the sectarian scrolls. There is no reason to preclude a view that the Samaritans chose the harmonistic text-type as the basis of their Pentateuch before the second century. The Eshels admit as much: "Even if one does not accept this [i.e., their] reconstruction, it can be assumed that the Samaritans chose the harmonistic Jewish version of the Pentateuch prevalent prior to the Hasmonean period."[27]

4. Origins of the Samaritans and Their Pentateuch

In fact, the emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch need not be tied to the destruction of their temple at all. The proponents of the three-stage theory that reigned supreme in the late nineteenth until the middle of the twentieth century held that the Pentateuch was closed by the fifth century BCE. According to H. E. Ryle, the "Samaritan schism," which he dated to 432 BCE, was the *terminus ad quem*. In short, when the Samaritans separated from the Jews, they took with them that part of Scripture that was already considered canonical, the Pentateuch.[28]

Now recent scholarship has questioned the concept of a Samaritan schism and its association with the closing of the Pentateuch.[29] There was no "schism" as supposed in previous scholarship; rather, the Samaritans were the remnants of the northern Israelites who remained in the land after the Assyrians exiled part of their population.[30]

Sea Scrolls Research," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1–17.

27. Eshel and Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation," 239.

28. Herbert Edward Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament: Essays on the Gradual Growth and Formation of the Hebrew Canon of Scripture* (London: Macmillan, 1892), 91–94.

29. Lim, *Formation of the Jewish Canon*, 18–21.

30. Magnar Kartveit, *The Origins of the Samaritans* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*.

The previous historical understanding of the origins of the Samaritans has been skewed by the account in 2 Kgs 17 and Josephus's works. According to 2 Kgs 17, King Shalmaneser V (726–722 BCE) besieged Samaria on account of the treachery of Hoshea, who had sent messengers to King So of Egypt and paid no tribute to the king of Assyria as he had previously done. The Assyrian attack succeeded and, after a three-year siege of Samaria, the king deported the Israelites to exile in Assyria. The Deuteronomist summarized the outcome succinctly: "So Israel was exiled from their own land to Assyria until this day. The king of Assyria brought people from Babylon, Cuthah (כותה), Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria in place of the people of Israel; they took possession of Samaria, and settled in its cities" (2 Kgs 17:23–24 NRSV).[31]

The deportation and substitution theory of the origins of the Samaritans was repeated and elaborated by Josephus in several places, but especially in *Ant.* 9.288–291. Josephus states that they are called "Cuthaioi" (Χουθαῖοι) in Hebrew, by virtue of their place of origins in "Chuta" (Χουθᾶ), but in Greek are known as "Samareitai" (Σαμαρεῖται).[32] This account of the origins has been highly influential in attributing a foreign origin to the Samaritans. As Pummer stated: "From antiquity to modern times, the view of the origins of the Samaritans presented by Josephus … proved to be enormously influential in Jewish and Christian circles, scholarly and otherwise."[33]

This theory of Samaritan origins, however, is no longer thought valid. The seventeenth chapter of 2 Kings is a redactionally complex work that preserves two different Deuteronomistic views of the ethnic identity and religious practice of the Samaritans. The first account, found in 2 Kgs 17:24–34a, states that the Israelites were replaced by colonists who took

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31. All translations of Hebrew Bible texts are from the NRSV, in some cases slightly modified.

32. Josephus's nomenclature reflects a later perspective when the Samaritans were already separate from the Jews. A distinction is often made between the "Samarians," who lived in the region, and the later "Samaritans," who have developed their own ethnic identity, Pentateuch, strongly monotheistic theology, Mosaic supremacy, and cultic devotion to Mount Gerizim. The numerically small community that lives in Shechem and Holon today prefers the designation as "the Israelite Samaritans," "the northern Israelites," or "the community of the Samarians." See A. B. Institute of Samaritan Studies, "About Israelite Samaritans," http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546a. For a discussion of the issue of nomenclature, see Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 14–17.

33. Pummer, *Samaritans in Flavius Josephus*, 68.

over Samaria and settled in its cities. Cultically, they did not know "the god of the land," so lions were dispatched as a divine punishment to devour some of them (e.g., 1 Kgs 13:20–36). The Assyrian king then repatriated a former Samarian priest, who went and taught them "how to worship YHWH." Significantly, the Samarian priest lived at Bethel and is thought to have reinstated the traditional, syncretistic northern cult of King Jeroboam I. As Gary Knoppers puts it: "The cultic practices acquired by the colonists from their new tutor do not inaugurate a new pagan religion, but rather replicate the traditional northern Israelite practices in most details."[34]

Second Kings 17:33 explains how these foreigners "worshiped YHWH but also served their own gods." The diversity of deities installed in the high places is found previously in 2 Kgs 17:30–31: "The people of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, the people of Cuth made Nergal, the people of Hamath made Ashima; the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak; the Sepharvites burned their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim." Second Kings 17:34 closes out the first account by bemoaning the continuation of these syncretistic practices "to this day."

Second Kings 17:34b–40 offers a different account of the people's disobedience that gives a clue to their identity. In this latter passage, the charge against syncretistic worship appeals to the covenantal relationship between YHWH and his people. The people do not obey, despite the fact that YHWH made a covenant with them (2 Kgs 17:35, 38). The implication is that the people are "the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel" (2 Kgs 17:34b). As Knoppers states: "the view of the northerners embedded in the second passage is that of the descendants of Jacob."[35]

The origins of the Samaritans have been thoroughly revised by this reconsideration of the evidence.[36] Excavations on Mount Gerizim are

34. Gary N. Knoppers,"Cutheans or Children of Jacob? The Issue of Samaritan Origins in 2 Kings 17," in *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*, ed. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, and Brian Aucker, VTSup 113 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 228.

35. Ibid., 226. Note also that the book of Chronicles takes a different view of the northern exile than the books of Kings and Ezra-Nehemiah. According to the former, there were remnants of Israel whom Hezekiah attempted to bring closer to the Judeans in the form of celebrating the Passover in Jerusalem (2 Chr. 30:1, 10–11; 34:9).

36. Yitzhak Magen ("The Dating of the First Phase of the Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim in Light of the Archaeological Evidence," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007], 157–211), argues that the accelerated

thought to corroborate this new understanding of the Samaritans as the northern Israelites. Yitzhaq Magen argues on the basis of the archaeological evidence that there was a sacred precinct on Mount Gerizim from the Persian to the late Hellenistic period. He divides the first phase of the Samaritan temple into three groups: (1) the sacred precinct of the Persian period, (2) the sacred precinct of the Hellenistic period, and (3) the city on Mount Gerizim that was built in the Hellenistic period. Carbon-14 examination of charred wood and bones, the pottery, and the coins all point to a continuous occupation of the first phase of the Samaritan temple. The Gerizim temple was destroyed along with Shechem and Mareshah in 110 BCE.[37]

The temple on Mount Gerizim, with its tripartite division of the sacred precinct, was patterned after the Jerusalem temple. The governor of Samaria, Sanballat, had promised Manasseh, his son-in-law and renegade Judean of sacerdotal lineage, the high priesthood and a temple on Mount Gerizim "similar to that in Jerusalem" (*Ant.* 11.310). According to the archaeological evidence, Mount Gerizim was developed in the Hellenistic period, and a city was built on its southern ridge. Josephus's error, Magen argued, was conflating the dating of the temple and the city to the time of Alexander.[38]

There was no "schism" in the way suggested by the proponents of the three-stage theory. The Samaritans were Yahwists of Samaria who were fulfilling the precepts of the Torah in establishing a cultic site of worship on Mount Gerizim. Archaeological excavations show that throughout the Second Temple Period there was a temple on Mount Gerizim. There was eventually a split between Jews and Samaritans, as evidenced by Josephus and the New Testament, but this process of parting of the ways was likely to have been protracted and uneven.

Previous scholarship may have been wrong about a decisive break, but its assumption that the Pentateuch was common to both Jews and Samaritans is not without merit. The differences between the Jewish Torah and Samaritan Pentateuch have been exaggerated by the claim that there are some six thousand variants in the latter—the differences are mostly orthographic variants. There is much more shared content than divergent

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settlement of the fringe areas and Jerusalem in the seventh century BCE attest to this influx of refugees from the north.

37. Ibid., 187.

38. Ibid., 192.

beliefs and practices. The chief differences concern the cultic worship on Mount Gerizim, which is reflected in both the perfect verb of “he chose” in Deuteronomy and the Samaritan version of the tenth commandment, the emphasis on monotheism, and the enhanced role of Moses as prophet.

The formation of the Samaritan Pentateuch probably occurred over a long period, with scribes inserting changes to the harmonistic text-type of the first five books of Moses. Their motivation was ideological, spurred on by the changing relationship between them and the Judeans. The common text incorporating the laws of Moses could be traced to its preexilic origins, but the Torah emerged in the Persian period, after the return from the Babylonian exile.

5. Conclusions

In the foregoing discussion, we have shown that the scholarly consensus on the emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch in the second century BCE is a possible, but not necessary, inference to draw from the text-critical study of the harmonistic text-type of the scrolls. An alternative scenario is that the Samaritan Pentateuch emerged in relation to the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim. The Samaritan community adopted a version of the Torah that testified to YHWH having already chosen the place of his abode, not in Jerusalem but on Mount Gerizim. The distinctive version of the Torah that they adopted validated the erection of the cultic site in accordance with the ordinances of the book of Deuteronomy as found in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The paucity of evidence means that there is nothing definitive that could be known about the emergence of the Samaritan Pentateuch. This does not mean that the question is entirely open. From the early notices discussed above, it is likely that there was a distinctive Samaritan Pentateuch by the time of Josephus in the first century. The harmonistic scrolls corroborate this view, but also push the date back before the Hasmonean period. How far back it goes is a matter of speculation and debate, but the postexilic period and the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim in the Persian period have claims that cannot be ignored.

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The Content and Order of Books in Ethiopic Old Testament Manuscripts

Steve Delamarter

1. Introduction

Not long after I took up my work with Ethiopic manuscripts, Peter Flint approached me about the conundrum of the Ethiopian canon list. Everyone knew two things: that there were eighty-one books in the canon list, but that there were multiple ways to enumerate which books made up the eighty-one. This did not make any sense to us. We talked round and round this puzzle but could never sort it out completely since, like many others at the time, we brought to the question a whole set of Western assumptions about canon and the transmission of sacred books that were, in fact, quite foreign to the Ethiopian tradition.

In the early years following my first trip to Ethiopia in 2004, I was consumed with the work of locating and digitizing manuscripts and of cultivating teams to create electronically searchable metadata and to publish catalogues. I did not have much to contribute to Peter's question. But, for the past three years, our work has expanded to include an exploration of the textual history of the Ethiopic Old Testament.[1] This work has forced

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In accordance with the field of Ethiopian studies, conventions used here for bibliographic citations, transliterations, and abbreviations are those set forth in *EAE*; the abbreviations appear at the end of this essay. My thanks to Curt Niccum and to Jeremy R. Brown for their review of the article and for helping to make several corrections.

1. Some twenty-five scholars from around the world have banded together in the work of the Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament (THEOT) project. A first round of work was to prepare a set of articles for the Brill volumes edited by Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, *The Hebrew Bible*, vols. 1A–1C of *The Textual History of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2016–2017). Now our work is deeply into transcriptions of manu-

me into the manuscripts we have digitized. As the THEOT team and I have pursued our work of transcribing selections of thirty manuscripts of each book of the Old Testament, we have become more familiar with many of the practices of transmission that the scribes of the Ethiopic tradition employed in relation to the manuscripts of their canonical texts.

The study here explores the patterns and practices regarding manuscripts that contain books of the Ethiopic Old Testament. I offer it up to Peter's memory with sincere gratitude for the inspiration and collegiality he offered to me in my work.

2. The Social Locations of Old Testament Manuscripts in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tradition

Scripture permeates the life of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, but in ways that are quite different than those that are familiar to Christians in the West. Particularly since the advent of the printing press, copies of the entire Bible are ubiquitous throughout Western culture—both within ecclesial structures and in the domain of private ownership. But copies of the entire set of canonical books under one cover (pandects) are virtually without precedent in Ethiopian Orthodoxy—and it is not just because of the unparalleled scope of their canon of eighty-one books. Within the tradition, there are virtually no copies of just the Old Testament or even just the New Testament, which is much shorter than the Old. Instead, biblical manuscripts usually contained one or two particular corpora.

The Ethiopian Psalter (made of up the 151 psalms, the 15 biblical canticles, the Song of Songs, and two works venerating Mary, Praises of Mary and Gate of Light) would be the only book with a distribution in Ethiopia similar to that of full Bibles in the modern West. A substantial percentage of all books ever produced in the West were copies of Bibles. Such is the case with the Psalter in Ethiopia. Every church had several. Every literate person owned one, as did many who could not read the text but who could recite it from memory. The overall percentage of the books produced in Ethiopian Christianity that were Psalters may be as high as 25 or 30 percent. Many deluxe copies come to us in almost pristine condition, with elaborate ornamentation and very few signs of handling. These apparently come from high ecclesial and royal social locations in which only select

scripts, collations of variants readings, identification of families of manuscripts, and the analysis of huge datasets of variants.

bishops and dignitaries held the books. However, huge numbers of Psalters that have come to us are more modest in their material aspects. They show signs of heavy usage and are covered with wax droppings and the distinctive patterns of dirt along the bottom and fore edge that bear witness to the presence of these books in the hands of the general masses, night after night and day after day.

The Gospel of John is the book of the New Testament that is the most copied in Ethiopian Christianity. Still, the overall numbers of extant manuscripts of John are perhaps one-tenth the number of extant Psalters. Further, books that contain only the Gospel of John (as opposed to the four gospels together) were not made for high ecclesial social locations. It appears that copies of the Gospel of John were produced almost entirely for individuals in the practice of private devotion. Notes that indicate readings for the days of the week are more common than not in copies of the Gospel of John. They lie in the top margins at around every ten to fifteen folios. Their direction is intended not to govern the public reading of the text in the churches but to lay out a schedule of private reading for personal devotion. I do not recall ever having seen a copy of just the Gospel of John that was made in the large proportions and generous font size that are typical of manuscripts of the four gospels and that indicate their use in a church setting for lectionary readings.

Contrariwise, manuscripts of the four gospels were almost never made for private ownership and use, but were made with materials and in dimensions that make it clear they functioned in high ecclesial settings. Their proportions are characteristically large and adornments extravagant, and point almost exclusively to ownership by a church and for use in the ritual display and kissing of the four gospels that would be a normal feature of the ceremony of the Mass. Many of these are marked with the marginal notes corresponding to this social location, indicating to the priest or lector the location of texts for reading at specific times in the church year. In order to fulfill this need, there are special lectionary books organized around the church year and containing all the texts needed for each service—not just the ones from the four gospels.

It may come as something of a surprise to Western Protestants to know that virtually no churches in the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition actually owned copies of biblical books beyond the Psalter and the four gospels. It would be a rare church indeed that owned any portion of the New Testament beyond the four gospels, like a copy of the Pauline corpus or of the general epistles and/or the book of Revelation. Rarer still would be

church-owned copies of the book of the Acts of the Apostles. And almost no church owned any copy of a portion of the Old Testament beyond the Psalter. Such books existed, but they were not owned by churches and did not occupy this particular social niche. Biblical manuscripts—narrowly defined as the canonical materials in their canonical form—were copied, studied, and used in Ethiopian Christianity, but only in monastic and ecclesial centers by religious scholars for more or less private scholarship. The needs of churches for biblical texts beyond the Psalms and four gospels were satisfied by lectionary manuscripts arranged according to the season of the church year.

3. Method, Assumptions, and Caveats

Our purpose in the remainder of this article is to set forth the forms of the Old Testament manuscripts within the Ethiopian Orthodox tradition. Since very few ever contained anything like the entire Old Testament, we need first of all to know the demographics of the manuscripts. What did they contain? What were their most usual forms? Was there a standard set of books that comprised the entire Ethiopic Old Testament? Were there standard volumes? If so, what did each contain? Was there a standard order of the books within the volumes? That is, was there not only a canonical content, but also a canonical order? What impact, if any, did these decisions have on the conceptualization and use of the Old Testament text within the life and thinking of Christians in Ethiopia?

For the purposes of this study, we have assembled information on 332 manuscripts containing books of the Ethiopic Old Testament. Indeed, it is something of an indication of the rarity of such books that of the approximately 25,000 manuscripts available to Western scholars today, only about 1 to 2 percent are Old Testament manuscripts beyond the Psalms.[2] We have no way of knowing if this ratio is representative of the relationship between manuscripts of Old Testament books and all manuscripts in the Christian tradition in Ethiopia. But it is clear that many, many books were

2. Two caveats. First, this is a very rough estimate of the number of manuscripts that exist in collections outside of Ethiopia (and which have published catalogues) and of collections that have been microfilmed or digitized in Ethiopia. The notes below provide something of an indication of the collections that exist and what they contain. Second, it is not our assertion that these 332 represent all of the available Old Testament manuscripts—just most of them.

copied much more frequently than were manuscripts containing the books of the Old Testament. Manuscripts of the four gospels alone, for instance, probably number somewhere between 200 and 300. The Psalms, of course, account for something over 25 percent of all Christian books produced in Ethiopia. Our purpose here is to survey the manuscripts of the remainder of the Old Testament. We have analyzed the content and order of the biblical books within the manuscripts, either by personal inspection of the manuscript images or through reliance on the catalogues that have been published, and often by means of both.

To ascertain the Ethiopian conception of the content and order of the books in their canon, one could approach the question in at least two ways. One approach would be to find those places in their literature (Sinodos and Fetha Nägäst are the primary texts) where they set forth a canon list. This approach, through an inspection of canon lists, provides one set of impressions about the content and order of the books in the Ethiopian Bible.[3] Such canon lists provide us with a group's theory about their canon. But does the ideology expressed in the canon lists actually describe the phenomena that we find in the manuscripts themselves? This question suggests a second approach to the issue. We can inspect the biblical manuscripts themselves and see what they suggest to us about the actual form and content of the canon. Our intent, then, is to provide from the manuscripts some relatively accurate impressions of the content, organization, and order of Ethiopic Old Testament books as known to us. In this regard, for instance, it immediately becomes apparent that the book of Enoch was fully canonical for the Ethiopians. It appears in their canon lists and it shows up in manuscripts that carry primarily books of the Old Testament.

How do we infer from statistical data conclusions about the shape of the Ethiopian canon and the practices surrounding its transmission? We cannot here delve into a full discussion of these questions, but we cannot proceed without stating at least a few of the basic assumptions we bring to this analysis.

First, our conclusions are safest when we employ the data to make descriptive statements with statistics. For instance, there is no great danger of drawing false conclusions from a statement such as, "Of the 332 manuscripts in our sample, this book of the Old Testament was copied 55 times." But we run beyond the evidence when we make a claim such as, "Because

3. See, for instance, Roger Cowley, "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today," *OS* 23 (1974): 318–23.

the sample contains 55 copies of this book and 127 copies of that book, the Ethiopians clearly liked that book better." Such a statement may be true, or it may not be true. There is an unstated assumption in this use of statistical data: the frequency of a book in comparison to another book is an infallible indication of preference. The moment we state the assumption, we are free of its blinding effects and see the need to include caveats and anticipate objections to the validity of the claim.

Second, frequency of adjacency is a necessary characteristic of books deemed to be a corpus. Where books are consistently adjacent, we can consider a conception of corpus; where they are not, it is very difficult to entertain such a conception, at least from this category of manuscript evidence. Logically, the higher the frequency with which books occur together, the more valid it is to assume that they constitute a corpus, especially as their frequency rises well beyond that which can be accounted for on the basis of chance distribution.[4]

Third, that which is necessary to establish the links between books within a corpus is also necessary to demonstrate that certain corpora seem to be related to one another. Specifically, we need to show adjacency in a frequency that goes well beyond chance distribution.

Fourth, a theory of corpus is strengthened by the observance that the books not only appear frequently together, but that they also appear in a fixed order. But we must describe with some precision the phenomena of the order of the books within a corpus so that we can account for differences in the rigidity or flexibility of order. We entertain the possibility in advance that these may vary from corpus to corpus.

4. The Ethiopian Psalter, the Quintessential Book of Ethiopian Christianity

We begin our study of the manuscripts of Ethiopic Old Testament books with the Ethiopian Psalter. As we have said, the distribution and use of the Psalter is unique among all the books in Ethiopian Christian book culture.

4. As we will point out later, we must hold open the possibility that concepts of canon and ordering changed across time within the Ethiopic tradition. For a fuller view on the Ethiopic, one needs to study the groupings of books in the Greek manuscripts from which the Ethiopic tradition derives. To what extent do the Ethiopic manuscripts reflect an ongoing conception, actively constructed by Ethiopians, and to what extent does it preserve passively the memory of the Greek tradition in these matters?

As far as we can tell, Psalters account for somewhere between 25 and 40 percent of all books ever produced. By all accounts, Psalters were in the hands and the minds of every stratum of Ethiopian Christian culture and were constantly in use. Clearly, if ubiquity and use are what we expect of the canonical writing within a religious community, the Ethiopian Psalter is canonical. But immediately we have to reckon with a set of phenomena with regard to the Psalter that defy standard Western conceptions.

First, the Psalter is the only book about which these statements of ubiquity and use can be made for the bulk of Christians in Ethiopia. The Gospel of John is the only other canonical book that has any comparable distribution and use, and the contrast between the numbers of Psalters and Gospels of John is very great indeed, as we mentioned above. Second, the Psalter contains not only the book of Psalms and the Song of Songs, but also the fifteen biblical canticles and two works in veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary: Praises of Mary and Gate of Light. Nowhere does Ethiopian Christianity make claims of canonicity for the two Marian works. Yet, when it comes to ubiquity and use, it would be impossible to distinguish between these two and the other three in terms of *functional* canonicity in the life of the community.

Finally, the distinction commonly made in the West between canonical books and service books simply does not hold for the Psalms and the Song of Songs in Ethiopian manuscripts. One cannot dismiss the issues of canon regarding the Ethiopian Psalter simply by dubbing it a service book. This is because the Psalter—with its five books—is the only venue in which the book of Psalms was transmitted.[5]

For these reasons, our first conclusion from the testimony of the manuscripts about the Old Testament canonical books is that:

(1) The book of Psalms and Song of Songs play an extraordinary role in the life and faith of Ethiopian Christianity in terms of their distribution and use as part of the Psalter. There is simply no other part of the Christian Canon, Old Testament or New, that compares. In concrete terms, this means that the books of Psalms and Song of Solomon were the most-copied books of the Ethiopic Old Testament by far (something on the order of two

5. One finds only a handful of exceptions to this in the thousands of manuscripts studied. The same cannot be said, however, for the Song of Songs, which was transmitted not only in the Psalter but also: (1) in manuscripts carrying the Solomonic corpus, which we will describe below; (2) in copies of the Lectionary for Holy Week; and (3) in copies of the Funeral Ritual.

orders of magnitude). And because the Song of Songs was copied as a complete book not only in Psalters but also in manuscripts with the Solomonic corpus and in other manuscripts, while the Psalms were copied solely in Psalters, the Song of Songs holds the distinction as the most-copied book.

5. Old Testament, Volume 1: The Ethiopian Octateuch, or Orit

For the remainder of our study we will look to 332 manuscripts containing books of the Ethiopian Old Testament other than the Psalter. We will attempt to draw some preliminary conclusions about the structure of the canon in Ethiopia—at least, as that canon is reflected in the content and order of biblical manuscripts.

Sixty-eight of the 332 manuscripts (or 20.4 percent) contain the collection known as the Orit, or Octateuch. These books appear in the manuscripts either by themselves (list 1 below) or alongside other canonical books (list 2).

Our initial survey of these two lists points to two general patterns:

(2) With only a few exceptions, the manuscripts of the books of the Old Testament were transmitted not as pandects, but as only segments of the Old Testament canonical books.

(3) The first of these segments was clearly the Ethiopian Orit, or Octateuch, comprised not of five but of eight canonical books that appear in a rigid order: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth.

Here, then, are the two lists describing the sixty-eight manuscripts that contain the Ethiopian Octateuch.

Manuscript List 1

Manuscripts with only the Ethiopian Octateuch and in this order: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth.[6]

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6. A few explanations are necessary regarding the forms of sigla used below: (1) the history of scholarship around books attributed to Ezra, and the titles given to the books (i.e., Ezra and Esdras), is a complex subject in its own right (with catalogs employing not only various titles but even the same titles for different works); often we have simply cited the contents of a manuscript according to the system employed by the cataloger of the manuscript (which results in both systems being employed); (2) Daniel and Jeremiah are often cited with the extension "cyc" to designate the other

1. Ber, Staats. Preuss. MS or. fol. 3066 (= VOHD 1:152, 19th c.)[7]
2. BFBS 1 (ca. 1400)[8]
3. BFBS 199 (20th c.)
4. BL 480 (15th c.)[9]
5. BL 482 (18th c.)
6. BN Abb 22 (15th c./16th c.)[10]
7. BN Abb 148 (18th c.)
8. BN éth. 3 (Zotan. 4, 15th c.) Gen, Exod (frag.)[11]
9. BN éth. 102 (Zotan. 3, 1262–1277)
10. Dav Keb 4 (1417/1418)[12]
11. Dav Zeway (15th c.)
12. Dav Maq 1 (1409/1410)
13. Dav Maq 2 (15th c.)
14. EMIP 683, Cap Th Inst 29 (19th c.)[13]
15. EMIP 625 (20th c.) Pentateuch only
16. EMIP 1037 + 8, Mihur Ged 62 + 63 (early 15th c.), EMIP 1048, Addis Alem 6 (1909)
17. EMIP 1115, Addis Alem 73 (20th c.)
18. EMIP 2111, Hav Ren Har 23 (17th–early 18th c.)
19. EMML 39 (19th c.)[14]

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books that accompany them in the LXX; (3) "Phil" below refers to Philippians; (4) the book of Proverbs is transmitted in two sections in Ethiopia (hence Prov1 and Prov2) but occasionally catalogued simply as Proverbs (hence Prov).

7. Entries for this and the other manuscripts marked with a VOHD number can be found in HamSixBerl (VOHD 1), SixBay (VOHD 2), and SixDeu (VOHD 3). Other entries on Ethiopic manuscripts in Berlin can be found in DillmBerl.

8. Information on the collection of Ethiopian manuscripts in the British and Foreign and Bible Society collection can be found in FalCat.

9. Information on Ethiopic manuscripts held in the British Library and formerly in the British Museum can be found in DillmLond, StBritLibCat, and WrBriMus.

10. Entries for this and other manuscripts at the Bibliotheque Nationale in the Abbadie collection can be found in AbbCat.

11. Entries for this and other manuscripts at the Bibliotheque Nationale can be found in AbbCat and in Zotan.

12. Entries for the manuscripts in the Donald Davies collection of microfilms can be found in MacDavCat.

13. EMIP stands for the Ethiopian Manuscript Imaging Project, directed by Steve Delamarter, assisted by Jeremy Brown. Catalogs of the project are published as part of the EMTS series from Pickwick Publications, Eugene, Oregon.

14. EMML refers to the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, the largest of all microfilm projects conducted in Ethiopia between 1973 and 1993. Some 9,600 manuscripts were microfilmed, and a series of catalogues produced: Getatchew Haile and

20. EMML 199 (early 20th c.)
21. EMML 361 (20th c.)
22. EMML 488 (early 20th c.)
23. EMML 510 (18th c.)
24. EMML 1888 (19th–20th c.)
25. EMML 1929 (1434–1468)
26. EMML 2098 (15th c.)
27. EMML 2388 (1768)
28. EMML 7637 (16th c.)
29. Ethio-SPARE AddiQol 8 (16th c.)[15]
30. EMML 9001 (early 15th c.)
31. Ethio-SPARE Qaqama-Gannat 3 (1664), Ethio-SPARE Ura Masqal 40 (14th c.)
32. GG 60 (16th c.)[16]
33. GG 88 (15th c.) Josh, Judg, Ruth (frag. of Orit)
34. GG 140 (15th–16th c.) Orit frags: Num (frags.), Josh (frags.), Ruth (frags.)
35. IES 294 (15th c., incomplete at end)[17]
36. Manchester, Rylands 25 (Strelcyn 25, 1682)[18]
37. Pistoia, Martini eth 2 (1438)
38. UNESCO 2.02 (early 20th c.)[19]

William F. Macomber, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library*, 10 vols. (Collegeville, MN: Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, St. John's Abbey and University, 1975–1993).

15. The Ethio-SPARE project has digitized hundreds of manuscripts in Ethiopia. Reports on their work can be found at their website, as well as an extensive list of publications: http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546b.

16. Gunda Gunde is a monastery in Northern Ethiopia with a very fine collection of old manuscripts. A digitization team, led by Michael Gervers (University of Toronto) and supported in various ways by the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, was able to photograph the collection, and a catalog by Mr. Ted Erho is in preparation. He was kind enough to share some of the information from that catalog with us.

17. The Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) is the premier research institution in Ethiopia, founded in 1962. It is connected to Addis Ababa University, founded by Haile Selassie. The manuscripts and archives department of the IES has the largest collection of Gəʿəz manuscripts in the world, numbering around 1,800. These were digitized in 2010 by the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project, with support from the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme. *Ato* Demeke Berhane was head of the department at that time.

18. Entries for the manuscripts in the Rylands collection can be found in StRylCat and in DelEngCat.

19. UNESCO refers to the collection of around 370 manuscripts that were micro-

39. UNESCO 2.04 (early 20th c.)
40. UNESCO 8.02 (1847–1901)
41. UNESCO 8.04 (17th–18th c.)
42. Vat, Cerulli 205 (1930/1931)[20]

Manuscript List 2

Manuscripts with books of the Octateuch (in their standard order) and containing other books.

1. BN Abb 117 (1684) Orit, Jub.
2. BL 481 (17th c.) Orit, Matt, Mark, Luke, John, Sinodos
3. BL 483 (1721) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings
4. BL 484 (18th c.) En., Orit, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Ezek, 1 Esd, 2 Esd, 3 Esd, 4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Sir
5. Cam, Add 1570 (1588/1589) En. (extracts), Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cycle, Apoc Ezra, Dan cyc, Ezek[21]
6. Dav Bizan 1 (1530) Orit, Jub., 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1 Chr, 2 Chr
7. EMIP 743, Chel Sil 4 (17th c.) En., Orit, Jub., Job
8. EMIP 754, Chel Sil 13 (18th–early 19th c.) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1 Kgs, 2 Kgs, 3 Kgs (incomplete)
9. EMML 1163 (18th c.) Orit, Jub.
10. EMML 1842 (1662/1663) Orit, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Sir
11. EMML 2436 (1663) En., Orit, Isa, Dan cyc, En.
12. EMML 2532 (1755–1769) Orit, Jub.
13. EMML 4437 (17th–18th c.) En., Orit, Jub., Isa
14. EMML 4750 (18th c.) En., Orit, Jub.
15. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 1 (= Gold 1, 18th c.), En., Job, Orit[22]
16. GG 101 (15th–16th, frag. of an Orit) Jub. (frags.), Deut

filmed in Ethiopia between September 1969 and February 1970 by a UNESCO mobile microfilm unit. The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Department of Fine Arts and Culture, produced a sketchy hand list: *Catalogue of Manuscripts Microfilmed by the UNESCO Mobile Microfilm Unit in Addis Ababa and Gojjam Province* (Addis Ababa: 1970).

20. Entries for the manuscripts in the Cerulli collection in the Vatican library can be found in RaiCerCat.

21. Information about the Ethiopic manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library can be found in UllCamCat and in DelEngCat.

22. Information about the Ethiopic manuscripts in the Frankfurt collections can be found in GoldFrank and in SixDeu.

17. IES 77 (1934) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Jub., Macc, En., 1–2 Ezra, Neh, Tob, Jud, Esth, Job, Pss, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12
18. IES 2480 (early 20th) Orit (with marginal mnemonics for the traditional commentary), Jub.
19. Oxford, Bod Dill. I–IV (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) Orit, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Kgs, En.[23]
20. UNESCO 2.01 (19th–early 20th c.) Orit, 1–4 Kgs
21. UNESCO 5.03 (early 18th c.) Orit, Jub.
22. Vat, Cerulli 75 (20th c.) Orit, Jub., En., 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Esd, Jud, Esth, Tob, Macc, Job, Ps, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, four gospels, Act, epistles of Paul, Gen. Epistles, Rev
23. Vat, Cerulli 199 (19th c.) Orit, Jub.

From these two lists combined, we can identify several patterns about the Ethiopian Orit.

(4) Beyond the Psalms and Song of Songs, the eight books of the Ethiopian Orit were among the most-copied books in the Ethiopic Old Testament. In this sample of 332 manuscripts, we find 68 copies, or 20.4 percent of the total.

(5) The Ethiopian Orit stood not just as a collection but as a distinct corpus with a clear unity, a distinct order, and an apparent priority.

(6) In 66 percent of these 68 copies, the Orit was transmitted in manuscripts by itself without any other books.

(7) In another 23.5 percent of these cases, the Orit was transmitted with other books but came first in the manuscript. Together, this statistic and the previous one speak to the usual priority of the Orit.

(8) There was one significant exception to the pattern of the priority of Orit: in the final six manuscripts (8.8 percent of the whole), the book of Enoch came before the Orit, and in one case it was Enoch and Job that were prior to the Orit.

From manuscript list 2, consisting of twenty-three manuscripts that contain the Orit along with other books of the Ethiopic Old Testament, we can tentatively detect a few more patterns regarding the books that usually followed the Orit:

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23. Entries on the Ethiopic manuscripts in the Bodleian library can be found in DillmBodl, UllBodl, and DelEngCat.

(9) In the twenty-three cases where other canonical books follow the Orit, nine of the manuscripts (39 percent) have the book of Jubilees following the Orit.

(10) In another five cases (22 percent), the Orit was followed by 1–4 Kings.

(11) Thus, all this would suggest a fairly strong conception in Ethiopia that the Old Testament Scriptures begin with the Octateuch, and, less strongly, that the book of Enoch could precede it and the book of Jubilees could follow it.

6. Old Testament, Volume 2

The second large category of manuscripts that emerges in our study comprises those that contain the books of 1–4 Kings and/or 1–2 Chronicles. Seventy-six of the 332 manuscripts (or 22.8 percent) fit this description. They fall into three subcategories: (1) manuscripts containing 1–4 Kings and other works, sometimes including 1–2 Chronicles (manuscript list 3); (2) manuscripts with only 1–4 Kings (manuscript list 4); and (3) manuscripts containing 1–2 Chronicles and not containing 1–4 Kings (manuscript list 5).

Manuscript List 3

Manuscripts containing 1–4 Kings and other works, sometimes including 1–2 Chronicles.

1. BL Or. 8823 (18th c.) En., 1–4 Kgs, Macc
2. BL 483 (1721) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings
3. BL 486 (18th c.) En., 1–4 Kgs, Sir, Jer cyc
4. BL 487 (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Sir, 1–3 Macc, Esth, Jud, Tob
5. BL 488 (1726) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1–2 Chr, Book of 12
6. BL 493 (18th c.) Pss, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Song, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1–2 Chr, Book of 12, Dan cyc
7. BN Abb 35 (17th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, 1 Esd, 2 Esd, 3 Esd, 4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Est
8. BN Abb 137 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Isa, Job, Dan cyc
9. BN Abb 197 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, En., Job, Dan cyc
10. BN éth. 94 (Zotan. 5, 15th c.) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Kebra Negast
11. Cam, Add 1570 (1588/1589) En. (extracts), Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cycle, Apoc Ezra, Dan cyc, Ezek
12. Dav Bizan 1 (1530) Orit, Jub., 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1–2 Chr

13. Dav Bizan 2 (1416/1417) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1–2 Chr (1 Chr incomplete)
14. Dav Zion 3 (1664) Pss, Bib Canticles, Song, Praises of Mary (incomplete), Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Sir, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Job
15. EMIP 746, Chel Sil 5 (early 19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Solar Charts, En., 1–2 Chr, 2–3 Ezra, Tob, Esth, Jud
16. EMIP 752, Chel Sil 11 (18th c.) Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Job, 1–4 Kgs, Book of Philosophy
17. EMIP 754, Chel Sil 13 (18th–early 19th c.) Orit, List of Kings, 1–4 Kgs
18. EMIP 881, Chel Sil 142 (17th c., the book has experienced some disruption) 3–4 Kings, List of Kings, 2 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, 3 Kgs, 4 Kgs, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, 1 Esd, 2 Esd, 3 Esd, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth, excerpts from Book of 12
19. EMIP 1095, Addis Alem 53 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Sir
20. EMIP 1128, Addis Alem 86 (1895/1896) 1–4 Kgs, Job, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Esth
21. EMIP 1134, Addis Alem 92 (19th c.) Computus tables, En., Job, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc
22. EMML 38 (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Job, Isa, Prov, Admonitions of Solomon, Wis, Eccl, 1 Esd, Sus, Dan
23. EMML 259 (18th c.) Vocab of difficult words in 1–4 Kgs, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12
24. EMML 819 (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Dan cyc, Esth
25. EMML 954 (1906/1907) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, varia
26. EMML 1481, (early 17th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Jud, Esth, Dan cyc, Isa, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc, 1–2 Chr, Tob
27. EMML 1839 (17th–18th c.) Commentary, Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Job, Book of 12, Isa, Ezek, Prov, Eccl, Wis
28. EMML 2148 (1611) Prov, Eccl, Wis, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings
29. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 4 (= Gold 4, 18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Job, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, 4 Ezra, Dan cyc
30. GG 106 (1682–1706) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Ezra, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
31. Rylands 23 (18th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs
32. UNESCO 2.20 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Sir
33. UNESCO 10.36 (1931/1932) Esth, 1–4 Kgs
34. Vat, Cerulli 35 (17th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Computus
35. Vat, Cerulli 75 (20th c.) Orit, Jub., En., 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Esd, Jud, Esth, Tob, Macc, Job, Ps, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, four gospels, Acts, epistles of Paul, Gen. Epistles, Rev
36. Vat, Cerulli 218 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Macc, Song

From manuscript list 3 and the other two lists that follow, we observe the obvious.

(12) The order of the four books of Kings is as rigidly followed in the manuscript tradition as is the order of the eight books that make up the Orit.

From manuscript list 3 we see that:

(13) In manuscripts where 1–4 Kings is preceded by anything (i.e., in fifteen of the seventy-six cases, or 19.7 percent of the time), it is usually preceded by Orit directly (three cases) or by some combination of Orit with Enoch or Jubilees (three times by Enoch and Jubilees; one time Enoch and Orit; one time by Orit, Jubilees, and Enoch; and one time by Orit and Jubilees).

(14) This seems to confirm two notions: (1) that Orit, Enoch, and Jubilees are conceived as closely linked to one another; and (2) that 1–4 Kings is the corpus that comes next in the canon directly behind Orit and its usual companions.

(15) Perhaps the most significant observation we can make about the transmission of the books of 1–4 Kings in manuscripts that contain other books is that in twenty-one of those thirty-six cases (or 58.3% of the time), 1–4 Kings is the lead work in the manuscript.

This observation leads directly to manuscript list 4, those manuscripts that contain only 1–4 Kings.

Manuscript List 4

Manuscripts with only 1–4 Kings.

1. Ber, Staats. Preuss. or. quart. 985 (VOHD 1:105, 17th–18th c.) 1–4 Kgs (followed by Dan in a later hand)
2. BN Abb 57 (15th c.)
3. BN éth. 1 (Zotan. 24, 19th c.)
4. BN éth. 2 & 8 (Zotan. 1–2, 1666)
5. EMIP 311 (19th–20th c.)
6. EMML 129 (1921/1922)
7. EMML 2447 (1897)
8. EMML 3018 (18th c.)
9. EMML 4760 (19th c.)
10. EMML 4767 (17th–18th c.)
11. Ethio-SPARE, Ura Masqal 58 (14th c.) 2–4 Kgs (incomplete at beginning)
12. GG 119 (1472/1473)
13. GG 170 + 195 (15th–16th c.)
14. IES 177 (= EMML 1402, 18th c.)

15. JerPat 2E (19th c.)[24]
16. Tan 55, Kebran 55 (18th? c.)[25]
17. Tan 58, Kebran 58 (18th? c.)
18. Tan 104, Rema 15 (1903/1904)
19. Tan 132, Daga Estifanos 21 (18th? c.)
20. Tan 168, Daga Estifanos 57 (18th c.)
21. UNESCO 2.05 (early 19th c.)
22. UNESCO 2.06 (early 18th c.)
23. UNESCO 2.12 (19th c.)
24. UNESCO 2.15 (early 20th) 1–4 Kgs, Wedding Ritual
25. UNESCO 8.3 (17th c.)
26. UNESCO 10.14 (18th c.)

Manuscript list 4 makes clear three conclusions.

(16) In another twenty-six cases where 1–4 Kings appears in manuscripts, it is transmitted by itself, without companions.

(17) Out of the seventy-six cases where 1–4 Kings appears in manuscripts, in forty-six of those cases (or 60.5 percent of that total) it is either transmitted by itself (twenty-six times, or 34.2 percent) or as the first in the manuscript (twenty-one cases, or 27.6 percent).

(18) This could suggest a notion that 1–4 Kings is not only the usual second corpus in the Old Testament canon directly following Orit and its close companions, but that in formats where the Old Testament is transmitted in multiple volumes, 1–4 Kings would be the first work in the second volume.

This, then, brings us to the case of 1–2 Chronicles. We present here a fifth list of manuscripts.

Manuscript List 5

Manuscripts Containing 1–2 Chronicles (and not 1–4 Kings).

1. BL 489 (1730) 1–2 Chr, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Sir, 1–4 Ezra, Tob, Jud, Esth, 1 Macc
2. BN Abb 141 (18th–19th c.) 1–2 Chr, fragments

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24. An account of the manuscripts in the Ethiopian Orthodox Patriarch's library in Jerusalem can be found in IsaJerPat.

25. Ernst Hammerschmidt mounted a project in the late 1960s to microfilm 182 manuscripts at churches and monasteries around Lake Tana in Ethiopia. Hammerschmidt and Veronika Six published a series of three catalogs: *Äthiopische Handscrhriften vom Ṭānāsee*, VOHD 20.1–3 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973–1999).

3. EMIP 688, CFRRC[26] 34 (1971) 1–2 Chr, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12
4. EMIP 1120, Addis Alem 78 (early 20th c.) Jub., 1–2 Chr, 1–3 Macc
5. EMIP 1123, Addis Alem 81 = EMML 6264 (17th–early 18th c.) 1–2 Chr, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, Tob, Jud, Esth
6. EMIP 1063, Addis Alem 21 (19th–20th c.) 1–2 Chr, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 3 Esd, 4 Esd
7. EMML 51 (1897/1898) 1–2 Chr, Isa
8. EMML 248 (1924/1925) only 1–2 Chr
9. GG 94 (15th c.) 1–2 Chr, 2–3 Ezra
10. GG 95 (15th c.) 1–2 Chr, Jub.
11. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbib. cod. Aeth 72 (VOHD 2:70, 18th? c.) first part of MS missing, 2 Chr 23:14–36:23, 2–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, 1Esd, Josephus, *Ant*.[27]
12. UNESCO 10.4 (17–early 18th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Chr.
13. Vat, Cerulli 28 (18th c.) Book of 12, Jer cyc, 1–2 Chr, 1–2 Ezra, Macc
14. Vat, Cerulli 131 (19th c.) Jer cyc, Job, Dan cyc, Esth, En., Isa, 1–2 Chr, Tob

From the information about 1–2 Chronicles in manuscript lists 3 and 5, we learn the following.

(19) 1–2 Chronicles was always copied together and in that order.

(20) 1–2 Chronicles was transmitted in two general patterns: about half the time in manuscripts with 1–4 Kings (in thirteen of twenty-seven cases, or 48 percent of the time) and about half the time without 1–4 Kings (in fourteen of twenty-seven cases, or 52 percent of the time).

(21) When it was copied in the same manuscript with 1–4 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles never preceded 1–4 Kings.

(22) In fact, when transmitted in the same manuscripts, 1–2 Chronicles usually followed directly after 1–4 Kings (in eleven of those thirteen cases, or 84.6 percent of the time).

(23) When transmitted apart from 1–4 Kings, it was usually the lead work in the manuscript (in nine of those fourteen cases). Since 1–4 Kings was usually the lead work in the manuscript when transmitted with other books, this may suggest one approach to copying the entire Old Testament: 1–2 Chronicles as the first work in a third volume of the Old Testament, where 1–4 Kings had been the lead work in a second volume.

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26. The collection of manuscripts owned by the Capuchin Franciscan Research and Retreat Center in Asko, on the outskirts of Addis Ababa, was digitized by the Ethiopic Manuscript Imaging Project some years ago and assigned EMIP numbers.

27. Entries for the Ethiopic manuscripts in Münich can be found in SixBay.

(24) What varied most in the transmission of 1–2 Chronicles was what books followed 1–2 Chronicles. There seems to be little or no discernible pattern. In our sample of twenty-seven cases where 1–2 Chronicles was copied with other books, in four cases they were followed by books of Ezra; in three cases by Proverbs; in two cases each by books of Maccabees, the Book of the Twelve, the Daniel cycle, and Tobit; and in one case each by Job, Jereremiah, Isaiah, Wisdom, and Kebra Nagast. In four cases, 1–2 Chronoicles were the final books in the manuscript.

To summarize the statistical relation between 1–4 Kings and 1–2 Chronicles:

(25) 1–4 Kings appears fairly frequently in Ethiopic manuscripts of Old Testament books, 64 times among the 332 total number of manuscripts (19.2 percent). Copies of 1–2 Chronicles, on the other hand, appear in only 27 cases (8.1 percent of the 332), that is, less than half as often as 1–4 Kings.

7. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel

As we come to an analysis of these four books in the Ethiopian Old Testament biblical manuscripts, we would do well to review the practices and conceptions for the transmission of these books in the West in our own day. On the one hand, the term *Major Prophets* is well known, as is the list of books in this group, namely the four books: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. Even though the book of Lamentations comes between Jeremiah and Ezekiel, no one would think to number Lamentations among the four Major Prophets. And if one were to ask for an explanation, it would be that the lamentations are those of Jeremiah and that the book of Lamentations is ancillary to the book of Jeremiah—almost part of it. Clearly this notion is identical to the one in the transmission of the Jeremiah cycle in the Septuagint. In that case, several other books were bound up with the book of the oracles of Jeremiah and transmitted along with that book as part of a larger entity, the Jeremiah cycle. Perhaps the point to be made here is that it is not necessary even in the modern Protestant outlook for the four books that make up the Major Prophets to follow one another without interruption in order for them to constitute a corpus.

Yet even when allowing for some latitude in how we define the content and order of books that might make up a corpus of Major Prophets in the Ethiopic canon, it is not clear that such an entity actually ever existed in

Ethiopia. In order to see this clearly, we need to look at the manuscripts that contain these four books.

Manuscript List 6

Manuscripts containing one of the so-called Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel).

1. Ber, König. Bib., MS. or. qu. 283 (= Dill 3, 15th–16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Dan cyc
2. Ber, König. Bib., Peterm. II Nachtr. 35 (= Dill 4, 16th–17th c.) Sir, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
3. Ber, König. Bib., Peterm. II Nachtr. 42 (= Dill 2, 15th c.) Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek
4. Ber, Staats. Preuss. MS. orient. fol. 3067 (VOHD 1:153, 17th c.) Jer cyc, Job, 1–3 Esd
5. Ber, Staats. Preuss. or. quart. 985 (VOHD 1:105, 17th–18th c.) 1–4 Kgs (followed by Dan in a later hand)
6. Ber, Staats. Preuss. or. quart. 986 (VOHD 1:106, 17th–18th c.) Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, 1–2 Esd, Book of 12, varia
7. BFBS 186 (19th c.) En., Job, Isa, Apoc. Ezra, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl
8. BFBS 202 (1925/1926) Dan cyc, Book of 12
9. BL Add. 24,990, Wright XIII (n.d.) En., Job, Wis, Eccl, Song, varia, Isa, varia, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
10. BL Add. 24,991, Wright XIV (17th c.) excerpt Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan, 1 Esd, 4 Esd (frag.), Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
11. BL Or. 484, Wright VII (18th c.) En., Orit, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Ezek, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Sir
12. BL Or. 486 (18th c.) En., 1–4 Kgs, Sir, Jer cyc
13. BL Or. 489 (1730) 1–2 Chr, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Sir, 1–4 Ezra, Tob, Jud, Esth, 1 Macc
14. BL Or. 490 Wright XII (18th c.) En., Job, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Isa, Book of 12
15. BL Or. 492, Wright XVI (18th c.) En., Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, 1 Esd, Song, List of Kings, Sir, Jud, Esth, Tob
16. BL Or. 494, Wright XVIII (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Dan cyc, List of Kings, varia
17. BL Or. 496, Wright XX (17th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 1–2 Pet, 1–3 John, Jas, Jude
18. BL Or. 497, Wright XXI (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12
19. BL Or. 498, Wright XXII (17th c.) Dan cyc, Job, Sir, Book of 12
20. BL Or. 499, Wright XXIII (18th c.) Sir, Dan cyc, En., Isa, Book of 12
21. BL Or. 501, Wright XXV (15th c.) Isa, Ascen. Isa., Book of 12, Ezek, Dan cyc

22. BL Or. 502, Wright XXVI (18th c.) Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Macc
23. BL Or. 504, Wright XXVIII (1755) Jer cyc, Ezek, 1–4 Esd, 1–2 Macc, Macc, Tob, Esth, Jud, Sir
24. BL Or. 505, Wright XXXI (1721–1730) 1–2 Macc, Macc, Tob, Esth, Jud, Sir, Dan cyc
25. BL Or. 8822 (Strelcyn 3) (18th c.) En., Job, Dan, 1 Esd, Eccl
26. BN Abb 16 (19th c.) En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan cyc, Sir, Job, Song
27. BN Abb 30 (17th–18th c.) En., Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Job, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Isa
28. BN Abb 35 (17th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth
29. BN Abb 55 (15th–16th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, 1–2 Esd, Esth, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc
30. BN Abb 137 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Isa, Job, Dan cyc
31. BN Abb 149 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Dan cyc
32. BN Abb 149 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Dan cyc
33. BN Abb 205 (19th c.) Tob, Dan cyc
34. BN éth. 9 (Zotan 6, 17th c.) Jer cyc
35. BN éth. 11 (Zotan 7, 14th c.) Job, Dan cyc
36. BN éth. 307, Griaule 3 (18th–19th c.) 1 Esd, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12
37. Cam, Add. 1570 (1588/1589) En. (extracts), Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cycle, Apoc Ezra, Dan cyc, Ezek
38. Dav Zion 1 (15th c.) Book of 12, Isa (frag.), En. (frag.), Tob (frag.), Jud (frag.), 1–3 Esd (frags.), Dan cyc, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl (frag.), Wis (frag.), Ezek (frag.), Job (frag.)
39. EMIP 682, CFRRC 28 (20th c.) Isa, Jer cyc
40. EMIP 688, CFRRC 34 (1971) 1–2 Chr, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12
41. EMIP 691, CFRRC 37 (1956/1957) Ezek (Gəʿəz Text and Amharic Commentary), Biography of Ezek, Entry about Ezek from the Synaxarium, List of the canon of the Scriptures
42. EMIP 858, Chel Sil 119 (19th c.) Isa
43. EMIP 881, Chel Sil 142 (17th c., the book has experienced some disruption) 3–4 Kings, List of Kings, 2 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, 3 Kgs, 4 Kgs, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, 1 Esd, 2 Esd, 3 Esd, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth, excerpts from Book of 12
44. EMIP 937, Meqala Mikaʾel 160 (19th c.) Book of 12, Jer cyc, En. (with commentary)
45. EMIP 945, Meqala Mikaʾel 168 (18th c.) Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 2–3 Ezra

46. EMIP 1029 Mihur Gedam 54 (15th–16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Sir, Ezek, Jer cyc, Ezra, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Jud, Esth
47. EMIP 1051, Addis Alem 9 (17th c.) Jer cyc, Tob, Jud, Esth, Dan cyc, Computus
48. EMIP 1063 Addis Alem 21 (19th–20th c.) 1–2 Chr, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 3 Esd, 4 Esd
49. EMIP 1070, Addis Alem 28 (1914) Job, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song
50. EMIP 1074, Addis Alem 32 (17th c.) Dan cyc (with commentary), Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Sir
51. EMIP 1083 (18th c.) 1 Esd, Jer cyc, Sir
52. EMIP 1088 (19th c.) Isa, Ezra, Song, Esth, 1 Esd, 3 Ezra
53. EMIP 1091 (1921) En., Jer cyc, Sir
54. EMIP 1105 (18th–19th c.) Ezek, Jer cyc, 2 Ezra, En., Sir
55. EMIP 1134, Addis Alem 92 (19th c.) Computus tables, En., Job, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc
56. EMIP 2007 (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Book of 12, Isa
57. EMML 25 (16th c.) Jer cyc, Ezek
58. EMML 36 (18th–19th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, Sir, Tob, Dan, 1–4 Esd
59. EMML 38 (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Job, Isa, Prov, Admonitions of Solomon, Wis, Eccl, 1 Esd, Dan cyc
60. EMML 51 (1897/1898) 1–2 Chr, Isa
61. EMML 65 (early 19th c.) Jer cyc
62. EMML 73 (1896/1897) Jer cyc
63. EMML 126 (20th c.) Isa, Jer cyc
64. EMML 140 (20th c.) Isa, Joel
65. EMML 201 (1922/1923) En., Isa, Jer cyc
66. EMML 522 (20th c.) Isa, Joel
67. EMML 526 (20th c.) Isa
68. EMML 540 (early 20th c.) Isa
69. EMML 552 (early 20th c.) Jer cyc
70. EMML 629 (1961) En., Isa, Jer cyc, Physiologus
71. EMML 736 (1961) Isa, Joel, litany, two blessings of St. Yared
72. EMML 789 (19th–early 20th) Isa, Joel
73. EMML 819 (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Dan cyc, Esth
74. EMML 1011 (18th–early 19th) Isa
75. EMML 1144 (1915) Isa, Joel
76. EMML 1481 (early 17th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Jud, Esth, Dan cyc, Isa, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc, 1–2 Chr, Tob
77. EMML 1768 (15th c.) En., 1–3 Macc, Isa, Asc Isa, Jer cyc, Job, 3–4 Esd, 2 Esd, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jud, Tob, Esth

78. EMML 1839 (17th–18th c.) Commentary, Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Job, Book of 12, Isa, Ezek, Prov, Eccl, Wis
79. EMML 1842 (1662/1663) Orit, Book of 12, symbolic interpretations, Dan, Eccl
80. EMML 1917 (early 19th c.) Isa, Job, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis (incomplete)
81. EMML 1947 (early 19th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Dan cyc, List of Kings
82. EMML 2080 (16th c.) En., Jud, Esth, Isa, Ezek, Jer cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl
83. EMML 2082 (16th–17th c.) Jer cyc, Ezek, Comm. on Rev, Treasury of the Faith
84. EMML 2112 (18th c.) Isa, Computus, Dan cyc
85. EMML 2436 (1663) En., Orit, Isa, Dan cyc, En.
86. EMML 2440 (1663) Computus, En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
87. EMML 2483 (19th c.) Isa
88. EMML 2544 (1893) Isa
89. EMML 3067 (15th c.) Isa, Ascen. Isa.
90. EMML 3407 (19th c.) Job, En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
91. EMML 3439 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jer cyc
92. EMML 4437 (17th–18th c.) En., Orit, Jub., Isa
93. EMML 4460 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, 1 Ezra, Dan cyc
94. EMML 4756 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, frag. from 1 Kgs
95. EMML 4826 (20th c.) Isa
96. EMML 4920 (19th c.) Isa
97. EMML 6686 (17th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Sir, Jer cyc, Ezek
98. EMML 6930 (18th c.) En., Genealogy of Christ, Map of the world, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, List of Jacob's children, List of Prophets of Israel, Dan cyc, 1 Ezra, Isa
99. EMML 7103 (1659/1660) Computus, En., Job, Computus, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa
100. Fait 5 Abba Salama on the Dogma of the Trinity, En., Job, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Falasefa[28]

28. Information on the manuscripts of the Faitlovitch collection is to be found in an unpublished, photocopy hand list held in the library of Tel Aviv University. Our thanks to Ran Hacohen for providing us with a PDF of the photocopy.

101. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 4 (= Gold 4, 18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Job, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, 4 Ezra, Dan cyc
102. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 5 (= Gold 5, 17th c.) Jer cyc
103. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 6 (= Gold 6, n.d.) Ezek
104. Frank. StUB MS. or. 12 (VOHD 1:93, 18th? c.) Ezek
105. GG 37 (15th–16th c.) Isa (frags.), 2 Ezra (frag. from another MS)
106. GG 63 (15–16th c.) Jer cyc, Ezek
107. GG 68 (16th c.) Ezek, Life of Ezek
108. GG 69 + 193 (15th c.) Isa, Esth, Jud, Dan (frags.), Tob, Isa (frag from another codex)
109. GG 106 (1682–1706) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1 Ezra, 2 Ezra, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
110. GG 133 (15th c.) Jer cyc (frags.)
111. GG 177 (14th c.) Dan cyc, Sir, 1 Ezra, varia
112. GG 183 (15th c.) Jer cyc
113. GG 191 (16th c.) Isa (frags.)
114. GG 193 (15th c.) Dan cyc, Tob, Jud, Isa (frag from another codex), Esth (frag.)
115. IES 77 (1934) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Jub., Macc, En., 1–2 Ezra, Neh, Tob, Jud, Esth, Job, Pss, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12
116. IES 436 (15th–16th c.) Jub. (incomplete), Dan cyc, Book of 12 (codex combined with fragments of another codex with Matt and John)
117. IES 722 (15th–16th c.) Jer cyc (frags.), Ezek (incomplete at the end)
118. Jer Pat JE3E (19th c.) Isa, Dan cyc, Jud
119. Jer Pat JE4E (19th c.) Jub., 1–2 Ezra, Ezek
120. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbib. cod. Aeth 26 (= VOHD 2:26, 17th–18th? c.) Book of 12, Isa, Ezek
121. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbib. cod. Aeth 63 (= VOHD 2:63, 18th–19th? c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Asc of Isa
122. Oxford, Bod Dill. V (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) En., Job, Isa, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Dan cyc
123. Oxford, Bod Dill. VI (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) Jer cyc, Ezek, Apoc. Ezra, Ezra, Neh, Esth
124. Oxford, Bod Dill. VII (n.d.) Isa, Asc Isa, Apoc. Ezra
125. Oxford, Bod Ms. Aeth. d. 3 (17th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Song, varia
126. Prince Garrett Eth 7 (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Song, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 3 Esd[29]

29. Information on the manuscripts of the Princeton collection can be located in a finding aid provided on the University Library website. The date for Princeton Garrett Ethiopic 7 is listed as late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, but we judge it to

127. Tan 51, Kebran 51 (18th? c.) Eccl (frag.), Wis (frag.), Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Book of 12, 3 Esd, Dan cyc
128. UNESCO 1.10 (19th c.) 1–3 Macc, Ezek
129. UNESCO 1.35 (1961/1962) En., Isa
130. UNESCO 2.07 (early 20th c.) Ezek
131. UNESCO 2.08 (20th c.) Ezek
132. UNESCO 2.10 (1913/1914) Jer cyc, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan, Sir
133. UNESCO 2.11 (early 20th c.) 1 Ezra, Tob, Job, Dan cyc
134. UNESCO 2.16 (19th–early 20th c.) Job, Jer cyc
135. UNESCO 2.22 (19th c.) Isa, 1 Ezra, Tob, Jud, Esth
136. UNESCO 2.25 (early 20th c.) Isa, Book of 12
137. UNESCO 10.04 (17th–early 18th c.) En, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Chr
138. UNESCO 10.12 (18th c.) Jer cyc, Ezek, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
139. UNESCO 10.34 (19th c.) Dan cyc, Book of 12, Ezek
140. UNESCO 10.43 (17th c.) En., Isa, excerpt from Jer cyc, Dan cyc; History of the Israelite Kings
141. UNESCO 10.47 (17th c.) Daniel cycle (text and commentary, ff. 1r-56r), varia
142. UNESCO 10.48 (18th–19th c.) Jub., 3 Ezra, Macc, Jer cyc, Tob
143. UNESCO 10.65 (18th–19th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Book of 12, Isa, Commentaries
144. Vat, Cerulli 28 (18th c.) Book of 12, Jer cyc, 1–2 Chr, 1–2 Ezra, Macc
145. Vat, Cerulli 75 (20th c.) Orit, Jub., En., 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Esd, Jud, Esth, Tob, Macc, Job, Ps, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, four gospels, Act, epistles of Paul, Gen. Epistles, Rev
146. Vat, Cerulli 83 (20th c.) Ezek
147. Vat, Cerulli 84 (20th c.) Ezek
148. Vat, Cerulli 131 (19th c.) Jer cyc, Job, Dan cyc, Esth, En., Isa, 1–2 Chr, Tob
149. Vat, Cerulli 202 (19th c.) Ezra, Tob, Job, Dan cyc
150. Vat, Cerulli 222 (20th c.) Jer cyc
151. Vat, Cerulli 242 (19th c.) Book of 12, Dan cyc
152. Wein, Aeth. 16 (= Rhodo 1, 16th c.) various tractates and works, Dan cyc (text and commentary), Book of the 12 (text and commentary), more works (not a biblical MS per se)[30]

This is obviously a huge list containing a lot of information, but as we collate the information it becomes possible to identify several patterns in the manuscripts.

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be produced in the eighteenth century. We express thanks to Wendy Belcher for her help in locating the finding aid and in getting images of the manuscript.

30. Information on Ethiopic manuscripts in Vienna can be found in RhoWeinCat.

(26) The four books known as the Major Prophets in the West are among the most-copied books in Ethiopian Christianity. In this sample of 332 MSS, Isaiah was copied 82 times (24.6 percent of all the MSS), Daniel 74 times (22.2 percent), Jeremiah 56 times (16.8 percent), and Ezekiel 35 times (10.5 percent). In fact, fully 151 of the 332 manuscripts (45.4 percent, i.e., almost half) contain at least one of the four books.

(27) However, as the following statistics will show, the demographics of the manuscripts do not suggest either the existence of a distinct corpus or anything like a standard order among the four, with the possible exception of Isaiah and Jeremiah, which often appear together in that order.

(28) Otherwise, only seven of the manuscripts contain all four of the books. Five of these (BL Or. 502, BN Abb 35, BN Abb 55, IES 77, and Vat Cer 75) contain the books in the order Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, but several of these are manuscripts produced late in the tradition and under the influence of Western views of canon.

(29) The four books were usually transmitted in manuscripts along with other books of the Old Testament, and these manuscripts could include only one of the four (60 percent of the time), only two of the four (28 percent of the time), only three of the four (7 percent of the time), or all four (5 percent of the time).

(30) In cases where only one of the four books was included in a manuscript, the frequencies corresponded to the overall patterns described above: Isaiah most frequently (in thirty-three cases), Daniel next most frequently (in twenty-eight cases), Jeremiah next most frequently (in eighteen cases), and Ezekiel least frequently (in seven cases).

(31) In cases where two of the four books were included in a manuscript, the patterns of correlation correspond only to the general patterns of frequency and do not suggest anything like ideational norms. Thus, Isaiah and Daniel appear the most frequently together (eighteen times), but their order varies, and they are often not adjacent to one another. The same goes for Jeremiah and Ezekiel (eight times), Isaiah and Jeremiah (six times), Daniel and Jeremiah (five times), Isaiah and Ezekiel (two times), and Daniel and Ezekiel (two times).

(32) Similarly, in cases where three of the four books were included in a manuscript, the correlations were not noteworthy. There were no particular patterns, the order could vary, and the books were often not adjacent to one another. This was the case with Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel (in six cases copied in the same manuscript); Isaiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel (copied in the same manuscript two times); Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah (copied

in the same manuscript two times); and Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel (copied in the same manuscript two times).

(33) Thus, the four books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel appear in the manuscripts as free-standing, independent books, without particular connection to the others. This may be the case in part due to the fact that the elements that make up the books of Daniel and Jeremiah constitute, in themselves, something of a corpus.

(34) Ethiopic Jeremiah never corresponds to the MT, either in terms of the characteristic differences between LXX and MT, or in terms of its inclusion of those sections known as apocryphal and pseudepigraphical in other traditions. Ethiopic Jeremiah will always appear with Lamentations and (1) Baruch at the least, and (2) most often with the Letter of Jeremiah to the Exiles (= Bar 6 in the Vulgate) and (3) Paralipomena of Baruch (= 4 Baruch), and (4) occasionally with the Prophecy of Jeremiah to Pashur.

(35) Similarly, Ethiopic Daniel corresponds to its Greek *Vorlage*, including the additions.

8. The Book of The Twelve

Whereas it did not appear to be the case that Ethiopic manuscripts contained a corpus analogous to our Major Prophets, there clearly was an entity analogous to, indeed, identical with, the so-called Minor Prophets, or Book of the Twelve. We turn now to a list of these manuscripts.

Manuscript List 7

Manuscripts containing the Book of the Twelve.

1. Ber, Staats. Preuss. or. quart. 986 (VOHD 1:106, 17th–18th c.) Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, 1–2 Esd, Book of 12, varia
2. BN Abb 16 (19th c.) En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan cyc, Sir, Job, Song
3. BN Abb 30 (17th–18th c.) En., Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Job, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Isa
4. BN Abb 35 (17th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth
5. BN Abb 55 (15th–16th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, 1–2 Esd, Esth, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc
6. BN Abb 195 (1649) Lives of Prophets, Comm. Gen, Comm. Exod, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc

7. BFBS 202 (1925/1926) Dan cyc, Book of 12
8. BN éth. 307, Griaule 3 (18th–19th c.) 1 Esd, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12
9. BL Add. 11,601 (18th c.) Book of 12, varia
10. BL Add. 24,990, Wright XIII (n.d.) En., Job, Wis, Eccl, Song, varia, Isa, varia, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
11. BL Add. 24,991, Wright XIV (17th c.) excerpt Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan, 1 Esd, 4 Esd (frag.), Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
12. BL Or. 488, Wright IX (1726) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1–2 Chr, Book of 12
13. BL Or. 490 Wright XII (18th c.) En., Job, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Isa, Book of 12
14. BL Or. 491, Wright XV (17th c.) En., Job, Book of 12, Tob, Jud, Esth, Macc, 1–2 Macc
15. BL Or. 493, Wright XVII (18th c.) Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1–2 Chr, Book of 12, Dan cyc
16. BL Or. 496, Wright XX (17th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 1–2 Pet, 1–3 John, Jas, Jude
17. BL Or. 497, Wright XXI (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12
18. BL Or. 498, Wright XXII (17th c.) Dan cyc, Job, Sir, Book of 12
19. BL Or. 499, Wright XXIII (18th c.) Sir, Dan cyc, En., Isa, Book of 12
20. BL Or. 501, Wright XXV (15th c.) Isa, Asc Isa, Book of 12, Ezek, Dan cyc
21. BL Or. 502, Wright XXVI (18th c.) Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Macc
22. Cam, Add 1570 (1588/1589) En. (extracts), Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cycle, Apoc. Ezra, Dan cyc, Ezek
23. Dav Zion 1 (15th c.) Book of 12, Isa (frag.), En. (frag.), Tob (frag.), Jud (frag.), 1–3 Esd (frags.), Dan cyc, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl (frag.), Wis (frag.), Ezek (frag.), Job (frag.)
24. EMIP 688, CFRRC 34 (1971) 1–2 Chr, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12
25. EMIP 746, Chel Sil 5 (early 19th in spite of note on f. 237v that mentions the year of the world 7219 = 1719) 1–4 Kgs, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Solar Charts, En., 1–2 Chr, 2–3 Ezra, Tob, Esth, Jud
26. EMIP 881 (17th c.) 3–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 2 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, 3–4 Kgs, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, 1–3 Esd, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth, excerpts from Obad, Jonah, Nah
27. EMIP 937 (19th c.) Book of 12, Jer cyc, En. (with commentary)
28. EMIP 1029 Mihur Gedam 54 (15th–16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Sir, Ezek, Jer cyc, Ezra, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Jud, Esth
29. EMIP 1063 (19th–20th c.) 1–2 Chr, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 3–4 Esd
30. EMIP 1095 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Sir
31. EMIP 1123 (17th–18th c.) 1–2 Chr, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, Tob, Jud, Esth
32. EMIP 1134 (17th–18th c.), Computus tables, En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc

33. EMIP 2007 (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Book of 12, Isa
34. EMML 36 (18th–19th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, Sir, Tob, Dan, 1–4 Esd
35. EMML 140 (20th c.) Isa, Joel
36. EMML 259 (18th c.) Vocab of words in 1–4 Kgs, On Faith, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12
37. EMML 349 (1923/1924) Book of 12
38. EMML 522 (20th c.) Isa, Joel
39. EMML 736 (1961) Isa, Joel, litany, two blessings of St. Yared
40. EMML 789 (19th–early 20th c.) Isa, Joel
41. EMML 1144 (1915) Isa, Joel
42. EMML 1481 (early 17th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Jud, Esth, Dan cyc, Isa, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc, 1–2 Chr, Tob
43. EMML 1768 (15th c.) En., 1–3 Macc, Isa, Ascen. Isa., Jer cyc, Job, 3–4 Esd, 2 Esd, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jud, Tob, Esth
44. EMML 1839 (17th–18th c.) Comm on Orit, Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Job, Book of 12, Isa, Ezek, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis
45. EMML 1842 (1662/1663) Orit, Book of 12, symbolic interpretations, Dan, Eccl
46. EMML 1917 (early 19th c.) Isa, Job, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis (incomplete)
47. EMML 2080 (16th c.) En., Jud, Esth, Isa, Ezek, Jer cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Ecc
48. EMML 2440 (1663) Computus, En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
49. EMML 2545 (1908/1909) Spiritual readings for the year, Joel
50. EMML 3407 (19th c.) Job, En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
51. EMML 4756 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, frag from 1 Kgs
52. EMML 6686 (17th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Sir, Jer cyc, Ezek
53. EMML 6930 (18th c.) En., Genealogy of Christ, Map of the world, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, List of Jacob's children, List of Prophets of Israel, Dan cyc, 1 Ezra, Isa
54. Fait 1 (17th–18th c.) (apparently rebound) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Rom, 1–2 Cor, Gal, Eph, Phil, Col, 1–2 Thess, 1–2 Tim, Tit, Phil, Heb, Rev, Acts, Book of 12
55. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 4 (= Gold 4, 18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Job, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, 4 Ezra, Dan cyc
56. GG 106 (1682–1706) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Esd, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth

57. GG 152 (16th c.) Book of 12 (incomplete at the start, with scribal errors and codex dislocations)
58. GG 181 (16th c.) Book of 12 (with codex dislocations)
59. GG 203 (15th c.) Book of the 12 (frag. containing most of six books)
60. IES 77 (1934) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Jub., Macc, En., 1–2 Ezra, Neh, Tob, Jud, Esth, Job, Pss, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12
61. IES 93, EMML 1370 (early 20th c.) Book of 12, commentary on symbols
62. IES 436 (15th–16th c.) Jub. (incomplete), Dan cyc, Book of 12 (codex combined with fragments of another codex with Matt and John)
63. Jer Pat JE5E (19th c.) En., Book of 12
64. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbib. cod. Aeth 26 (= VOHD 2:26, 17th–18th? c.) Book of 12, Isa
65. Oxford, Bod Dill. V (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) En., Job, Isa, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Dan cyc
66. Oxford, Bod Dill. VIII (n.d.) Book of 12
67. Oxford, Bod Ms. Aeth. d. 3 (17th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Song, varia
68. Oxford, Bod Ms. Aeth. d. 12, Huntington 625 (14th c.) Book of 12 (missing some folios at the start)
69. Prince Garrett Eth 7 (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Song, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 3 Esd
70. Tan 51, Kebran 51 (18th? c.) Eccl (frag.), Wis (frag.), Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Book of 12, 3 Esd, Dan cyc
71. UNESCO 2.25 (early 20th c.) Isa, Book of 12
72. UNESCO 10.04 (17th–early 18th c.) Enoch, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Chr
73. UNESCO 10.34 (19th c.) Dan cyc, Book of 12, Ezek
74. UNESCO 10.65 (18th–19th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Book of 12, Isa, Commentaries
75. Vat, Cerulli 55 (20th c.) Book of 12
76. Vat, Cerulli 75 (20th c.) Orit, Jub., En., 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Esd, Jud, Esth, Tob, Macc, Job, Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, four gospels, Acts, epistles of Paul, Gen. Epistles, Rev
77. Vat, Cerulli 218 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Macc, Song
78. Vat, Cerulli 242 (19th c.) Book of 12, Dan cyc
79. Wein, Aeth. 16 (= Rhodo 1, 16th) various tractates and works, Dan cyc (text and commentary), Book of the 12 (text and commentary), more works (not a biblical MS per se)

From manuscript list 7 we can draw several inferences.

(36) The Book of the Twelve appeared frequently in manuscripts of the books of the Ethiopic Old Testament. In this sample of 332 manu-

scripts, the 74 manuscripts with the entire corpus represent 22.2 percent of the sample.

(37) The manuscripts clearly show that the individual books were conceived as parts of the whole. Scribes copied all of these twelve books together as one. In the seventy-nine manuscripts which included any one of the books of the Minor Prophets, seventy-four appeared to have had all of the books intact and contiguous when copied.

(38) Further, the order of the Ethiopic Book of the Twelve was inviolate in the Ethiopic scribal tradition: Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.[31]

(39) Interestingly, the only exceptions to these patterns all have to do with the book of Joel: six manuscripts contained only Joel among the Minor Prophets. EMML 2545, copied in 1908–1909, provides the sole example of a manuscript containing just the one book unaccompanied by any other canonical book. A further five manuscripts (all copied quite recently) contained only the two works Isaiah and Joel.

(40) This uniformity of the order of the books within the Book of the Twelve stands in stark contrast to the variety of locations the Book of the Twelve occupies in relationship to other Old Testament books in a codex. Few correlations seem noteworthy, though there may be a couple of exceptions.

(41) The greatest statistical correlation is between the Book of the Twelve and the book of Isaiah, which was adjacent to the Book of the Twelve in twenty-eight manuscripts (twenty-one times just before the Twelve and seven times just after). Similarly, the Daniel cycle was adjacent to the Book of the Twelve in twenty-four manuscripts (twelve times before and twelve times after). But, it will be remembered that Isaiah and Daniel were among the most frequently copied books in the Ethiopic Old Testament (eighty-two and seventy-four copies respectively) so this abundance of copies may account for the correlations. Eleven other books come just before the Book of the Twelve, anywhere between one and five times. Ten other books come just after the Book of the Twelve, anywhere between one and six times.

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31. Some of the manuscripts we studied had suffered damage and dislocation of folios. But, whatever evidence was extant was consistent with this standard order of the books.

9. The Solomonic Corpus

In the Ethiopic tradition, the following books were attributed to Solomon: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Solomon, and Song of Songs. From the way they are handled in the manuscripts, it is clear that they were understood to be a corpus, though with some variation in their order and in their content.

Manuscript List 8

Manuscripts containing the Books of Solomon.

1. Ber, König. Bib., MS. or. qu. 283 (= Dill 3, 15th–16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Dan cyc
2. Ber, Staats. Preuss. or. quart. 986 (VOHD 1:106, 17th–18th c.) Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, 1–2 Esd, Book of 12, varia
3. BFBS 186 (19th c.) En., Job, Isa, Apoc. Ezra, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl
4. BL Or. 493, Wright XVII (18th c.) Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1–2 Chr, Book of 12, Dan cyc
5. BL Or. 494, Wright XVIII (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Dan cyc, List of Kings, varia
6. BL Or. 495, Wright XIX (18th c.) Song, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis
7. BL Or. 496, Wright XX (17th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 1 Pet, 2 Pet, 1–3 John, Jas, Jude
8. BL Or. 497, Wright XXI (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12
9. BL Or. 8822 (Strelcyn 3) (18th c.) En., Job, Dan, 1 Esd, Eccl
10. BN Abb 16 (19th c.), En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan cyc, Sir, Job, Song
11. BN Abb 30 (17th–18th c.) En., Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Job, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Isa
12. BN Abb 35 (17th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth
13. BN Abb 55 (15th–16th c.), En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, 1–2 Esd, Esth, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc
14. BN Abb 149 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Dan cyc
15. BN Abb 202 (18th–19th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song
16. BN éth. 10 (Zotan. 8, 16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Legend of the Septuagint, Wis, Sir, Genealogy of Monks of Jerusalem
17. BN éth. 307, Griaule 3 (18th–19th c.) 1 Esd, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12
18. Cam, Add. 1007 (16th–17th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis

19. Cam, Add. 1570 (1588/1589) En. (extracts), Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cycle, Apoc Ezra, Dan cyc, Ezek
20. Dav Zion 1 (15th c.) Book of 12, Isa (frag.), En. (frag.), Tob (frag.), Jud (frag.), 1–3 Esd (frags.), Dan cyc, Prov 1, Prov 2, Ecc (frag.), Wis (frag.), Ezek (frag.), Job (frag.)
21. Dav Zion 3 (1664) Pss, Bib Canticles, Song, Praises of Mary (incomplete), Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Sir, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Job
22. EMIP 688, CFRRC 34 (1971) 1–2 Chr, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12
23. EMIP 746, Chel Sil 5 (early 19th c. in spite of note on f. 237v that mentions the year of the world 7219 = 1719) 1–4 Kgs, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Solar Charts, En., 1–2 Chr, 2–3 Ezra, Tob, Esth, Jud
24. EMIP 752, Chel Sil 11 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Job, 1–4 Kgs, Book of Philosophy
25. EMIP 881, Chel Sil 142 (17th c.; the book has experienced some disruption) 3–4 Kings, List of Kings, 2 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, 3 Kgs, 4 Kgs, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, 1–3 Esd, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth, excerpts from Book of 12
26. EMIP 924, Meqala Mikaʾel 147 (19th–early 20th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Esth
27. EMIP 1029, Mihur Gedam 54 (15th–16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Sir, Ezek, Jer cyc, Ezra, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Jud, Esth
28. EMIP 1068, Addis Alem 26 (= EMML 5598, 20th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir (frag.)
29. EMIP 1070, Addis Alem 28 (1914) Job, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song
30. EMIP 1074, Addis Alem 32 (17th c.) Dan cyc (with commentary), Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Sir
31. EMIP 1088 (19th c.) Isa, Ezra, Song, Esth, 1 Esd, 3 Ezra
32. EMIP 1128, Addis Alem 86 (1895/1896) 1–4 Kgs, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Esth
33. EMIP 1134, Addis Alem 92 (19th c.) Computus tables, En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc
34. EMIP 2007 (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Book of 12, Isa
35. EMML 36 (18th–19th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, Sir, Tob, Dan, 1–4 Esd
36. EMML 38 (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Job, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Admonitions of Solomon, Wis, Eccl, 1 Esd, Dan cyc
37. EMML 651 (19th c.) Sir, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis
38. EMML 1481 (early 17th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Jud, Esth, Dan cyc, Isa, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc, 1–2 Chr, Tob
39. EMML 1768 (15th c.) En., 1–3 Macc, Isa, Asc Isa, Jer cyc, Job, 3–4 Esd, 2 Esd, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jud, Tob, Esth

40. EMML 1839 (17th–18th c.) Commentary, Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Job, Book of 12, Isa, Ezek, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis
41. EMML 1842 (1662/1663) Orit, Book of 12, symbolic interpretations, Dan, Eccl
42. EMML 1917 (early 19th c.) Isa, Job, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis (incomplete)
43. EMML 1947 (early 19th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Dan cyc, List of Kings
44. EMML 2080 (16th c.) En., Jud, Esth, Isa, Ezek, Jer cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl
45. EMML 2148 (1611) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings
46. EMML 2440 (1663) Computus, En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
47. EMML 3322 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis
48. EMML 3407 (19th c.) Job, En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
49. EMML 3439 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jer cyc
50. EMML 4115 (20th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
51. EMML 4460 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, 1 Ezra, Dan cyc
52. EMML 4756 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, frag from 1 Kgs
53. EMML 4778 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Asmat Prayers, Qerelos, Song
54. EMML 6686 (17th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Sir, Jer cyc, Ezek
55. EMML 6930 (18th c.) En., Genealogy of Christ, Map of the world, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, List of Jacob's children, List of Prophets of Israel, Dan cyc, 1 Ezra, Isa
56. EMML 7103 (1659/1660) Computus, En., Job, Computus, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa
57. Fait 1 (17th–18th c.) (apparently rebound) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Rom, 1–2 Cor, Gal, Eph, Phil, Col, 1–2 Thess, 1–2 Tim, Titus, Phlm, Heb, Rev, Acts, Book of 12
58. Faitlovitch 2 (15th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir
59. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 4 (= Gold 4, 18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, 4 Ezra, Dan cyc
60. GG 106 (1682–1706) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1 Ezra, 2 Ezra, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
61. Hamburg, SuUB, Cod. orient. 405 (= VOHD 3:131, 18th–19th? c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, varia
62. IES 77 (1934) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Jub., Macc, En., 1–2 Ezra, Neh, Tob, Jud, Esth, Job, Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12

63. IES 1213 (1927/1928) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song
64. Jer Pat JE1E (1775/1776) Song, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Esth, Sir, Tob
65. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbib. cod. Aeth 63 (= VOHD 2:63, 18–19th?) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Ascen. Isa.
66. Oxford, Bod Dill. V (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) En., Job, Isa, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Dan cyc
67. Oxford, Bod Ms. Aeth. d. 3 (17th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Song, varia
68. Prince Garrett Eth 7 (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Song, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 3 Esd
69. Tan 26, Kebran 26 (17th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job
70. Tan 51, Kebran 51 (18th? c.) Eccl (frag.), Wis (frag.), Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Book of 12, 3 Esd, Dan cyc
71. Tan 54 (15th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song
72. UNESCO 1.9 (20th c.) Sir, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis
73. UNESCO 1.42 (1924/1925, printed book) Sir, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
74. UNESCO 2.03 (20th c.) En., Job, Sir, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
75. UNESCO 2.10 (1913/1914) Jer cyc, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan, Sir
76. UNESCO 2.14 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir (all with marginal mnemonics for traditional commentary)
77. UNESCO 2.19 (18th–early 19th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Computus
78. UNESCO 2.21 (19th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Ecc
79. UNESCO 10.04 (17th–early 18th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Chr
80. UNESCO 10.65 (18th–19th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Book of 12, Isa, Commentaries
81. Vat, Cerulli 58 (19th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
82. Vat, Cerulli 75 (20th c.) Orit, Jub., En., 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Esd, Jud, Esth, Tob, Macc, Job, Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, four gospels, Act, epistles of Paul, Gen. Epistles, Rev
83. Vat, Cerulli 218 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Macc, Song
84. Vat, Cerulli 256 (19th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis
85. Vat, Cerulli 259 (1531) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir

Manuscript list 8 reveals the following patterns.

(42) There were 85 manuscripts in which any one of the Solomonic books were copied (25.6 percent of the total). In this sample of 332 manuscripts, there were 80 copies of Proverbs (24 percent), 79 of Wisdom (23.7 percent), 77 of Ecclesiastes (23.1 percent), and 48 copies of the Song of Songs (14.4 percent).

(43) Though their number and order can sometimes vary (see below), with only four exceptions the Solomonic books appear adjacent

to one another in the manuscripts, revealing a clear conception of their membership in a corpus. All of the exceptions have to do with the Song of Songs, for reasons we will explore below; and in these cases, all the other books are adjacent to one another, and the Song may appear elsewhere in the manuscript.

(44) Without exception, Proverbs circulated as two volumes in Ethiopia, following the division of the LXX into two parts.

(45) In thirty-seven of the manuscripts, all four Solomonic books appear. In thirty-three of the manuscripts, the Song of Songs is missing, and in the other four manuscripts, three of the four books appear together. In eleven of the manuscripts, only two of the books appear. In the final three manuscripts, only one of the books appears alone in a manuscript.

(46) Thus, the four books usually were copied either as a quartet, in which case the Song was present, or as a trio, in which case the Song was absent.

(47) The cases where all four appear together and adjacent are probably enough to establish that there was a clear conception of the Solomonic corpus in the manuscript tradition. The absence of the Song in almost 40 percent of the manuscripts containing the corpus is probably accounted for by the fact that the Song was already present and widely available in every Psalter in Ethiopia as the third of the five standard works contained therein.

(48) The case of the Song is further complicated because of two additional factors: (1) it was copied and transmitted in its entirety in a variety of manuscript types (Psalter, Solomonic Corpus, Lectionary for Holy Week, and Funeral Ritual); and (2) it existed in three recensions: the common version (corresponding to the LXX), which was available throughout the tradition; a longer recension known as the Scholar's edition, available from the late-seventeenth century onwards; and an even longer recension, probably written by Giyorgis of Gassacha and available in a fourteenth or fifteenth-century manuscript (EMML 2064), and of which the Scholar's edition was a contracted version.[32]

32. The widespread distribution of the Song within classic Ethiopian Orthodox circles is apparently matched outside the core of Gəʿəz and Amharic-speaking circles. Bruce's manuscript 92 (in the Bodleian) contains not only the Song of Songs in Amharic, but also in Falâshâ, Gâfât, Dâmôt-Agaw, Tschirâtachâ-Agaw, and in Gallanorum. Similarly, in the West the Ethiopic Song of Songs was among the first to be published, in an edition by Johannes Potken (*Ethiopic Psalter in Gəʿəz: With the Song of Songs and Various Other Songs* [Rome, 1513]), in the Walton Polyglot (ca. 1657), and

(49) In terms of the order of the books within the Solomonic corpus, clear patterns are evident. In 91 percent of the books containing any books of the corpus, Proverbs was copied first, and the percentage is higher—95 percent—in those seventy-four cases where three or four of the books were present.

(50) Similarly, where the Song was present with the rest of the books of the corpus, in all but two of the manuscripts, the Song was always last.

(51) Following Proverbs, the order of Ecclesiastes and Wisdom of Solomon is almost evenly split, with Ecclesiastes next after Proverbs in 45.5 percent of the cases where Proverbs appears, and Wisdom of Solomon next after Proverbs in 49.4 percent of the cases.[33]

(52) There are noteworthy correlations between the Solomonic corpus and two additional works. The Solomonic corpus is adjacent to the book of Job in thirty manuscripts (Job comes before in twenty-three cases and after in seven cases), and it is adjacent to the book of Sirach in sixteen manuscripts (Sirach comes before in two cases and after in fourteen cases). Both of these correlations—and especially that with the book of Job—seem to be greater than can be accounted for by random distribution.

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in editions by Johann Georg Nissel (*Song of Songs* [Leiden, 1656]), and Job Ludolf (*The Psalms of David: Followed by the Canticles of Moses and Hannah, the Song of Songs, and Some Minor Fragments* [Ethiopic] [Frankfurt am Main, 1701]). I and two of my students, Ashlee Benson and Jonah Sandford, have been exploring the complex textual history of the Song and have made presentations at the Pacific Northwest Regional Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in May of 2015 and at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in November of 2015. More recently, we have transcribed the full texts of seventy-four manuscripts of the Song of Songs, representing thirty-one copies of the "common edition" (= LXX), twenty-nine copies of the "Scholars Edition," and fourteen copies of the "Old Giyorgis edition." We plan to publish the findings of this study in the EMTS series of Pickwick Press.

33. Kidane Wold Kifle has this note in his work **መጽሐፈ፡ ሰዋስው፡ ወግስ፡ ወመዝገበ፡ ቃላት፡ ሐዲስ** (*Meshafe Sewasew Wegis Wemezgebe Kalat Hadis*, [(n.p.): Artistic Printers, 1955 (1948 EC)]), 18: **የብሉይ ኪዳን መምህራን ስለ ጥበብና ስለ መክብብ እንዲህ ያትታሉ ከዕብራይስጥ ወደ ጽርእ ከጽርእ ወደ ዐረብ ከዐረብ ወደ ግእዝ የተመለሰው ጥበብን አስቀድሞ መክብብን ያስከትላል። ከዕብራይስጥ ወደ ጽርእ ከጽርእ ወደ ግእዝ የተመለሰው ግን መክብብን አስቀድሞ ጥበብን ያስከትላል ብለው ይተርካሉ** ("About Wisdom and Ecclesiastes, the Old Testament scholars commented that the one who translated from Hebrew to Greek and Greek to Arabic and from Arabic to Gəʿəz put Wisdom first, then Ecclesiastes; the one who translated from Hebrew to Greek and from Greek to Gəʿəz put Ecclesiastes first, followed by Wisdom.") I am endebted to *Kesis* Melaku Terefe for this citation.

10. Esther, Tobit, Judith, and Sirach

Manuscript List 9

Manuscripts containing Esther, Tobit, Judith, and Sirach.

1. Ber, König. Bib., Peterm. II Nachtr. 35 (= Dill 4, 16th–17th c.) Sir, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
2. Ber, König. Bib., Peterm. II Nachtr. 55 (= Dill 5, 15th–16th c.) Sir, Fəkkare Iyasus
3. BL Add. 24,991, Wright XIV (17th c.) excerpt Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan, 1 Esd, 4 Esd (frag.), Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
4. BL Or. 484, Wright VII (18th c.) En., Orit, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Ezek, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Sir
5. BL Or. 487, Wright X (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Sir, 1–3 Macc, Esth, Jud, Tob
6. BL Or. 489 (1730) 1–2 Chr, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Sir, 1–4 Ezra, Tob, Jud, Esth, 1 Macc
7. BL Or. 491, Wright XV (17th c.) En., Job, Book of 12, Tob, Jud, Esth, Macc, 1 Macc, 2 Macc
8. BL Or. 492, Wright XVI (18th c.) En., Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, 1 Esd, Song, List of Kings, Sir, Jud, Esth, Tob
9. BL Or. 494, Wright XVIII (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Dan cyc, List of Kings, varia
10. BL Or. 498, Wright XXII (17th c.) Dan cyc, Job, Sir, Book of 12
11. BL Or. 499, Wright XXIII (18th c.) Sir, Dan cyc, En., Isa, Book of 12
12. BL Or. 502, Wright XXVI (18th c.) Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Macc
13. BL Or. 504, Wright XXVIII (1755) Jer cyc, Ezek, 1–4 Esd, 1–2 Macc, Macc, Tob, Esth, Jud, Sir
14. BL Or. 505, Wright XXXI (1721–1730) 1–2 Macc, Macc, Tob, Esth, Jud, Sir, Dan cyc
15. BN Abb 16 (19th c.) En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan cyc, Sir, Job, Song
16. BN Abb 35 (17th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, 1 Esd, 2 Esd, 3 Esd, 4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth
17. BN Abb 55 (15th–16th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, 1–2 Esd, Esth, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc
18. BN Abb 205 (19th c.) Tob, Dan cyc
19. Bod Dill. VI (?) Jer cyc, Ezek, Apoc Ezek, Ezra, Neh, Esth
20. Dav Zion 1 (15th c.) Book of 12, Isa (frag.), En. (frag.), Tob (frag.), Jud (frag.), 1–3 Esd (frags.), Dan cyc, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl (frag.), Wis (frag.), Ezek (frag.), Job (frag.)

21. Dav Zion 3 (1664) Pss, Bib Canticles, Song, Praises of Mary (inc.), Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Sir, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Job
22. EMIP 746, Chel Sil 5 (early 19th c. in spite of note on f. 237v that mentions the year of the world 7219 = 1719) 1–4 Kgs, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Solar Charts, En., 1–2 Chr, 2–3 Ezra, Tob, Esth, Jud
23. EMIP 881, Chel Sil 142 (17th c.; the book has experienced some disruption) 3–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 2 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, 3 Kgs, 4 Kgs, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, 1 Esd, 2 Esd, 3 Esd, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth, excerpts from Book of 12
24. EMIP 924, Meqala Mikaʾel 147 (19th–early 20th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Esth
25. EMIP 1029, Mihur Gedam 54 (15th–16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Sir, Ezek, Jer cyc, Ezra, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Jud, Esth
26. EMIP 1051, Addis Alem 9 (17th c.) Jer cyc, Tob, Jud, Esth, Dan cyc, Computus
27. EMIP 1074, Addis Alem 32 (17th c.) Dan cyc (with commentary), Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Sir
28. EMIP 1083 (18th c.) Ezr (Sutuʾel), Jer cyc, Sir
29. EMIP 1091 (1921) En., Jer cyc, Sir
30. EMIP 1095, Addis Alem 53 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Sir
31. EMIP 1105 (18th–19th c.) Ezek, Jer cyc, 2 Ezra, En., Sir
32. EMIP 1123, Addis Alem 81 (17th–18th c.) 1–2 Chr, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, Tob, Jud, Esth
33. EMIP 1128, Addis Alem 86 (1895/1896) 1–4 Kgs, Job, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Esth
34. EMML 36 (18th–19th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, Sir, Tob, Dan, 1–4 Esd
35. EMML 57 (15th–16th c.) Jud, Tob, Esth, 1–3 Macc
36. EMML 651 (19th c.) Sir, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis
37. EMML 819 (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Dan cyc, Esth
38. EMML 1279 (20th c.) Job, Jud, Esth, En., 1 Ezra, Eccl (frag.), Tob
39. EMML 1481 (early 17th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Jud, Esth, Dan cyc, Isa, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc, 1–2 Chr, Tob
40. EMML 1768 (15th c.) En., 1–3 Macc, Isa, Ascen. Isa., Jer cyc, Job, 3–4 Esd, 2 Esd, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jud, Tob, Esth
41. EMML 2080 (16th c.) En., Jud, Esth, Isa, Ezek, Jer cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl
42. EMML 3439 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jer cyc
43. EMML 6686 (17th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Sir, Jer cyc, Ezek
44. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 7 (= Gold 7, 1755) 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Sir, 1–2 Macc

45. GG 69 + 193 (15th c.) Isa, Esth, Jud, Dan (frags.), Tob, Isa (frag. from another codex)
46. GG 106 (1682–1706) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Ezra, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
47. GG 146 (15th–16th c.) Jub., Tob, Jud
48. GG 177 (14th c.) Dan cyc, Sir, 1 Ezra, varia
49. GG 193 (15th c.) Dan cyc, Tob, Jud, Isa (frag. from another codex), Esth (frag.)
50. GG 202 (13th c.) Sir (frags.)
51. IES 77 (1934) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Jub., Macc, En., 1–2 Ezra, Neh, Tob, Jud, Esth, Job, Pss, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12
52. Jer Pat JE1E (1775/1776) Song, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Esth, Sir, Tob
53. Jer Pat JE3E (19th c.) Isa, Dan cyc, Jud
54. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbib. cod. Aeth 72 (VOHD 2:70, 18th? c.) first part of MS missing, 2 Ch 23:14–36:23, 2–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, 1 Esd, Josephus, *Ant*.
55. Oxford, Bod Dill. VI (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) Jer cyc, Ezek, Apoc Ezek, Ezra, Neh, Esth
56. UNESCO 1.09 (20th c.) Sir, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis
57. UNESCO 1.42 (1924/1925) Sir, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
58. UNESCO 2.03 (20th c.) En., Job, Sir, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
59. UNESCO 2.09 (19th–early 20th c.) Sir, Job, Tob, Esth, Jud
60. UNESCO 2.10 (1913/1914) Jer cyc, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan, Sir
61. UNESCO 2.11 (early 20th c.) 1 Ezra, Tob, Job, Dan cyc
62. UNESCO 2.13 (19th c.) Esth, Jud, Tob
63. UNESCO 2.14 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir (all with marginal mnemonics for the traditional commentary)
64. UNESCO 2.18 (19th c.) Tob, Jud, Esth, 3–4 Esd
65. UNESCO 2.20 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Sir
66. UNESCO 2.22 (19th c.) Isa, 1 Ezra, Tob, Jud, Esth
67. UNESCO 10.12 (18th c.) Jer cyc, Ezek, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
68. UNESCO 10.36 (1931/1932) Esth, 1–4 Kgs
69. UNESCO 10.48 (18th–19th c.) Jub., 3 Ezra, Macc, Jer cyc, Tob
70. UNESCO 10.77 (early 20th c.) Jub., Macc, Tob, Jud
71. Vat, Cerulli 75 (20th c.) Orit, Jub., En., 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Esd, Jud, Esth, Tob, Macc, Job, Ps, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, four gospels, Act, epistles of Paul, Gen. Epistles, Rev
72. Vat, Cerulli 131 (19th c.) Jer cyc, Job, Dan cyc, Esth, En., Isa, 1–2 Chr, Tob
73. Vat, Cerulli 168 (20th c.) Sir
74. Vat, Cerulli 202 (19th c.) Ezra, Tob, Job, Dan cyc
75. Vat, Cerulli 259 (1531) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir

Manuscript list 9 reveals the following patterns.

(53) These books appear to be among the less-copied books of the Ethiopic Old Testament. Seventy-five manuscripts contain one, some, or all of the four books of Tobit, Judith, Esther, and Sirach. But, in this sample of 332 manuscripts, there are only 44 copies of Sirach (13.2 percent), 40 of Tobit (12 percent), 40 of Esther (12 percent), and 36 copies of Judith (10.8 percent).

(54) Three of the four, Tobit, Judith, and Esther, clearly constitute a corpus. Thirty-nine manuscripts contain two or all three of these books. And when they do, the books are always adjacent to one another.

(55) But not infrequently the books were copied singly in manuscripts, without any of the rest of the corpus with them: there are six in which Esther appears alone, four in which Tobit appears alone, and one in which Judith appears alone. And in another nine cases, only two of the books appear together.

(56) So, there are actually only thirty-nine manuscripts that contain one, some, or all of the three books, and only twenty-nine manuscripts that contain the full corpus of all three books (Tobit, Judith, and Esther) together, making it perhaps the least-copied corpus, as a corpus, in the Ethiopic Old Testament.

(57) In these twenty-nine cases where all three of the books were copied together in one manuscript, there seems to have been a clear preference for the order Tobit, Judith, and Esther (in seventeen cases), but no uniformity beyond this. The order Judith, Esther, Tobit appears four times, as does the order Tobit, Esther, Judith. And the order Esther, Judith, Tobit and the order Tobit, Esther, Judith both appear twice.

(58) Sirach behaves differently than the rest. For one thing, in fully twenty-five of the list of seventy-five manuscripts (or 33 percent), Sirach appears by itself; that is, without any of the other three books present in the manuscript. So one may rightly wonder if Sirach was understood to be a part of the corpus with Tobit, Judith, and Esther.

(59) But in sixteen of the twenty-nine cases where Tobit, Judith, and Esther appear as a corpus, Sirach was copied in the same manuscript, and it was almost always directly adjacent to the others; usually it was before the other three (in eleven cases), but sometimes after (five cases).

(60) This would suggest two distinct attitudes within the Ethiopic tradition. The majority view treated Tobit, Judith, and Esther as one three-member corpus. At the same time, though, a significant minority view considered Tobit, Judith, Esther, and Sirach as a four-member corpus.

(61) But perhaps what we are seeing here is evidence of two distinct opinions about where Sirach belonged in the Old Testament. When we recall that Sirach was copied adjacent to the Solomonic corpus on sixteen occasions, it seems clear that some in the tradition believed that Sirach belonged as part of the Solomonic corpus, while others believed it belonged as part of the corpus with Tobit, Judith, and Esther.

(62) Further, there was a clear tendency in the scribal tradition to locate Tobit, Judith, and Esther near the books of Esdras and Maccabees. In thirty cases where the books appear as either the three-book corpus or the four-book corpus, they are adjacent to books of Esdras seventeen times (thirteen times a book of Esdras is just before, and four times just after), and to the books of Maccabees nine times (four times Maccabees is just before, and five times just after).

11. The Books of Enoch, Job, and Jubilees

We treat these three books together not because all three together have the marks of a corpus but because two of them are closely linked to one another, and all of them share proximity to Orit.

Manuscript List 10

Manuscripts containing Enoch, Job, or Jubilees.

1. Ber, König. Bib., Peterm. II Nachtr. 29 (= Dill 1, 15th–16th c.) En.
2. Ber, Staats. Preuss. Ms. orient. fol. 3067 (VOHD 1:153, 17th c.) Jer cyc, Job, 1–3 Esd
3. Ber, Staats. Preuss. Ms. orient. fol. 3068 (VOHD 1:154, 15th? c.) Jub., 1–3 Macc
4. BFBS 186 (19th c.) En., Job, Isa, Apoc Ezra, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl
5. BL Add. 24,990, Wright XIII (n.d.) En., Job, Wis, Eccl, Song, varia, Isa, varia, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
6. BL Or. 484, Wright VII (18th c.) En., Orit, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Ezek, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Sir
7. BL Or. 486 (18th c.) En., 1–4 Kgs, Sir, Jer cyc
8. BL Or. 490, Wright XII (18th c.) En., Job, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Isa, Book of 12
9. BL Or. 491, Wright XV (17th c.) En., Job, Book of 12, Tob, Jud, Esth, Macc, 1–2 Macc
10. BL Or. 492, Wright XVI (18th c.) En., Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, 1 Esd, Song, List of Kings, Sir, Jud, Esth, Tob

11. BL Or. 496, Wright XX (17th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 1–2 Pet, 1–3 John, Jas, Jud
12. BL Or. 498, Wright XXII (17th c.) Dan cyc, Job, Sir, Book of 12
13. BL Or. 499, Wright XXIII (18th c.) Sir, Dan cyc, En., Isa, Book of 12
14. BL Or. 8823 (Strelcyn 4) (18th c.) En., 1–4 Kgs, Macc
15. BN Abb 16 (19th c.) En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan cyc, Sir, Job, Song
16. BN Abb 30 (17th–18th c.) En., Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Job, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Isa
17. BN Abb 137 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Isa, Job, Dan cyc
18. BN Abb 35 (17th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth
19. BN Abb 55 (15th–16th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, 1–2 Esd, Esth, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc
20. BN Abb 117 (1684) Orit, Jub.
21. BN Abb 197 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, En., Job, Dan cyc
22. BN éth. 7 (14th c.) Job, Dan cyc
23. Bod Dill. V (n.d.) En., Job, Isa, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Dan cyc
24. Cam, Add. 1570 (1588/1589) En. (extracts), Orit, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Apoc. Ezra, Dan cyc, Ezek
25. Dav Bizan 1 (1530) Orit, Jub., 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, 1–2 Chr
26. Dav Zion 1 (15th) Book of 12, Isa (frag.), En. (frag.), Tob (frag.), Jud (frag.), 1–3 Esd (frags.), Dan cyc, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl (frag.), Wis (frag.), Ezek (frag.), Job (frag.)
27. Dav Zion 3 (1664) Pss, Bib Canticles, Song, Praises of Mary (inc.), Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Sir, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Job
28. EMIP 743, Chel Sil 4 (17th c.) En., Orit, Jub., Job
29. EMIP 746, Chel Sil 5 (early 19th c. in spite of note on f. 237v that mentions the year of the world 7219 = 1719) 1–4 Kgs, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Solar Charts, En., 1–2 Chr, 2–3 Ezra, Tob, Esth, Jud
30. EMIP 752, Chel Sil 11 (18th c.) Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Job, 1–4 Kgs, Book of Philosophy
31. EMIP 924, Meqala Mika'el 147 (19th–early 20th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Esth
32. EMIP 937, Meqala Mika'el 160 (19th c.) Book of 12, Jer cyc, En. (with commentary)
33. EMIP 1070, Addis Alem 28 (1914) Job, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song
34. EMIP 1091 (1921) En., Jer cyc, Sir
35. EMIP 1105 (18th–19th c.) Ezek, Jer cyc, 2 Ezra, En., Sir
36. EMIP 1120, Addis Alem 78 (early 20th c.) Jub., 1–2 Chr, 1–3 Macc

37. EMIP 1128, Addis Alem 86 (1895/1896) 1–4 Kgs, Job, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Esth
38. EMIP 1134, Addis Alem 92 (19th c.) Computus tables, En., Job, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc
39. EMIP 2007 (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Book of 12, Isa
40. EMML 36 (18th–19th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, Sir, Tob, Dan, 1–4 Esd
41. EMML 201 (1922/1923) En., Isa, Jer cyc
42. EMML 629 (1961) En., Isa, Jer cyc, Physiologus
43. EMML 651 (19th c.) Sir, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis
44. EMML 821 (20th c.) 1–3 Macc, 2–3 Ezra, Job
45. EMML 1163 (18th c.) Orit, Jub.
46. EMML 1279 (20th c.) Job, Jud, Esth, En., 1 Ezra, Eccl (frag.), Tob
47. EMML 1768 (15th c.) En., 1–3 Macc, Isa, Ascen. Isa., Jer cyc, Job, 3–4 Esd, 2 Esd, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jud, Tob, Esth
48. EMML 1917 (early 19th c.) Isa, Job, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis (incomplete)
49. EMML 2080 (16th c.) En., Jud, Esth, Isa, Ezek, Jer cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl
50. EMML 2436 (1663) En., Orit, Isa, Dan cyc, En.
51. EMML 2440 (1663) Computus, En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
52. EMML 2532 (1755–1769) Orit, Jub.
53. EMML 3407 (19th c.) Job, En., Book of 12, Isa, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song
54. EMML 4437 (17th–18th c.) En., Orit, Jub., Isa
55. EMML 4648 (20th c.) En., History of Cyril of Alexandria, Computus, Isa
56. EMML 4750 (18th c.) En., Orit, Jub.
57. EMML 4756 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Job, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, frag. from 1 Kgs
58. EMML 6686 (17th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, Sir, Jer cyc, Ezek
59. EMML 6930 (18th c.) En., Genealogy of Christ, Map of the world, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, List of Jacob's children, List of Prophets of Israel, Dan cyc, 1 Ezra, Isa
60. EMML 7103 (1659/1660) Computus, En., Job, Computus, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa
61. Fait 1 (17th–18th c.) (apparently rebound) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Rom, 1–2 Cor, Gal, Eph, Phil, Col, 1–2 Thess, 1–2 Tim, Titus, Phlm, Heb, Rev, Acts, Book of 12
62. Fait 5 Abba Salama on the Dogma of the Trinity, En., Job, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Falasefa

63. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 1 (= Gold 1, 18th c.) En., Job, Orit
64. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 4 (= Gold 4, 18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, 4 Ezra, Dan cyc
65. GG 95 (15th c.) 1–2 Chr (frags.), Jub. (frags.)
66. GG 151 (15th c.) En.
67. IES 436 (15–16th c.) Jub. (incomplete), Dan cyc, Book of 12 (codex combined with fragments of another codex with Matt and John)
68. IES 77 (1934) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Jub., Macc, En., 1–2 Ezra, Neh, Tob, Jud, Esth, Job, Pss, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12
69. Jer Pat JE4E (19th c.) Jub., 1–2 Ezra, Ezek
70. Jer Pat JE5E (19th c.) En., Book of 12
71. Manchester, Rylands 23 (18th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs
72. Oxford, Bod Dill. V (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) En., Job, Isa, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Dan cyc
73. Oxford, Bod Dill. I–IV (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) Orit, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Kgs, En.
74. Tan 26, Kebran 26 (17th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Job
75. UNESCO 1.35 (1961/1962) En., Isa
76. UNESCO 2.03 (20th c.) En., Job, Sir, Sol
77. UNESCO 2.09 (19th–early 20th c.) Sir, Job, Tob, Esth, Jud
78. UNESCO 2.10 (1913/1914) Jer cyc, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Dan, Sir
79. UNESCO 2.11 (early 20th c.) 1 Ezra, Tob, Job, Dan cyc
80. UNESCO 2.16 (19th–early 20th c.) Job, Jer cyc
81. UNESCO 2.23 (20th c.) En., Macc
82. UNESCO 2.24 (19th c.) En., Macc
83. UNESCO 5.03 (early 18th c.) Orit, Jub.
84. UNESCO 10.04 (17th–early 18th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Chr
85. UNESCO 10.43 (17th c.) En., Isa, excerpt from Jer cyc, Dan cyc (65r–78r); History of the Israelite Kings
86. UNESCO 10.48 (18th–19th c.) Jub., 3 Ezra, Macc, Jer cyc, Tob
87. UNESCO 10.65 (18th–19th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Book of 12, Isa, Commentaries
88. UNESCO 10.77 (early 20th c.) Jub., Macc, Tob, Jud
89. UNESCO 12.01 (18th c.) En., Job, Computus, varia
90. Vat, Cerulli 75 (20th c.) Orit, Jub., En., 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Esd, Jud, Esth, Tob, Macc, Job, Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, four gospels, Act, epistles of Paul, Gen. Epistles, Rev
91. Vat, Cerulli 110 (20th c.) En., Job
92. Vat, Cerulli 131 (19th c.) Jer cyc, Job, Dan cyc, Esth, En., Isa, 1–2 Chr, Tob
93. Vat, Cerulli 199 (19th c.) Orit, Jub.
94. Vat, Cerulli 202 (19th c.) Ezra, Tob, Job, Dan cyc

95. Vat, Cerulli 259 (1531) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir

Manuscript list 10 reveals several patterns.

(63) Enoch and Job were copied fairly frequently in the Ethiopic tradition. In this sample of 332 manuscripts, there are fifty-seven copies of Enoch (17.1 percent of all manuscripts) and fifty-eight copies of Job (17.4 percent of all manuscripts).

(64) But Jubilees appears in the sample only eighteen times (5.4 percent of all manuscripts).

(65) The three books together do not constitute a corpus. In fact, there are only two manuscripts out of the 332 in which all three appear together.

(66) The three books usually appear singly in manuscripts; that is, without either of the other two in the same manuscript. In the fifty-seven cases where Enoch was copied, it appears twenty-three times without either of the other two (40.3 percent of the time); in the fifty-eight cases where Job was copied, it appears without the others twenty-six times (44.8 percent of the time); and in the eighteen cases where Jubilees was copied, it appears without the others thirteen times (72.2 percent of the time).

(67) However, in the remaining number of cases, there is a clear tendency for Enoch and Job to be copied adjacent to one another in the order: Enoch then Job. This happens twenty-three times. To put it another way, when either Enoch or Job appear in a book, they will appear together in the order Enoch-Job just over 40 percent of the time.

(68) When Enoch was copied, it was usual to place it first in a manuscript (in forty-three of its fifty-seven copies).

(69) In eighteen of its fifty-eight copies, that is, not infrequently, Job was followed by (but never preceded by) Proverbs, apparently revealing some notion of a connection between Job and the Solomonic corpus.

(70) In ten of its eighteen copies, that is, 55.5 percent of the time, Jubilees directly followed the Orit. As we saw above, in six (i.e., only a few) cases, Enoch and Job directly preceded Orit.

(71) This last point suggests that the relationship between Enoch and Job, on the one hand, and Jubilees, on the other, may have been defined more by their common relation to Orit than by their direct relation to one another.

12. Books of Esdras/Ezra or Maccabees

There are at least four books that carry some attribution to Ezra/Esdras in the Ethiopic biblical manuscripts, and there are at least three books identified as Maccabees. Further, the naming conventions relating to these books have differences between the Ethiopic designations and those in the Septuagint tradition as well as those in the Latin tradition, both of which contain differences from the other. This has led to no small confusion in the basic identification of the content of the books in the Ethiopic manuscripts[34] and a lack of uniformity around the scholarly designations for the books, even within the catalogues.[35]

Manuscript List 11

Manuscripts containing books of Esdras/Ezra or Maccabees.

1. Ber, König. Bib., MS. or. qu. 283 (= Dill 3, 15th–16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Dan cyc
2. Ber, König. Bib., Peterm. II Nachtr. 35 (= Dill 4, 16th–17th c.) Sir, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
3. Ber, Staats. Preuss. MS. orient. fol. 3067 (VOHD 1:153, 17th c.) Jer cyc, Job, 1–3 Esd
4. Ber, Staats. Preuss. MS. orient. fol. 3068 (VOHD 1:154, 15th? c.) Jub., 1–3 Macc

34. The Ethiopians view Ezra and Nehemiah as one book, which they traditionally designate 3 Ezra. This stands in contrast to the LXX (Ἔσδρας B) and Vulgate (1–2 Esdrae). As a result, the beginning of Nehemiah lacks any distinguishing markers. The interaction between Ethiopians and representatives from the West has created certain problems. For example, the format of IES 77 (the modern textus receptus), copied around 1934 and under pressure from Western Protestants, provided the text with European chapter and verse divisions, which required renumbering Nehemiah. But they refused to separate the two works. The text of IES 77 also contains a running title, which reads **ዕዝራ** (“Ezra”) for the first portion and thereafter switches to **ዕዝራ ነህምያ** (“Ezra-Nehemiah”), the only other explicit nod to a different heritage.

35. Our work here did not attempt to verify these identifications of content nor standardize their nomenclature. Consequently, the user of the list will notice certain inconsistencies and a lack of clarity around certain of these issues. It was beyond the scope of this project to get to the bottom of these issues, but instead to report on the general patterns that emerge despite the confusions.

5. Ber, Staats. Preuss. or. quart. 986 (VOHD 1:106, 17th–18th c.) Pss, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, 1–2 Esd, Book of 12, varia
6. BFBS 186 (19th c.) En., Job, Isa, Apoc. Ezra, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl
7. BL Add. 24,990, Wright XIII (n.d.) En., Job, Wis, Eccl, Song, varia, Isa, varia, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
8. BL Or. 484, Wright VII (18th c.) En., Orit, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Ezek, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Sir
9. BL Or. 484, Wright VII (18th c.) En., Orit, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Ezek, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Sir
10. BL Or. 487, Wright X (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Sir, 1–3 Macc, Esth, Jud, Tob
11. BL Or. 489 (1730) 1–2 Chr, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, Sir, 1–4 Ezra, Tob, Jud, Esth, 1 Macc
12. BL Or. 490 Wright XII (18th c.) En., Job, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Isa, Book of 12
13. BL Or. 491, Wright XV (17th c.) En., Job, Book of 12, Tob, Jud, Esth, Macc, 1–2 Macc
14. BL Or. 502, Wright XXVI (18th c.) Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Macc
15. BL Or. 504, Wright XXVIII (1755) Jer cyc, Ezek, 1–4 Esd, 1–2 Macc, Macc, Tob, Esth, Jud, Sir
16. BL Or. 505, Wright XXXI (1721–1730) 1–2 Macc, Macc, Tob, Esth, Jud, Sir, Dan cyc
17. BL Or. 506, Wright XXXII (18th c.) Macc, Ezek, 1 Esd
18. BL Or. 8823 (Strelcyn 4) (18th c.) En., 1–4 Kgs, Macc
19. BN Abb 35 (17th c.) En., Job, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth
20. BN Abb 55 (15th–16th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, 2 Esd, Esth, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc
21. BN éth. 307, Griaule 3 (18th–19th c.) 1 Esd, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Isa, Book of 12
22. Bod Dill. VI (n.d.) Jer cyc, Ezek, Apoc Ezek, Ezra, Neh, Esth
23. Bod Dill. VII (n.d.) Isa, Ascen. Isa., Apoc. Ezra
24. Dav Zion 1 (15th c.) Book of 12, Isa (frag.), En. (frag.), Tob (frag.), Jud (frag.), 1–3 Esd (frags.), Dan cyc, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl (frag.), Wis (frag.), Ezek (frag.), Job (frag.)
25. EMIP 746, Chel Sil 5 (early 19th c. in spite of note on f. 237v that mentions the year of the world 7219 = 1719) 1–4 Kgs, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Solar Charts, En., 1–2 Chr, 2–3 Ezra, Tob, Esth, Jud
26. EMIP 827, Chel Sil 87 (18th c.) Jer cyc, 1–3 Ezra, Ezek
27. EMIP 881, Chel Sil 142 (17th c.; the book has experienced some disruption) 3–4 Kings, List of Kings, 2 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, 3–4 Kgs, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, 1–3 Esd, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth, excerpts from Book of 12
28. EMIP 945, Meqala Mikaʾel 168 (18th c.) Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 2–3 Ezra

29. EMIP 1029 Mihur Gedam 54 (15th–16th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Sir, Ezek, Jer cyc, Ezra, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Jud, Esth
30. EMIP 1063 Addis Alem 21 (19th–20th c.) 1–2 Chr, Dan cyc, Book of 12, 3–4 Esd
31. EMIP 1083 (18th c.) Ezr (Sutu'el), Jer cyc, Sir
32. EMIP 1088 (19th c.) Isa, Ezra, Song, Esth, 1 Esd, 3 Ezr
33. EMIP 1105 (18th–19th c.) Ezek, Jer cyc, 2 Ezra, En., Sir
34. EMIP 1120, Addis Alem 78 (early 20th c.) Jub., 1–2 Chr, 1–3 Macc
35. EMIP 1123, Addis Alem 81 (17th–18th c.) 1–2 Chr, 1–3 Macc, Book of 12, Tob, Jud, Esth
36. EMML 36 (18th–19th c.) En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, Sir, Tob, Dan, 1–4 Esd
37. EMML 38 (18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Job, Isa, Prov, Admonitions of Solomon, Wis, Eccl, 1 Esd, Dan cyc
38. EMML 57 (15th–16th c.) Jud, Tob, Esth, 1–3 Macc
39. EMML 821 (20th c.) 1–3 Macc, 2–3 Ezra, Job
40. EMML 1279 (20th) Job, Jud, Esth, En., 1 Ezra, Eccl (frag.), Tob
41. EMML 1481 (early 17th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Sir, Jud, Esth, Dan cyc, Isa, Book of 12, 1–3 Macc, 1–2 Chr, Tob
42. EMML 1768 (15th c.) En., 1–3 Macc, Isa, Ascen. Isa., Jer cyc, Job, 3–4 Esd, 2 Esd, 1 Esd, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Sir, Jud, Tob, Esth
43. EMML 2440 (1663) Computus, En., Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 1 Esd
44. EMML 4460 (18th c.) Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, 1 Ezra, Dan cyc
45. EMML 6930 (18th c.) En., Genealogy of Christ, Map of the world, Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Book of 12, List of Jacob's children, List of Prophets of Israel, Dan cyc, 1 Ezra, Isa
46. EMML 7014 (14th–15th) 1–3 Esd
47. Fait 5 Abba Salama on the Dogma of the Trinity, En., Job, Dan cyc, 1 Esd, Falasefa
48. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 4 (= Gold 4, 18th c.) 1–4 Kgs, List of Kings, Book of 12, Job, Prov, Eccl, Wis, Isa, 4 Ezra, Dan cyc
49. Frank. MS. Orient. Rüpp. II, 7 (= Gold 7, 1755) 1–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, Sir, 1–2 Macc
50. GG 37 (15th–16th c.) Isa (frags.), 2 Ezr (frag. from another MS)
51. GG 106 (1682–1706) 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Prov 1, Prov 2, Wis, Eccl, Song, Isa, Book of 12, Jer cyc, Dan cyc, 1–2 Ezra, Sir, Tob, Jud, Esth
52. GG 157 (15th c.) 1–3 Esd
53. GG 177 (14th c.) Dan cyc, Sir, 1 Ezra, varia
54. IES 77 (1934) Orit, 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, Jub., Macc, En., 1–2 Ezra, Neh, Tob, Jud, Esth, Job, Pss, Prov, Wis, Eccl, Song, Sir, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12

55. IES 721 (15th–16th c.) Isa (frag.), Ezek, Life of Ezek, 1–3 Macc
56. IES 3081 (17th c.) 1–2 Esd, Prayer of the Covenant (excerpt)
57. Jer Pat JE4E (19th c.) Jub., 1–2 Ezra, Ezek
58. Munich, Bayer. Staatsbib. cod. Aeth 72 (VOHD 2:70, 18th?) first part of MS missing, 2 Ch 23:14–36:23, 2–4 Esd, Tob, Jud, Esth, 1 Esd, Josephus, *Ant*.
59. Oxford, Bod Dill. VI (from the Bruce collection, n.d.) Jer cyc, Ezek, Apoc. Ezek., Ezra, Neh, Esth
60. Oxford, Bod Dill. VII (n.d.) Isa, Ascen. Isa., Apoc. Ezra
61. Prince Garrett Eth 7 (18th c.) Job, Prov 1, Prov 2, Song, Book of 12, Dan cyc, 3 Esd
62. UNESCO 1.10 (19th c.) 1–3 Macc, Ezek
63. UNESCO 2.11 (early 20th c.) 1 Ezra, Tob, Job, Dan cyc
64. UNESCO 2.18 (19th c.) Tob, Jud, Esth, 3–4 Esd
65. UNESCO 2.22 (19th c.) Isa, 1 Ezra, Tob, Jud, Esth
66. UNESCO 2.23 (20th c.) En., Macc
67. UNESCO 2.24 (19th c.) En., Macc
68. UNESCO 10.48 (18th–19th c.) Jub., 3 Ezra, Macc, Jer cyc, Tob
69. UNESCO 10.77 (early 20th c.) Jub., Macc, Tob, Jud
70. Vat, Cerulli 28 (18th c.) Book of 12, Jer cyc, 1–2 Chr, 1–2 Ezra, Macc
71. Vat, Cerulli 75 (20th c.) Orit, Jub., En., 1–4 Kgs, 1–2 Chr, 1–4 Esd, Jud, Esth, Tob, Macc, Job, Ps, Prov 1, Prov 2, Eccl, Wis, Song, Isa, Jer cyc, Ezek, Dan cyc, Book of 12, Sir, four gospels, Act, epistles of Paul, Gen. Epistles, Rev
72. Vat, Cerulli 202 (19th c.) Ezra, Tob, Job, Dan cyc
73. Vat, Cerulli 218 (19th c.) 1–4 Kgs, Book of 12, Prov 1, Prov 2, Macc, Song

Manuscript list 11 reveals the following patterns.

(72) There are 73 manuscripts that contain any book connected to Esdras/Ezra or to Maccabees. But the books connected to Esdras/Ezra appear twice as frequently as those of Maccabees. In our sample of 332 manuscripts, there are 59 manuscripts with one or more books connected to Esdras/Ezra (17.7 percent), and there are 28 manuscripts containing one or more books identified as Maccabees (8.4 percent).

(73) When more than one book connected to Esdras/Ezra appears in a manuscript, they are almost always adjacent; the same goes for books identified as Maccabees. This, along with their common name, suggests the obvious point that the books connected to Esdras/Ezra and those identified as Maccabees were viewed each as a corpus. But in both cases, there is no uniformity surrounding how many of the books within either designation appear in a manuscript. So in any individual manuscript, there could be one, two, or more of the books.

(74) Only rarely do any books of the two corpora (Esdras/Ezra and Maccabees) appear in the same manuscripts. In our sample of 332 manuscripts, there were only 13 (3.9 percent).

(75) Further, within these thirteen manuscripts, the corpora are rarely adjacent, certainly not in any frequency beyond that for which chance would account. Thus, there is no statistical basis to argue for any correlation between the two corpora.

(76) As we saw above, the corpus containing Tobit, Judith, Esther, and Sirach occurs adjacent to books connected to Esdras/Ezra so frequently that there appears to be a special connection between the two.

(77) We are justified in treating together books connected to Esdras/Ezra and books identified with Maccabees only to the extent that they appear about equally lacking in connections with the rest of the books in the Ethiopic Old Testament tradition.

13. Most-Copied and Least-Copied Books

The following chart summarizes the frequency of the appearance of the books of the Ethiopic Old Testament in our sample.

Perhaps 5,000 copies in the Psalter plus 48 copies in the sample of 332	Song of Songs
Perhaps 5,000 copies in the Psalter plus 5 copies in the sample of 332	Psalms
82 copies (24.6%)	Isaiah
80 copies (24%)	Proverbs
79 copies (23.7%)	Wisdom
77 copies (23.1%)	Ecclesiastes
74 copies (22.2%)	Daniel cycle
74 copies (22.2%)	Book of Twelve
68 copies (20.4%)	Orit (Gen, Exod, Lev, Num, Deut, Josh, Judg, Ruth)
64 copies (19.2%)	1–4 Kgs
59 copies (17.7%)	Books of Esdras/Ezra
58 copies (17.4%)	Job
57 copies (17.1%)	Enoch

56 copies (16.8%)	Jeremiah and Lamentations
48 copies (14.4%)	Song of Songs (beyond Psalter copies)
44 copies (13.2%)	Sirach
40 copies (12%)	Tobit
40 copies (12%)	Esther
36 copies (10.8%)	Judith
35 copies (10.5%)	Ezekiel
28 copies (8.4%)	Books of Maccabees
27 copies (8.1%)	1–2 Chronicles
18 copies (5.4%)	Jubilees

14. Most-Copied and Least-Copied Corpora

According to the analysis offered above, we identified five true corpora in the Ethiopic Old Testament:

1. Seventy-four copies of the Book of the Twelve
2. Seventy copies of the Solomonic Corpus
3. Sixty-eight copies of the Orit
4. Twenty-nine copies of the Esther-Tobit-Judith corpus
5. Twenty-three copies of the Enoch-Job corpus

However, the distinction between a corpus and a mere book is not obvious for some cases in the Ethiopic Old Testament. If challenged, we might have a difficult time distinguishing between the case of the Book of the Twelve and the case of the Jeremiah cycle, with fifty-six copies, or the Daniel cycle, with seventy-four copies. It can easily be argued that each of these represents a corpus that was made up of a collection of books that originated separately but came to be viewed as a unity and were then transmitted as one. Similar arguments could be made for the one to four books of Esdras/Ezra (with fifty-nine copies) and for the one to three books of Maccabees (with twenty-eight copies). And if these were allowed the designation "corpus," then what would differentiate these from 1–4 Kings (with sixy-four copies) and 1–2 Chronicles (with twenty-seven copies), which we judge to be multivolume books rather than corpora? Not much, actually.

15. For Further Study

Only time and the discovery of more biblical manuscripts will tell whether the impressions gained from these 332 manuscripts are representative for the tradition or not. The number seems large enough to provide a statistical basis for some initial conclusions, but the addition of greater numbers will help improve the accuracy of our findings. We can only hope that the work of manuscript digitizing projects such as Ethio-SPARE and EMIL will continue to provide ever greater numbers with which to refine our understanding. Even twenty years ago such a study could not have been actualized. We simply did not have a sufficient number of manuscripts to provide statistically valid observations. It was the work of a generation of microfilmers (Davies, Hammerschmidt, the UNESCO mobile unit, and the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library) that brought us out of the dark and laid the foundation for the study of the manuscript tradition. For all of this we can be thankful. Even yet, the manuscripts of the Old Testament do not yet provide us with a clear conception of the whole regarding the structure and order of the books. In fact, they call into question the clarity of the picture we may be tempted to draw from the canon lists. And it may be that this lack of clarity is an accurate understanding of the situation. There may never have been a need for a definitive answer to such questions within Ethiopia.

There is already more work that could be done on this dataset to determine if there were any developments across time in scribal practice relating to the transmission of Old Testament books. And, of course, a similar analysis for the books of the Ethiopic New Testament would be a useful way to expand our understanding of the patterns of transmission. The corpora of the New Testament—four Gospels, the Pauline collection (including Hebrews), the General Epistles—are more clearly defined than those in the Old Testament. And the order of the books within the corpora is even more rigid. And the numbers of manuscripts are greater than those of the Old Testament. We look forward to the insights that will emerge in the coming few years.

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Abbreviations

AbbCat	Abbadie, Antoine d'. *Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens appartenant à Antoine d'Abbadie*. Paris: Imprimerie Imperiale, 1859.
Ber	Berlin
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Dav	Donald Davies, creator of the Davies collection of microfilms
DelEngCat	Delamarter, Steve, and Demeke Berhane. *A Catalogue of Previously Uncatalogued Ethiopic Manuscripts in England*. JSSSup. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
DillmBerl	Dillmann, August. *Verzeichniss der abessinischen Handschriften*. Vol. 3 of *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*. Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1878.
DillmBodl	Dillmann, August. *Codices aethiopici*. Part 7 of *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis*. Oxford: Typographeo Academico, 1848.

DillmLond	Madden, F., and Dillmann, L., eds. *Codices Aethiopicos amplectens*. Part 3 of *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*. London: British Museum, 1848.
EAE	Uhlig, Siegbert, et al, eds. *Encyclopedia Aethiopica*. 5 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003–2014.
EMIP	Ethiopic Manuscripts Imaging Project
EMML	Macomber, William F., and Getatchew Haile, eds. *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts: Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa, and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library*. 10 vols. Collegeville, MN: Monastic Manuscript Microfilm Library, St. John's Abbey and University, 1975–1993.
EMTS	Ethiopic Manuscripts, Texts, and Studies
Ethio-SPARE	Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia: Salvation, Preservation, Research Project
Fait	Jacques (Ya'acob) Faitlovitch (Ethiopic manuscript collection at Tel Aviv University)
FalCat	Falivene, M. Rosaria, et al., eds. *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Bible House Library*. London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1982.
GG	Gunda Gunde (monastery in northern Ethiopia)
GoldFrank	Goldschmidt, Lazarus. *Die Abessinischen Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Frankfurt am Main*. Berlin: Calvary, 1897.
HamSixBerl	Hammerschmidt, Ernst. *Die Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz*. Part 1 of *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*. VOHD 20/4. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1983.
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
IsaJerPat	Isaac, Ephraim. "Shelf List of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Monasteries of the Ethiopian Patriarchate of Jerusalem." *RSE* (1987): 53–80.
MacDavCat	Macomber, William F. *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts from Abba Garima, Asatan (Church of St. Mary), Axum (Church of Zion), [and] Dabra Bizan*…. Collegeville, MN: St. John's University, 1979.
Prince	Princeton University Library

RaiCerCat	Cerulli, Enrico, and Osvaldo Raineri. *Inventario dei manoscritti Cerulli etiopici*. StT 420; CSIFM 8. Vatican City: Vatican Apostolic Library, 2004.
RhoWeinCat	Rhodokanakis, Nikolaus. *Die äthiopischen Handschriften der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*. Wien: Hölder, 1906.
SixBay	Six, Veronika, and Ernst Hammerschmidt, eds. *Die Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*. Part 2 of *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*. VOHD 20/5. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1989.
SixDeu	Six, Veronika, et al, eds. *Handschriften deutscher Bibliotheken, Museen und aus Privatbesitz*. Part 3 of *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*. VOHD 20/6. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994.
Staats. Preuss.	Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz
StBritLibCat	Strelcyn, Stefan. *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the British Library Acquired since the Year 1877*. London: British Library, 1978.
StRylCat	Strelcyn, Stefan. *Catalogue of Ethiopic Manuscripts in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974.
Tan	Hammerschmidt, Ernst, ed. *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Ṭānāsee*. 3 vols. VOHD 20.1–3. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1973–1999.
UllBodCat	Ullendorff, Edward. Vol. 2 of *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1951.
UllCamCat	Ullendorff, Edward, Stephen G. Wright, and D. A. Hubbard. *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
VOHD	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
WrBriMus	Wright, William. *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1847*. London: British Museum, 1877.
Zotan.	Zotenberg, Hermann. *Catalogue des manuscripts éthiopien (Gheez et Amharique) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*. Paris, 1877.

Section 1.2
Modern Critical Editions of Ancient Scriptures and Textual Criticism

Toward a Critical Edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch: Reflections on Issues and Methods

Gary N. Knoppers

1. The Samaritan Pentateuch in Modern Research

The "rediscovery" of the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) in the early modern era provoked avid disputes between Catholic and Protestant scholars about the history, transmission, and possible corruption of the Old Testament Scriptures.[1] In the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, Protestants defended the priority, merit, and sanctity of the Masoretic Text (MT), while Catholics pointed to the discrepant evidence of the Septuagint (LXX), the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), and the Vulgate to argue for the antiquity and the value of readings found within these literary works. Among the issues perceived to be at stake in this debate were the status of the Deutero-Canon (or Apocrypha), the doctrine of *sola scriptura*, and the role of church tradition in guiding the interpretation of the Scriptures.

I first came to know Peter Flint at the Annual Meetings of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies (CSBS), in which he was a main organizer and proponent of sessions dedicated to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Over the years, it was wonderful to witness the many students he attracted to the study of this key area in the disciplines of Hebrew Bible, New Testament, early Judaism, and early Christianity. His research in the Psalms, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Deuterocanon, and the Pseudepigrapha brought acclaim both to his university and to the CSBS. It is only fitting to dedicate this essay to his memory.

1. Reinard Pummer, "The Samaritans and Their Pentateuch," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 237–69; Pummer, *The Samaritans: A Profile* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 193–216; Stefan Schorch, "Der Samaritanische Pentateuch in der Geschichte des hebräischen Bibeltextes," *VF* 60 (2015): 18–29.

1.1. Gesenius's *De Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine*

The publication of Gesenius's monograph on the SP in 1815 marked a decisive turning point in the debates about the text's relative value.[2] Taking the MT as a base, Gesenius enumerated a series of eight categories of fundamental deviations of the SP from the MT.[3] These include:

1. Readings adapted to standard grammatical norms.
2. Interpretations or glosses interpolated into the text.
3. Conjectural emendations.
4. Readings changed or supplemented in accordance with parallel texts.
5. Major additions taken from parallel texts.
6. Emendations of contextual or historically difficult readings.
7. Words adapted to the Samaritan language.
8. Readings supporting the theology, hermeneutics, and cult of the Samaritans.

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2. Wilhelm Gesenius, *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, indole et auctoritate commentatio philologico-critica* (Halle: Libraria Rengeriana, 1815), 24–61. On Gesenius's importance to the history of SP study, see Abraham Tal, "The First Samaritanologist: Wilhelm Gesenius," in *Biblische Exegese und hebräische Lexikographie: Das "Hebräisch-deutsche Handwörterbuch" von Wilhelm Gesenius als Spiegel und Quelle alttestamentlicher und hebräischer Forschung, 200 Jahre nach seiner ersten Auflage*, ed. Stefan Schorch and Ernst-Joachim Waschke, BZAW 427 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 139–51.

3. Gesenius, *Pentateuchi Samaritani origine*, 24–61. Samuel Davidson (*A Treatise on Biblical Criticism Exhibiting a Systematic View of That Science*, 2nd ed. [Edinburgh: Black, 1854], 79–81), provides a brief English translation of Gesenius's categories. For discussions, see Bruce K. Waltke, "Prolegomena to the Samaritan Pentateuch" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1965), 271–338; Waltke, "The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Text of the Old Testament," in *New Perspectives on the Old Testament*, ed. J. Barton Payne, SSETS 3 (Waco, TX: Word, 1970), 212–39; Jean Margain, "Samaritain (Pentateuque)," *DBSup* 11: 763–68; Stefan Schorch, "Die (sogenannten) anti-polytheistischen Korrekturen im samaritanischen Pentateuch," *MBFJ* 15/16 (1999): 4–21; Carmel McCarthy, "Samaritan Pentateuch Readings in Deuteronomy," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays: Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart*, ed. Carmel McCarthy and John F. Healey, JSOTSup 375 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 118–30; Pummer, "Samaritans and Their Pentateuch," 241–43; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013), 74–93.

Based on this elaborate categorization of the differences, Gesenius concluded that an older Jewish text had been simplified linguistically, harmonized stylistically, expanded literarily, and corrected theologically to comport with the views and practices of the Samaritan community. Gesenius's analysis effectively distanced the (earlier) MT from the (later and more developed) LXX and SP. Rather than function as a primary witness to the Pentateuch, the SP became a witness to the adaptation, updating, emendation, and expansion of that Pentateuch in a later and different religious setting.

1.2. Reactions to Gesenius's Work

Not all scholars accepted Gesenius's reconstruction of the relationship between the MT and the SP. Some countered that viewing the SP as in essence a late confection made neither literary nor historical sense. In 1877, Geiger countered Gesenius's interpretation of some SP variant readings as being tendentiously sectarian, arguing that the SP was an old version of the Pentateuch that was in general use at that time.[4] In 1915, Paul Kahle compared readings in the SP with Pentateuchal citations in the New Testament and the Pseudepigrapha, concluding that the SP preserves many old readings and constitutes an ancient form of the Pentateuch.[5] In 1935, Albrecht Alt questioned whether the Pentateuch, as a common possession of Jews and Samaritans, could have had its origin in the adoption of the completed Pentateuch by the Samaritans after they had separated from the cultic establishment in Jerusalem.[6] More recently, Étienne Nodet contended the opposite position of Gesenius, namely, that the Samaritans were "the most direct heirs of the ancient Israelites and their cult" and responsible for much of the material in the Hexateuch.[7] Similarly, Nodet

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4. Abraham Geiger, "Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften: 11; Der samaritanische Pentateuch," in *Abraham Geiger's Nachgelassene Schriften*, ed. Ludwig Geiger (Berlin: Gerschel, 1877), 4:54–67, 121–32.

5. Paul Kahle, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," *TSK* 88 (1915): 399–439.

6. Albrecht Alt, "Zur Geschichte der Grenze zwischen Judäa und Samaria," *PJ* 31 (1935): 94–111.

7. Étienne Nodet, *A Search for the Origins of Judaism: From Joshua to the Mishnah*, trans. Ed Crowley, JSOTSup 248 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 12. See also Nodet, *La crise maccabéenne: Historiographie juive et traditions bibliques* (Paris: Cerf, 2005).

thinks that the rise of the Pentateuch as an authoritative compilation occurred sometime during the mid- to late-third century BCE in association with Mount Gerizim and its priesthood.[8]

Nevertheless, Gesenius's views were influential, informing scholarly opinion for over a century. The merit of Gesenius's research is its systematic and painstakingly detailed comparisons between several different aspects of the MT and the SP. Among other things, Gesenius demonstrated that the SP is a longer, linguistically simplified (in some respects), and more baroque text than its MT counterpart. Yet even Gesenius recognized that in a few instances the SP bore witness to an older and better text than the MT.[9]

Other interpretive options, however, remained unpursued. Gesenius's understanding of text origins was based on geographical associations (i.e., MT: Judah; LXX: Egypt; SP: Samaria) and chronological assumptions (i.e., MT: early; LXX and SP: derivative and late). It evidently did not occur to him that the relatively conservative (pre-)MT and the more expansive (pre-)SP might be coexisting textual traditions within both Judah and Samaria during the last centuries before the Common Era. Was the SP a late construction, or was it a centuries-long developing textual tradition? Was the SP at its base even distinctively Samaritan? Gesenius recognized that at some point after their definitive formation, the MT and SP represented authoritative, but somewhat different, canonical texts for Jews and Samaritans; yet, he did not consider the historical possibility that textual pluriformity characterized Judean and Samarian intellectual life in the Hellenistic and early Hasmonean periods.[10] Whether shorter and longer forms of the Pentateuch might have been studied concurrently within various Judean and Samarian communities does not seem to have occurred to him.[11]

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8. Nodet, *Search for the Origins*, 188–95.

9. Gesenius, *Pentateuchi Samaritani origine*, 61. The texts he had in mind are Gen 4:8, 14:14, 22:13, and 49:14. Such a list could be extended to include other passages.

10. David Andrew Teeter (*Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*, FAT 92 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014], 205–71) offers well considered reflections on this issue.

11. In my work, I refer to the residents of Yehud and Samerina (Samaria) during the Persian and early Hellenistic periods as Judeans and Samarians to distinguish them from the later Jews and Samaritans of the Maccabean and Roman periods. In both cases, one can see lines of continuity from one period to the next. Some would want to distinguish between general residents of Samaria, called Samarians, from

1.3. The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls

The discovery, publication, and analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) have created favorable conditions for pursuing fresh approaches to the questions raised by Gesenius and his predecessors.[12] Particularly important for the study of the SP was the discovery of so-called pre-Samaritan manuscripts among the DSS.[13] These texts share many features with the SP, such as tendencies toward conflation (based upon other texts found within the Pentateuch), linguistic features, and content in many, albeit not all, passages.[14] These scroll fragments are not Samaritan per se because they lack the theologically distinctive elements of the SP, such as the Samaritan tenth commandment (SP Exod 20:13א–ו; Deut 5:17א–ח).[15] Rather, these textual

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those specific residents of Samaria who worshiped YHWH, called Samaritans. The trouble is that this earlier distinction was partly based on the erroneous assumption that YHWH worship was a relatively late development or arrival. Yahwism in Samaria may be traced in one form or other to the history of the northern kingdom. See Gary N. Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans: The Origins and History of Their Early Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 18–134.

12. My versification follows that employed by Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin in their recent edition of the SP, *The Pentateuch: The Samaritan Version and the Masoretic Version* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2010).

13. For more detailed discussion of this topic than I can offer here, see Gary N. Knoppers, "Parallel Torahs and Inner-Scriptural Interpretation: The Jewish and Samaritan Pentateuchs in Historical Perspective," in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Konrad Schmid, and Baruch J. Schwartz, FAT 78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 507–31; and Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 79–90.

14. Jeffrey H. Tigay, "Conflation as a Redactional Technique," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. Jeffrey H. Tigay (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 53–95; Innocent Himbaza, *Le Décalogue et l'histoire du texte: Etudes des formes textuelles du Décalogue et leurs implications dans l'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*, OBO 207 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 63–66, 183–86, 198–219; Bernard M. Levinson, *"The Right Chorale": Studies in Biblical Law and Interpretation*, FAT 54 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 276–330.

15. The Samaritan Tenth Commandment consists of the following in order: Exod 13:11a, Deut 11:29b, 27:2b–3a, 4a, 5–7, and 11:30. Material in this sequence was added to both versions of the Decalogue, that is, after Exod 20:17 (MT) and Deut 5:18 (MT). Like Jews, Samaritans speak of "Ten Words," because they consider the first commandment of the MT to be an introduction to the Decalogue. See Ferdinand Dexinger, "Das Garizimgebot im Dekalog der Samaritaner," in *Studien zum Pentateuch: Walter Kornfeld zum 60. Geburstag*, ed. Georg Braulik (Vienna: Herder, 1977),

witnesses share other aforementioned (nonsectarian) traits of the SP and have been labeled, therefore, as pre-Samaritan.[16] In one recent estimate, the pre-Samaritan manuscripts among the DSS constitute approximately 11 percent of the total number of Torah texts.[17] Considering that Tov estimates 48 percent of the texts to be "M[T]-like," this means a high percentage of texts falls under the "nonaligned" category.[18] Such a complex distribution points to the diversity of manuscript evidence surviving from Qumran.[19] That pre-MT, pre-Samaritan, LXX-like, and nonaligned texts were all found among the Qumran manuscripts means that most of the conclusions Gesenius drew from comparing the MT and the SP were profoundly mistaken. What Gesenius and others who followed him believed were most of the distinguishing marks of the SP—expansions, conflations, lexical exchanges, alterations of verbal forms, small harmonizing revisions, linguistic corrections (or updates), orthographic changes, grammatical adaptations, morphological variants, phonological changes—turned out not to be so.

Even the grounds upon which some have determined certain SP readings to be tendentiously theological may be questioned. Some examples may be helpful. In SP Gen 22:2 (the Aqedah), God commands Abraham: "Go to the land of Mora [ארץ המוראה] and offer him [i.e., Isaac] as a burnt offering on one of the mountains I shall point out to you."[20] By writing המוראה, and not המריה ("Moriah," הַמֹּרִיָּה, in the MT), the SP purport-

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111–33; Magnar Kartveit, *The Origin of the Samaritans*, VTSup 128 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 290–95; Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 194–216; Pummer, *Profile*, 203–205.

16. The term "pre-Samaritan," rather than "proto-Samaritan," is commonly used for these manuscripts "on the assumption that one of them was adapted to suit the views of the Samaritans and subsequently served as their Scripture" (Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 90–91). For more detail on this point, see Kartveit, *Origin of the Samaritans*, 263–312.

17. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 79–87.

18. The nomenclature "M-like" or "proto-Masoretic" is interrogated by Michael Segal ("The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *MG* 12 [2007]: 5–20), who argues that it is anachronistic to employ a medieval text (the MT) as a rubric for categorizing ancient manuscripts.

19. For a recent treatment, see Emanuel Tov, "The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Proximity of the Pre-Samaritan Qumran Scrolls to the SP," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint: Collected Essays*, VTSup 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 387–410.

20. The translations of the SP in this essay are my own. For a recent popular translation of the SP with traditional Samaritan pronunciations, see Benyamin Tse-

edly fashioned inner-Pentateuchal allusions to the first "place" (מקום) at which Abram stops in the land of Canaan, "Shechem by the oak of *Mūra*ʾ" (מורא; "Moreh," מוֹרֶה, in the MT) in Gen 12:6; and the command given to the Israelites to pronounce the blessing on Mount Gerizim and the curse on Mount Ebal, sites that are located "next to the oak of *Mūra*ʾ, opposite Shechem" (אצל אלון מורא מול שכם; SP Deut 11:30).[21] Yet if the SP editors wished to alter their *Vorlage* to create intertextual connections with SP Gen 12:6, Exod 20:13ו, Deut 5:17ז, and Deut 11:30, why did they not simply write מורא (*Mūra*ʾ)? In addition, the Samaritan reading tradition pronounces the geographical term המוראה, *Ammûriyya* (not *Mūra*ʾ or "Mora," as is often assumed). In short, the view that the reading המוראה in SP Gen 22:2, as opposed to המריה in the MT, is sectarian has little to commend it.

To take another example, there is a discrepancy between MT and SP Deut 27:4 as to where the Israelites are to inscribe the Torah on stones, recite the Torah, build a public altar, and offer sacrifice. The MT presents the designated location as "Mount Ebal" (הַר עֵיבָל), but the SP reads "Mount Gerizim" (הרגרזים).[22] Most LXX witnesses agree with the MT and read "Mount Gaibal" (ὄρει Γαιβαλ) (NETS).[23] But is this a case of an ideological emendation in the SP? The SP reading finds support in Greek Papyrus Giessen 19 (*argar*[*i*]*zim*), the Greek Samareitikon (*argarizim*), and the *Vetus Latina* (*in monte Garzin*). The same Mount Gerizim reading, written in *scriptio continua*, בהרגרזים, has been recently found in

daka and Sharon Sullivan, *The Israelite Samaritan Version of the Torah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013).

21. The MT reads "oaks of Moreh" (אֵלוֹנֵי מֹרֶה) and lacks the addition "in front of Shechem." The plus in SP Deut 11:30, "opposite Shechem" (מול שכם), which reappears in both renditions of the Samaritan tenth commandment–Exod 20:13ו (*Mūra*ʾ, מורא) and Deut 5:17ז (*Mūra*ʾ, מורא), is likely sectarian in nature. See my "The Sacred Sites of Gilgal, Mount Gerizim, and Mount Ebal, and Their Sacred Rites: Evidence from the Masoretic Text, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Samaritans and Their Pentateuch*, ed. Christophe Nihan (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming).

22. The larger compositional history of Deut 27:2–8 is a complex question that cannot be addressed here. See, recently, Christophe Nihan, "Garizim et Ébal dans le Pentateuque: Quelques remarques en marge de la publication d'un nouveau fragment du Deutéronome," *Sem* 54 (2012): 185–210.

23. Kartveit, *Origin of the Samaritans*, 300–305; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 88; Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 202–205.

a late second- or early first-century BCE Qumran fragment of Deut 27:4b–6.[24] That a DSS witness, Papyrus Giessen, the SP, and the OL agree in Deut 27:4 indicates that "Mount Gerizim" is not a sectarian reading. Moreover, given that Mount Gerizim is consistently presented as the mount of blessing (Deut 11:26–30, 27:11–13), a good argument can be made that the MT's reading, "Mount Ebal," represents, in this case, a theological correction.

We have been discussing small-scale variants and additions in the SP that are not inherently sectarian in nature. Our final example examines large-scale additions in the SP (over against the MT). Aside from the interpolation of the Samaritan tenth commandment into both versions of the Decalogue (Exod 20:2–17; Deut 5:1–18), the SP contains two further additions in the Decalogue account. After Exod 20:19a (MT) the SP includes Deut 5:24–27, and after Exod 20:21 (MT) the SP includes Deut 5:28b–29, 18:18–22, and 5:30–31. Analysis of the DSS has revealed that these interpolations are, however, not sectarian readings.[25] In 4Q(Reworked) Pentateuch[a] (4Q158) 6, the Deuteronomic authorization of prophecy (Deut 18:18–19) has been interpolated after a blend of materials in the representation of the Decalogue, including Exod 20:19, Deut 5:29, and a short plus of unknown origin.[26] Within the assembly of readings culled

24. James H. Charlesworth, "What Is a Variant? Announcing a Dead Sea Scroll Fragment of Deuteronomy," *Maarav* 16 (2009): 201–12, 273–74 (pls. ix–x). See also Christophe Nihan, "The Torah between Samaria and Judah: Shechem and Gerizim in Deuteronomy and Joshua," in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 187–223.

25. See Dexinger, "Garizimgebot," 126–29; Dexinger, "Samaritan Origins and the Qumran Texts," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects*, ed. Michael O. Wise et al; ANYAS 722 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 231–49; Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod and the Samaritan Tradition*, HSS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 236–37.

26. John M. Allegro, "Biblical Paraphrase: Genesis, Exodus," in *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 3, pl. 1. For discussion of this fragmentary text, see Allegro, "Biblical Paraphrase," 3, pl. 1; John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1970): 168–75; Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White Crawford, "Reworked Pentateuch," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I*, ed. Harold W. Attridge et al., DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 187–351; Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls*, LSTS 63 (London: T&T

from various Scriptures found in 4QTestimonia (4Q175), the sequence Deut 5:28–29, 18:18–19 also appears.[27]

The insertion of select texts from Deuteronomy into some versions of Exodus predates the formation of the SP. The interpolations from Deuteronomy into the Exodus Decalogue account render the Pentateuch—understood as a single literary work, rather than as a collection of books—more internally self-consistent. Such textual maneuvers are simultaneously exegetical and compositional in nature, interpreting the parallel texts of Exodus and Deuteronomy and inserting material from the latter into the former to ensure that the two works cohere more closely.[28] That such features are found in Samaria and Judah indicates that certain scribes in these neighboring areas shared hermeneutical assumptions and literary strategies in dealing with foundational texts that they both held dear. To summarize, the number of texts in the SP that fall under the category of sectarian readings has been greatly reduced. What remains is a thin layer, consisting of a limited number of texts, such as the Samaritan Tenth Commandment, which were added, probably in stages, after the Samarian and

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Clark, 2007), 111–14; Andrew B. Perrin, "Toward a New Edition of 4QReworked Pentateuch[a] (4Q158): Text, Translation, Notes, and Variants," in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection*, ed. Peter W. Flint, Jean Duhaime, and Kyung S. Baek, EJL 30 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 59–76. The content of 4Q158 is part of a thorough reanalysis to appear in a new edition by Moshe J. Bernstein and Molly M. Zahn.

27. John M. Allegro, "Testimonia," in *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 57–60, pl. 21; Strugnell, "Notes," 225–29. Interestingly, the textual blend created by the author(s) of 4QTestimonia draws upon a pre-Samaritan text of Exod 20:19–21, but upon a text of Deuteronomy that contains an expansionistic variant text, exhibiting affinities with 4QDeut[h] and the LXX (Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, SDSSRL [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008], 35–36).

28. Some question the appropriateness of the harmonistic label for these insertions, because at least some of the large-scale additions in the SP provide source material in Exodus to explain references found in Deuteronomy, rather than completely harmonize the texts in question. On this, see Michael Segal, "Biblical Exegesis in 4Q158: Techniques and Genre," *Textus* 19 (1998): 45–62; Segal, "The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *MG* 12 (2007): 10–17; Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts,* STDJ 95 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 147–48; Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Early Texts of the Torah: Revisiting the Greek Scholarly Context," *JAJ* 4 (2013): 210–34.

Judean communities became alienated from one another during the Maccabean period.[29]

Given that pre-Samaritan, pre-MT, LXX-like, and nonaligned manuscripts coexisted among the DSS, one has to recognize that the Judean community that lived at Qumran could and did tolerate considerable textual diversity within their community's literary holdings. If the members of the Qumran community accepted textual pluriformity, it stands to reason that the temple community in Jerusalem and the Yahwistic Samarian community did as well. Rather than conceive of one particular type of conservative text belonging to one community and another more expansive type of text belonging to another community, it makes more sense to view these different types of texts as a common patrimony of Judeans and Samarians.

Discussion of developments in the study of the SP and its relationship to other manuscript traditions in the last centuries BCE is important because it demonstrates the many affinities the SP shares with other Pentateuchal traditions represented by the MT, the LXX, and the DSS. When seen in the context of textual developments during the latter centuries BCE, the SP appears not as a literary work set far apart from other literary works, but as a set of writings that is closely related to others. One challenge for modern editions of the SP is to do justice to the internal diversity within the SP manuscript tradition. Yet another challenge is how to best represent SP's similarities and differences with other Pentateuchal witnesses.

2. Modern Editions of the Samaritan Pentateuch

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of important scholarly editions of the SP have appeared. Most are diplomatic in nature, based on a single manuscript. However, von Gall's text, the most widely used SP edition for the past century, is eclectic in nature. In what follows, I shall review the major editions and conclude by discussing a comprehensive new SP edition.

29. See further, Knoppers, *Jews and Samaritans*, 217–39.

2.1. Von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*

The best-known edition of the SP in Europe and the Americas was published a century ago.[30] In preparing his work, August von Gall's goal was ambitious: to create the first scholarly eclectic reconstruction of the SP. This meant collating a large number of manuscripts and manuscript fragments from a variety of locations, evaluating their relative values, and laboring to recover the earliest and best readings. For the sake of expediency and accessibility, von Gall employed the Hebrew square script, rather than the Samaritan script, in his edition. It must be granted that von Gall's painstaking work was quite an achievement for its time.[31] The critical apparatus he created is still of considerable value today.[32]

The organization of the work is somewhat unusual for an eclectic edition. Aside from the main text, the edition contains three critical apparatuses. One addresses the consonantal framework, a second the vowel signs, and a third (the largest) the punctuation, but there is an important contrast between the functions of apparatus 1 and apparatuses 2 and 3. Apparatus 1 records variants to the reconstructed main text, while apparatuses 2 and 3 are cumulative apparatuses. They tally the evidence of vowel signs and punctuation in all of the manuscripts employed in his edition.

In spite of these strengths, the edition is plagued by several debilitating weaknesses. To begin with, many medieval SP manuscripts are absent from von Gall's edition.[33] In fairness to von Gall, some of these were either unknown or unavailable to him. Perhaps more importantly, the edition is beset by errors and by demonstrably false criteria in its evaluation of manuscript evidence.[34] In assessing different lemmata appearing within his manuscripts, von Gall displayed a predilection for choosing readings that agreed with the MT. In his calculation of older grammati-

30. August von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner*, 5 vols. (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1914–1918).

31. Ibid., i–lxi.

32. The basic text does not contain any signs for vowels or punctuation, except for the *Qiṣṣa* sign, the Samaritan equivalent to the Masoretic *Parasha*.

33. The work of Luis-Fernando Girón Blanc (*Pentateuco Hebreo-Samaritano: Genesis; Edición crítica sobre la base de manuscritos inéditos*, TECC 15 [Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1976]) draws on variants from many additional sources, augmenting the information compiled in von Gall's edition. Unfortunately, this work only covers the book of Genesis.

34. For von Gall's editorial principles, see his *Hebräische Pentateuch*, lxviii–lxix.

cal forms over against newer ones, he was insufficiently appreciative of how the grammar of Masoretic Hebrew differs from that of Samaritan Hebrew.[35] Rather than grappling seriously with the text-critical principle of maximum differentiation, he opted in many cases to align the SP with the MT, thus obscuring individuating features of the SP. Attempting to derive the best possible reading, based on the evidence supplied by the LXX, the MT, and the SP, is a perfectly laudable aim, but it should not be the aim of a SP scholarly edition. The goal of any eclectic SP edition should be to choose (or, if need be, to reconstruct) the best lemma in the SP textual tradition, rather than to emend the SP to a lemma found in the LXX or in the MT. Von Gall also displayed a propensity to favor readings with *scriptio defectiva* over those with *scriptio plena*, even in cases in which the clear majority of SP manuscripts have the latter. Given that Samaritan *plene* spellings occasionally point to readings that differ from those of the MT, von Gall's preference for readings with *scriptio defectiva* had the unintentional effect of creating a distorted and misleading presentation of the SP.[36]

2.2. Tal and Florentin, *The Pentateuch: The Samaritan Version and the Masoretic Version*

A new edition of one of the most important and most complete SP manuscripts, emanating from the Samaritan synagogue at Shechem (1204 CE) was published by Abraham Tal in 1994.[37] Like von Gall's edition, Tal's edition employs the Hebrew square script rather than the Samaritan script. Unlike von Gall's edition, Tal's is diplomatic. Rather than reconstruct an early text, based on a critical evaluation of a variety of witnesses, Tal's achievement consists of granting readers access to a significant SP manuscript in a convenient and user-friendly format. The edition is, however, not limited entirely to this particular textual witness. Given that the manuscript in question (no. 6 from the Nablus Synagogue) is occasionally not

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35. A point underscored by Stefan Schorch, "A Critical *editio maior* of the Samaritan Pentateuch: State of Research, Principles, and Problems," *HBAI* 2 (2013): 100–20.

36. For similar criticisms of von Gall's edition, see Abraham Tal, "Samaritan Literature," in *The Samaritans*, ed. Alan D. Crown (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989), 413–67; and Schorch, "Critical *editio maior*," 107–108.

37. Abraham Tal, *The Samaritan Pentateuch Edited According to MS 6 [C] of the Shekhem Synagogue* [Hebrew], TSHL 8 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 1994).

well preserved, its testimony is supplemented by textual evidence from other SP manuscripts.

In 2010 Abraham Tal and Moshe Florentin published an improved edition of manuscript Shechem 6, along with the MT on facing pages, to facilitate convenient comparisons between the two texts.[38] Typographical emphases highlight significant differences between the two literary works.[39] The Tal-Florentin edition also indicates vocalization (reading) differences between the two versions. The work offers many additional user-friendly features.[40] The edition marks expansions in the SP and presents these in a separate index. To preserve the synoptic value of this comparative edition, the corresponding MT has blank spaces in those instances in which the SP has extended pluses.

Cases in which Samaritan pauses in reading (*Amidot*) differ from those found in the MT are signified in the text and listed in a separate index. The editors mark in gray significant orthographic differences between the MT and SP. Thus, differences between *plene* and defective spellings are not highlighted. Some commentary on this issue may be helpful, because this particular aspect of Samaritan scribal practice generally has not been well understood outside of Samaritan studies. Most of the variants traditionally cited between the MT and SP relate to the use of *matres lectionis* in medial and final positions, yet the use of *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva* is not always a telltale sign of ancient textual variants, since Samaritan scribes do not follow a uniform or precise custom in the deployment of *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defectiva*.[41] Indeed, individual scribes have exercised considerable freedom (within limits) in copying the Pentateuch. To

38. Tal and Florentin, *Pentateuch*.

39. Emanuel Tov ("A New Edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint: Collected Essays*, VTSup 167 [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 250–57) offers some criticisms of what constitutes significant, as opposed to insignificant, criteria.

40. Those instances in which textual evidence from SP manuscripts is employed to replace poorly preserved readings in manuscript no. 6 are tallied in a separate index (Tal and Florentin, *Pentateuch*, 754).

41. Abraham Tal, "Divergent Traditions of the Samaritan Pentateuch as Reflected by Its Aramaic Targum," *JAB* 1 (1999): 297–314; Tal, "Observations on the Orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch," in *Proceedings of the Congress of the SÉS (Milan July 8–12 1996) and of the Special Section of the ICANAS Congress (Budapest July 7–11 1997)*, vol. 5 of *Samaritan Researches*, ed. Vittorio Morabito, Alan D. Crown, and Lucy Davey, SJ 10 (Sydney: Mandelbaum, 2000), 26–35.

complicate matters further, studies of Samaritan Torah transcriptions have demonstrated that in some cases scribes have employed *matres lectionis* as representations of consonants rather than as vowel letters.[42] What matters ultimately in Samaritan tradition is the oral transmission of the Torah by the community.[43] Thus, when studying the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Samaritan practice of reciting the text has to be carefully considered.

We have been discussing the reasons for the editors' decision not to mark discrepancies between *scriptio defectiva* and *scriptio plena* in the SP and the MT. A similar principle obtains with respect to certain grammatical differences between the two works. What the editors deem to be unessential grammatical differences between the punctuated MT and the Samaritan reading tradition of the Pentateuch are not marked in this reference work.[44] Tal and Florentin do mark and discuss, however, "all essential differences which are not seen in the written text but rather revealed by the analysis of the grammatical structure of each recorded word in the text."[45] Thus, for example, those words spelled similarly in the two versions, but that have important differences, as revealed by the Samaritan reading tradition, are marked with a *circellus* and discussed in the main index at the end of the volume.[46] Also marked (with a small

42. See Tal, "Divergent Traditions," 300; Stefan Schorch, "Die Bedeutung der samaritanischen mündlichen Tradition für die Textgeschichte des Pentateuch (II)," *MBFJ* 12/13 (1997): 53–64; "Die Bedeutung der samaritanischen mündlichen Tradition für die Exegese des Pentateuch," *WD* 25 (1999): 77–91; "The Significance of the Samaritan Oral Tradition for the Textual History of the Pentateuch," in Morabito, Crown, and Davey, *Proceedings of the Congress of the SÉS*, 103–17; and Schorch, *Das Buch Genesis*, vol. 1 of *Die Vokale des Gesetzes: Die samaritanische Lesetradition als Textzeugin der Tora*, BZAW 339 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004).

43. Zeev Ben-Hayyim, *The Words of the Pentateuch*, vol. 4 of *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1977); Moshe Florentin, "Some Thoughts about the Evaluation of the Samaritan Reading of the Pentateuch and the Hebrew Dialect Reflected in This Reading," in *Die Samaritaner und die Bibel: Historische und literarische Wechselwirkungen zwischen biblischen und samaritanischen Traditionen*, ed. Jörg Frey, Ursula Schattner-Rieser, and Konrad Schmid, StSam 7 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 339–53.

44. For a classification of the various differences between the MT and the SP, see Tal and Florentin, *Pentateuch*, 25–38.

45. Ibid., vi.

46. The extensive list of such cases is a real service to readers (ibid., 621–736).

asterisk) and compared (in a separate index) are the spellings of words with contemporary pronunciations.

For readers whose goal it is to compare and contrast the SP carefully with the MT, the Tal-Florentin edition offers many advantages. The editors have produced a convenient, accessible, and useful synoptic edition of the SP and the MT. I know of nothing like it available in contemporary scholarship.[47] As a reference tool with focused goals, the work succeeds in what it intends to accomplish. What the Tal-Florentin edition does not offer, however, is any information about the multitude of other textual witnesses to the SP. Nor does it present lemmata available among the witnesses to the LXX that parallel lemmata in the SP. To be sure, how many cases there are in which the SP and the LXX line up together against the MT is disputed. Some textbooks list 1,600 to upwards of 2,000 common readings.[48] Such a large number is questioned by Kyung-Rae Kim's extensive study reexamining the textual relationship between the SP and the LXX.[49] Kim argues that the figure is 964, but the real number, excluding "irrelevant readings," is 493.[50] Whatever the case, having access to such variants is useful,

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47. Mention should be made of an earlier synoptic edition of the SP and the MT published several decades ago by two Samaritan authors, Avraham N. Tsedaka and Ratson Tsedaka, *Jewish and Samaritan Versions of the Pentateuch: With Particular Stress on the Differences Between Both Texts* (Tel Aviv: Rubin Mass, 1961–1965). This work, unavailable to me, presents the text of the MT and the SP in parallel columns. The text of Genesis–Numbers is based upon a medieval manuscript, while that of Deuteronomy is based on the Abishaʿ scroll. On the respect accorded to, and complicated history of, the Abishaʿ scroll, see Reinhard Pummer, *The Samaritans*, IR 23.5 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 28, pl. 4; *Profile*, 194–95. The scroll was photographed and published with transcriptions and notes by Frederico P. Castro, *Séfer Abišaʿ: Edición del Fragmento antiguo del rollo sagrado del Pentateuco hebreo samaritano de Nablus; Estudio, transcripción, aparato crítico y facsimiles*, TECC 2 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959).

48. Otto Eissfeldt (*The Old Testament: An Introduction* [New York: Harper & Row, 1965], 694–95) lists the figure as 2,000. Sidney Jellicoe (*The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968; repr. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1993]), 245) tallies 1,600. In any event, the shared variants need not be taken, in and of themselves, as indicating a close or special relationship between the Old Greek and the SP. See Judith E. Sanderson, "The Old Greek of Exodus in the Light of 4QpaleoExod^{m}," *Textus* 14 (1988): 87–104.

49. Kyung-Rae Kim, "Studies in the Relationship between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint" (PhD diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994). Kim's dissertation was written under the direction of Emanuel Tov.

50. Ibid., 1–16, 311–30.

because it allows readers to contextualize and assess the extent to which the SP may be related (or unrelated) to one of the other major textual witnesses to the Pentateuch. If differences between the SP and the MT are assumed to be changes in the former, over against the latter, this may give readers a misimpression about the nature of the SP, because many variants predated the SP's formation.[51] Finally, the edition of Tal and Florentin does not incorporate the many parallels found within the pre-Samaritan manuscripts among the DSS to expansionary readings in the SP.[52] For such a resource, readers will need to turn to a new edition of the SP currently being prepared in Europe.[53] To that new reference work we now turn.

2.3. *Der Samaritanische Pentateuch*

A concerted effort is currently underway, the Samaritanus Project, to produce a new critical *editio magna* of the SP.[54] Much of the research is being carried out by a research team under the guidance of Stefan Schorch, based at the University of Halle-Wittenberg. Another part of the project, in particular the edition of Exodus, is being carried out by a research team under the direction of József Zsengellér, based at Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary (Budapest). Unlike von Gall's edition, this critical *editio maior* is a diplomatic edition. The main text employed is one of the best preserved and most carefully produced SP copies of the medieval era—manuscript 751 of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (1225 CE).[55]

Like the editions of von Gall and Tal-Florentin, this new work employs the Hebrew square script rather than the Samaritan script.[56] The edition consists of the main text and of six apparatuses, not all of which appear, depending on the manuscript evidence, on every page. The main text

51. So also Tov, "New Edition," 254–55.

52. See section 1.3 above.

53. For other criticisms of the Tal-Florentin edition, see Schorch, "Critical *editio maior*," 108–109; and Tov, "New Edition," 252–57.

54. For full descriptions, see Stefan Schorch, "Der Pentateuch der Samaritaner: Seine Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für das Verständnis des alttestamentlichen Bibeltextes," in Frey, Schattner-Rieser, and Schmid, *Samaritaner und die Bibel*, 5–29; and Schorch, "Critical *editio maior*," 110–20.

55. Sample pages are available in Schorch, "Critical *editio maior*," 115–16.

56. For a critique of this practice, see H. G. M. Williamson, "Comments on New Editions of the Hebrew Scriptures," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 384–91.

records the consonantal framework, paragraphing, punctuation, vowels, and text-critical signs. The few corrections found in that manuscript, all of which were evidently implemented by the scribe himself, are not indicated in the main text but appear in apparatus 2. In the inner margins of the main text, the editors provide information from the Samaritan reading tradition in cases where the consonantal framework of the main text is ambiguous. Hence, when the text can be read in different ways and the traditional Samaritan vocalization differs from that of the MT, this feature of *Der Samaritanische Pentateuch* provides critical information.

Positioned directly below the main text on every page of the edition, apparatus 1 provides a list of the extant manuscripts dating from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries for the respective passages, including an indication of precisely where the surviving passages of a given manuscript begin or ends. For Genesis, twenty-six manuscripts are to be included. Apparatus 2 lists the variants within the consonantal framework, including corrections or additions by later hands, erasures, and so forth. The importance of this apparatus lies in the fact that no canonized written form of the SP exists in the sense that it does in the Masoretic tradition. In Samaritan tradition scribes have been allowed significant freedom, as long as they remain firmly within the bounds of the orally transmitted reading tradition. For this reason, the scribal transmission of the SP is generally much more diverse than that of the relatively conservative MT.

Apparatus 3 lists and explains those cases in which the ancient translations of the SP, that is, the Samaritan Targum and the Samaritan Arabic translation of the Pentateuch, attest to a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differs from Dublin's Chester Beatty Library manuscript 751.[57] In each instance, the

57. The Samaritan Aramaic and Samaritan Arabic versions of the Torah are both available in reliable modern editions. See Abraham Tal, *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition,* 3 vols., TSHL 4–6 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1980–1983). For an informative introduction, see Abraham Tal, "The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder, CRINT 2.1 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988), 189–216. For the Samaritan Arabic translation, see Haseeb Shehadeh, *The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch: Edited from the Manuscripts, with an Introductory Volume*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences, 1989–2002). Shehadeh has also provided a helpful introduction ("The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch," in *The Samaritans*, ed. Alan D. Crown [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1989], 481–516). General overviews may be found in Tal, "Samaritan Literature," 413–67, and Pummer, *Profile*, 217–54.

editors refer to the original, whether Aramaic or Arabic, and reconstruct the Hebrew *Vorlage*. If a reading recorded in this apparatus, that is, a variant emerging from the reconstructed Hebrew *Vorlage* of one of the Samaritan ancient translations, has a counterpart in the Samaritan Hebrew manuscript tradition referred to in apparatus 2, the editors furnish cross-references to the other apparatus.

For those readers interested in comparing the witness of the SP with other ancient witnesses, apparatus 4 is particularly valuable because it provides parallels between the Hebrew Samaritan text and textual witnesses outside of the Masoretic tradition, especially from the LXX and the DSS. One benefit of this apparatus is its potential to contextualize the SP in relation to other available textual evidence from antiquity. By comparing the Samaritan and the Masoretic traditions in the context of the many other textual witnesses that attest to the transmission of the Pentateuch in the last centuries BCE and the first centuries CE, readers will gain a better grasp of the distinctive and nondistinctive features of each textual tradition.

Apparatus 5 lists all instances of vowel and text-critical signs found in the manuscripts of the SP covered by *Der Samaritanische Pentateuch*. This apparatus is, therefore, not comparative but rather cumulative in that it records the entire evidence of vowel and text-critical signs found in the manuscripts covered by the apparatus, irrespective of the reading evidence found in the main text.[58] As Schorch observes, the scribal deployment of vowel and text-critical signs within Samaritan tradition is very sparse and does not follow any systematic rules.[59] Samaritan scribal practice may vary within the same manuscript or between different manuscripts written by the same scribe.[60]

Apparatus 6 is devoted to punctuation and lists all variants gained from the manuscripts covered by the edition. Recording this evidence is

58. As observed above (section 2.1), von Gall's edition offers a similar cumulative apparatus.

59. Schorch, "Critical *editio maior*," 118–19.

60. The development and use of vowel signs was evidently still in its formative period during the times in which the manuscripts were written (eleventh to fourteenth centuries). The vowel and text-critical signs will be printed in the graphic shapes in which they appear. The scribal use of a text-critical sign indicating concurrent readings (unique to the Samaritan tradition) was not known before the research for the new edition began (Schorch, "Critical *editio maior*," 119–20).

important for understanding paragraphing and syntax. As with the case of vowel signs, the graphic variety of punctuation is extensive, and no systematic research, prior to the preparation for this edition, has been devoted to these signs. In contrast with the use of vowel and text-critical signs, Samaritan scribes used punctuation quite abundantly, but they seem to have not followed any consistent rules in deploying punctuation signs.

3. Concluding Reflections

Two further comments may be made about *Der Samaritanische Pentateuch* to conclude this discussion. We began this essay by exploring how close analysis of the LXX and the pre-Samaritan texts of the DSS has revealed, over against earlier studies, that most of the differences between the MT and the SP are not unique to the SP. Such studies have demonstrated the value of analyzing variants among the DSS, LXX, SP, MT, and Old Latin to gain a much deeper appreciation of how the books of the Pentateuch developed in the Hellenistic and Hasmonean eras. Indeed, apparatus 4 has the potential to serve as an important resource in allowing readers to reconstruct aspects of the growth of the Pentateuch during the last centuries before the Common Era. The early textual witnesses to the Torah from this time exhibit surprising variety. Precisely because the Pentateuch was a prestigious set of Scriptures for Jews and Samaritans alike, it attracted intense interest from scribes, who devoted great energy to copying, interpreting, rewriting, and expanding the texts they held dear.[61]

The new texts created on the basis of preexisting texts ultimately generated more textual variation than in many other literary works. Paradoxically, as Tov observes, the books of the Torah "were edited, rewritten, and changed much more than the other biblical books."[62] If so, this is all the more reason to give concerted attention to the variant readings in the LXX and the DSS in any new scholarly edition of the Pentateuch. The detailed tabulation of these variants would allow readers to gain a better appreciation of the relationships among the SP, the MT, the DSS, and the

61. Molly M. Zahn, "'Editing' and the Composition of Scripture: The Significance of the Qumran Evidence," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 298–316; Emanuel Tov, "The Textual Transmission of the Torah Analyzed in Light of Its Sanctity," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint: Collected Essays*, VTSup 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 154–65.

62. Tov, "Textual Transmission of the Torah," 165.

LXX. In the current setup, apparatus 6 will consistently be the largest of all the apparatuses in *Der Samaritanische Pentateuch*. Given the major paradigm shift in textual criticism in the last fifty years, occasioned by the publication of the DSS and textual analyses of the different witnesses to the LXX, should not apparatus 4 be the largest of all the apparatuses?

Finally, one of the benefits of eclectic editions and some diplomatic editions of ancient literary works is that the editors provide their own judgment about what the best reading might be in any given passage.[63] This is not the context to debate all the merits and shortcomings of diplomatic and eclectic editions. Clearly, there are advantages to both formats. Nevertheless, one of the clear values of the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (*BHQ*) diplomatic edition and The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition (HBCE) eclectic edition is that each work provides, in its own distinctive way, editorial evaluations about discrepant readings.[64] Many readers using scholarly editions of the Hebrew Scriptures have neither received special training in the discipline of textual criticism nor have particular scholarly expertise in all of the books covered by such editions. The opposite is true of the editors of these works, most of whom have devoted the greater part of their lives studying Samaritan pentateuchal texts and traditions. For these reasons and others, readers might find it particularly helpful to have access to the editor's best judgments about evaluating discrepant readings.

Whether the editors of *Der Samaritanische Pentateuch* have the time or space to take up my constructive suggestions, one thing seems certain: when the volumes of *Der Samaritanische Pentateuch* are published, readers will gain access to a detailed, rigorously prepared, and informative reference work that will become, in turn, an eminently useful foundation for further research.

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63. See, for example, Carmel McCarthy's judicious evaluations of textual variants in his "Commentary on the Critical Apparatus" (Carmel McCarthy, ed., *Deuteronomy*, *BHQ* 5 [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007], 49–169).

64. Adrian Schenker, "The Edition *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (*BHQ*)," *HBAI* 2 (2013): 6–16; Ronald S. Hendel, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Its Aims and a Response to Criticisms," *HBAI* 2 (2013): 63–99; Hendel, "The Idea of a Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible: A Genealogy," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 392–423. The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition (HBCE) was formerly called the Oxford Hebrew Bible. Under a new arrangement, it has been renamed and is now being published by SBL Press. For the first volume, see Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*, HBCE 1 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015).

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The Hebrew University Bible Project

Michael Segal

1. Overview

The Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP) aims to publish a diplomatic *editio maior* of the text of the Hebrew Bible, based upon the Aleppo Codex, with textual variants recorded from as broad a range of sources as possible. This edition is intended to be more comprehensive than any previous edition, and includes the widest range of textual evidence, spanning almost two thousand years of written sources, including:

- Dead Sea scrolls: biblical, parabiblical, and exegetical scrolls
- Samaritan Pentateuch
- Ancient primary translations:
  - Greek: Septuagint and the "Three" (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion)
  - Latin: Vulgate
  - Syriac: Peshitta
  - Aramaic: Targumim
- Biblical quotations in rabbinic literature
- Genizah fragments
- Medieval Tiberian and Eastern manuscripts
- Venice Rabbinic Bible (1525)

The current essay is based upon a revision of the English introduction to the HUBP Ezekiel volume (see n. 5 below). I am indebted to the editors and researchers of that and previous HUBP volumes, who were responsible for formulating that description and, more importantly, for establishing the primary principles of the HUBP critical edition. I would like to thank Drs. Rafael Zer and Noam Mizrahi for their important comments on an earlier draft.

According to the principles of this diplomatic edition, there is no attempt to reconstruct an "original" *Urtext* of the biblical books or to delineate multiple literary stages within their transmission history.[1] Furthermore, in addition to refraining from supporting a specific opinion as to which reading in each verse should be deemed "original," HUBP abstains from promoting a global theory regarding the development of the text. Instead, the exhaustive presentation of textual information, accompanied by explanatory notes, allows the reader to use and assess the data in his or her own research. The HUBP edition aims to present the reader with all the material related to the textual history of the Hebrew text, without any prejudicial assumptions or preconceived notions regarding their development.

1.1. Editors of HUBP

The Hebrew University Bible Project was founded in 1956 by Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, along with Chaim Rabin and Shemaryahu Talmon, all faculty members of the Institute for Jewish Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Goshen-Gottstein served as editor-in-chief of HUBP from its founding until his death in 1991. Rabin and Talmon also served as editors from its inception. Emanuel Tov filled this role as well from 1977 until 2004. Following Goshen-Gottstein's passing, Talmon assumed the position of editor-in-chief from 1991 until his death in 2010. Michael Segal succeeded Talmon in 2010.

1.2. Impetus and Rationale for HUBP

The immediate impetus for the creation of this edition was the arrival in Jerusalem in the 1950s of two significant textual sources, each of great

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1. Although they both reflect diplomatic editorial approaches, the HUBP is distinguished from the *BHQ* edition in a number of ways, which will be described in detail below: (1) HUBP is the only critical edition based upon א, while *BHQ* (and previous editions of *Biblia Hebraica*) adopts Codex Leningrad (St. Petersburg) B19^{A} (ל); (2) the detailed investigation of biblical quotations from rabbinic material based upon new, independent research of this corpus; (3) the fresh examination of medieval manuscripts, without recourse to previous collections of this material. The lack of an attempt to reconstruct an *Urtext* distinguishes the HUBP edition from the Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition (HBCE; formerly the Oxford Hebrew Bible), which aims to reconstruct a putative *Urtext*.

value for the history of the biblical text. First, the discovery and early publications of the Dead Sea Scrolls, including manuscripts of some of the biblical books (first and foremost the two copies of Isaiah from Cave 1). Second, the medieval Aleppo Codex, widely considered the most precise version of the Masoretic text, vocalized and proofread by Aaron ben Asher (ca. 925 CE). These witnesses reflect two significant stages in the history of the text of the Hebrew Bible, from an early period of textual fluidity as attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls until the general stabilization reflected in the Masoretic family of manuscripts. The recognition of the value of these manuscript findings inspired the idea of the preparation of an *editio maior*, utilizing the Aleppo Codex as the base text and tracing the history of textual transmission of the Hebrew Bible from the earliest textual witnesses, discovered in the Judean Desert, all the way until the end of the medieval period.

1.3. Volumes Published to Date

Three volumes of the HUBP critical edition have been published until today: Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. The Isaiah volume was completed in 1995, edited by Goshen-Gottstein.[2] The Jeremiah volume was published in 1997 (edited by Tov, Talmon, and Rabin), and Ezekiel in 2004 (edited by Goshen-Gottstein and Talmon).[3] The Twelve Prophets will be edited jointly by Talmon (posthumously) and Segal.

2. Sample Page of HUBP

The description below of the components of the HUBP critical edition are exemplified in the sample page, taken from the Ezekiel volume (Ezek 1:18–23; see fig. 1). The chosen passage is representative of the edition as a whole, although of course, no single page in any one volume reflects all of the textual witnesses and phenomena described below. The page is divided into two main sections: the top half presents the base text of this edition, the Aleppo Codex; the bottom section contains four apparatuses

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2. Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Book of Isaiah*, 3 vols., HUBP (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1975–1995).

3. Emanuel Tov, Shemaryahu Talmon, and Chaim Rabin, eds., *The Book of Jeremiah*, HUBP (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1997); Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds., *The Book of Ezekiel*, HUBP (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004).

1 18–23 יחזקאל א יח–כג

ותחת ב̇ רא פסוק כי אהב ותחת הרקיע ○

ד̇ סָבִיב לְאַרְבַּעְתָּן׃ וּבְלֶכֶת הַחַיּוֹת יֵלְכוּ הָאוֹפַנִּים אֶצְלָם 19

ל̇ וּבְהִנָּשֵׂא הַחַיּוֹת מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ יִנָּשְׂאוּ הָאוֹפַנִּים׃ עַל אֲשֶׁר 20

ל̇ יִהְיֶה־שָּׁם הָרוּחַ לָלֶכֶת יֵלֵכוּ שָׁמָּה הָרוּחַ לָלֶכֶת וְהָאוֹפַנִּים

יִנָּשְׂאוּ לְעֻמָּתָם כִּי רוּחַ הַחַיָּה בָּאוֹפַנִּים׃ בְּלֶכְתָּם יֵלֵכוּ 21

ל̇ ל̇ וּבְעָמְדָם יַעֲמֹדוּ וּבְהִנָּשְׂאָם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ יִנָּשְׂאוּ הָאוֹפַנִּים

ל̇ לְעֻמָּתָם כִּי רוּחַ הַחַיָּה בָּאוֹפַנִּים׃ וּדְמוּת עַל־רָאשֵׁי הַחַיָּה 22

רָקִיעַ כְּעֵין הַקֶּרַח הַנּוֹרָא נָטוּי עַל־רָאשֵׁיהֶם מִלְמָעְלָה׃

ב̇ רא פס̇ וְתַחַת הָרָקִיעַ כַּנְפֵיהֶם יְשָׁרוֹת אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחוֹתָהּ לְאִישׁ 23

ג̇ שְׁתַּיִם מְכַסּוֹת לָהֵנָּה וּלְאִישׁ שְׁתַּיִם מְכַסּוֹת לָהֵנָּה אֵת

19 האופנים²] 𝔖 + ܚܕܚܕܐ⁽¹⁾ **20** על – לעמתם] 𝔊𝔙 reformul⁽¹⁾ | על אשר יהיה‿שם] 𝔊 οὗ ἂν ἦν ἡ νεφέλη‸ ἐκεῖ | ‿והאופנים‸ ינשאו] 𝔊⁻ ‿καὶ οἱ τροχοὶ‸ καὶ ἐξῄροντο | שמה – ללכת] 𝔖 > | כי רוח] 𝔗 ptcl⁽²⁾ | החיה] 𝔗 num⁽³⁾ **22-23**] 𝔖 reformul | **22** ראשי החיה] 𝔊𝔙𝔗𝔖 num$_{\text{II III IV}}$⁽¹⁾ | רקיע] 𝔊 ptcl | הנורא] 𝔊⁻ >⁽²⁾ | על ראשיהם] 𝔊⁻ ἐπὶ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν⁽³⁾ **23** ישרות] 𝔊 ἐκτεταμέναι πτερυσσόμεναι⁽¹⁾ | לאיש – גויתיהם] 𝔙𝔖 reformul⁽²⁾ | להנה¹ – להנה²] 𝔊⁻ > |

21 יעמדו] 4QEzek^b ד super **22** ודמות] 4QEzek^b ודמותם | החיה] b. Ḥagiga$_{\text{mss}}$ 13a, Tanḥuma *teruma*$_{\text{ms}}$ 11 (369), PirqeRE$_{\text{mss}}$ 4 (90) החיות$_{\text{III IV}}$

20 שם] 89 (pm) 96 150 (pm) שמה$_{\text{IV}}$ | שם – ילכו] 30 (pm) > | ללכת¹] 150 + שמ.. **22** החיה] 93 החיות$_{\text{IV}}$ | הקֶרח] 96 קֵרח **23** להנה²] 96 > |

19 הַחיות¹] ל לצ29 30 37 נ ק מ: הַ | יֵלכו] מ: יֵ | האוֹפנים¹] לצ28 29 37 נ ק מ: אוֹ | ובהנשא החיות מעל הארץ] לצ29׳: > | ובהנשא] נ: וְ ; כ־מ״ק: ״פלג וּבְהנשא״ | הַחיות²] ל לצ14 28 29 30 37 נ ק קו1 מ: הַ | ינשאו – ינשאו (פס׳ 21)] לצ29׳: > | יִנָּשאו] נ: נָּ | הָאוֹפנים²] מ: הָ ; לצ37 נ ק: אוֹ **20** יִהיה־] לצ4 10 28 29 30״ 35: יִ | שם] לצ18״ ר: שמה | והאוֹפנים] לצ29 35 37 נ ק מ: אוֹ | יִנָּשאו] ל לצ4 10 29 ש: נָּ | לְעֻמָּתם] ר: לעומתם ; נ׳ ק: לְעֻמָּתם | הַחיה] לצ37 נ ק מ: הַ | באוֹפנים] לצ37 ק מ: אוֹ **21** יַעמדו] ל נ מ: יַ | וּבְהִנָּשאם] נ: וּבְהִנָּ ; מ: וּבְהִנָּ | יִנָּשאו] נ מ: נָּ | האוֹפנים] לצ29׳: והאופנים ינשאו; לצ4 10 18 ש: או | לעמתם] ר: לעומתם | הַחיה] לצ37 נ מ: הַ | באוֹפנים] לצ37 ק מ: אוֹ **22** הַחיה] לצ14 28 29 30 35 37 נ ק קו1 מ: הַ ; לצ14־מ״ק: ״סביר החיות״ | נטוי] לצ10: יְ | רָאשיהם] מ: רָ | הָרקיע] לצ29 37 ק: הָ **23** ישרות] לצ10: ישרת | אֲחותה] לצ10 קו1׳ פ ר: אחתה ; נ: אַ | שְׁתים¹] לצ18(פירק׳?): שְׁ | ולאיש] ש־מ״ק: ״ג̇ למער״ ; לצ37 נ־מ״ק: ב̇ בק⁽³⁾ | שְׁתים²] לצ18(פירק׳?): שְׁ |

19 ⁽¹⁾תקבולת **20** ⁽¹⁾ש: בכל מקום שהיה הענן, שם הרוח, ללכת; הלכו החיות; ו: לכל מקום אשר הרוח הלך לשם, בלכת הרוח עלו גם כן הגלגלים באותו אופן כאשר הלכו אחריו ⁽²⁾**דומה לו פס׳ 21** (כי כרוח) ⁽³⁾**דומה לו פס׳ 21** **22** ⁽¹⁾**תן דעתך לתוספת להן אצל ש־** ⁽²⁾ר׳ טוב, *TCHB*, 333 ⁽³⁾**הש׳ להלן** **23** ⁽¹⁾**תן דעתך ל׳פרדות׳** (פס׳ 11) **ול׳משיקות׳** (ג 13) ⁽²⁾ו: איש אחד כיסה את גופו בשתי כנפיים, ואיש אחר התכסה באותו אופן ⁽³⁾**המניין ׳ב׳ כאן נובע מגרסת מדנחאי ׳ולאישבשת׳ בשמ״ב ב 15; ר׳ ייבין, כא״צ,** 79

19 ⁽¹⁾parall **20** ⁽¹⁾οὗ ἂν ἦν ἡ νεφέλη, ἐκεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πορεύεσθαι· ἐπορεύοντο τὰ ζῷα; *quocumque ibat spiritus illuc eunte spiritu et rotae pariter levabantur sequentes eum* ⁽²⁾similarly v21 (ארי כרוח) ⁽³⁾similarly v21 **22** ⁽¹⁾note add αὐτοῖς 𝔊⁻ ⁽²⁾vid Tov, *TCHB*, 333 ⁽³⁾cf seq **23** ⁽¹⁾note פרדות v11, משיקות 3:13 ⁽²⁾*unumquodque duabus alis velabat corpus suum et alterum similiter velabatur* ⁽³⁾ב׳ here results from *madinha'e* reading, ולאישבשת in 2 Sam 2:15; vid Yeivin, *Aleppo Codex*, 79

ד

Fig. 1. Sample page of HUBP: text and apparatus of Ezek 1:18–23

of textual variants and accompanying explanatory footnotes. Following a theoretical description of each section of the edition, the details from the sample page are fully explained to demonstrate the practical application of the principles of the edition.

2.1. The Base Text: The Aleppo Codex

The base text of the HUBP edition (= 𝔥) is the famous Aleppo Codex (א), which the renowned Jewish scholar Maimonides himself described as a highly precise and carefully proofread manuscript and was therefore relied upon as a reliable reflection of the traditional text by all.[4] It was vocalized, accentuated, and annotated in the tenth century CE in Tiberias by Aaron ben Asher and is indeed considered by scholars the most authoritative representative of the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible.[5] In comparison with all other extant manuscripts, it is the most faithful representation of the Ben-Asher tradition.

After many travels, the codex was eventually brought to Aleppo in Syria and guarded by its Jewish community as one of its most prized possessions. Following the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948, hostilities broke out against the Jews of Aleppo, and the synagogue was attacked. The Aleppo Codex was saved from the flames, brought to Israel, and entrusted to the late President Izhak Ben Zvi. The HUBP published a facsimile of the manuscript in 1976.[6] Furthermore, the HUBP is the only comprehensive critical edition of the Hebrew Bible based upon the Aleppo Codex, which allows for an unparalleled level of precision in the presentation of Masoretic data.[7]

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4. Maimonides, *Mišneh Torah*, *Hilkhot Sefer Torah* 8:4.

5. Regarding the attribution to of the Aleppo Codex to Aaron Ben-Asher, see Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, “The Authenticity of the Aleppo Codex,” *Textus* 1 (1960): 17–58; Jordan S. Penkower, “Maimonides and the Aleppo Codex,” *Textus* 9 (1981): 39–128. The Codex is on display today at the Shrine of the Book in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, with images now available at the Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem, “The Aleppo Codex,” http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546c.

6. Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Aleppo Codex*, HUBP (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1976).

7. At the same time, as will be discussed below, the Aleppo Codex today is missing pages, including most of the Pentateuch; and in the Twelve Prophets, approximately one-third of the pages are no longer available. See below for a description of HUBP’s editorial principles within these missing sections.

The HUBP edition presents the text of א as faithfully as possible, printed together with its *masora magna* and *masora parva*. Erasures and corrections of textual import are noted, such as the deletion or addition of a letter, corrections of vowels or accents, and so on.[8] The edition deviates from the format of א in only minor details, most noticeably the presentation of the text in a single column as opposed to the three columns of the original, due to layout considerations. Despite this difference, no effort is spared to accurately present the layout of the text and paratextual elements as they appear in א. This includes the placement of a vowel or accent on the specific part of a word, and even the precise location of a circlet denoting a Masoretic note. The *masora parva* notes are listed in the outer margin of the text and refer to the word(s) in the adjacent line on which a circlet is found. If there are two (or more) Masoretic notes referring to words that appear in the same line, then they appear right-to-left in the order in which they appear in the text. The *masora magna* is set out at the top of the page with a circlet dividing between each note.

2.2. The Base Text and Masora Notes

On the sample page, as in most instances, the *masora parva* notes are very brief and refer primarily to the orthography of specific words in MT, although they are not limited to this category.[9] They were intended to serve as a guide for copyists of MT, in order to ensure the precise transmission of their text. The most common abbreviation found here in the *masora parva* is ל̇, an abbreviation for the Aramaic לית(א), "none," meaning that there are no other instances in the entire Bible in which this word or expression is found written in precisely this form. Frequently this note is intended to contrast the reading in MT with a more common, alternative form that could be mistakenly used instead. Thus in Ezek 1:19 the *niphal* infinitive construct form וּבְהִנָּשֵׂ֥א is marked with a circlet, with the accompanying ל̇ in the right margin, indicating that it only appears here. An identical note appears on the suffixed form וְּבְהִנָּשְׂאָ֞ם in Ezek 1:21. At times the circlet refers to a collocation, in

8. A complete list of erasures will be provided on the HUBP website.

9. For a complete list of masoretic terminology and abbreviations, see Israel Yeivin, *The Biblical Masorah* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 2003), 72–92. See also the useful list in the introduction to the *BHS* edition, viii–x.

which case it appears between the two words to which it refers: in Ezek 1:20 שָׁ֔ם ° הָר֙וּחַ is marked with a ל̇ in the right margin, almost certainly intended to distinguish it from the alternative שָׁמָּה הָרוּחַ found in Ezek 1:12, 20; רָאשֵׁ֥י ° הַחַיָּ֙ה appears only in Ezek 1:22 (this note was most probably intended to remind the copyist not to mistakenly write ראשי החיות with the *nomen rectum* also in plural). When a form occurs more than once in MT, yet is still open to miscopying, the *masora parva* notes the number of instances in which it appears using Hebrew letters as numerals: the form לְאַרְבַּעְתָּן in Ezek 1:18 is one of four (ד̇) such instances in MT (Ezek 1:10 [2x], 16, 18). It is noted here, perhaps, as a contrast with the slightly more common form לארבעתם, with a masculine suffix (6x: Ezek 1:8, 10; 10:10, 12; 46:22, 23).[10] A slightly more complex note is found at the beginning of Ezek 1:23, in reference to the word וְתַ֙חַת֙. Here ב̇ רא פס̇ is shorthand for "two at the beginning of a verse," referring to two verses that open with the word ותחת (Ezek 1:23; Deut 4:37). This last note offers an opportunity for a note in the *masora magna*, which is found in the top margin, above the basic text. The *masora magna* notes are intended to decode the *masora parva* and were only composed for those instances that were considered necessary of explication. On the sample page, only this note is further expanded: ותחת ב̇ רא פסוק̇ כי אהב ותחת הרקיע. This note specifies the two verses that open with the word ותחת—"כי אהב" refers to Deut 4:37, and "ותחת הרקיע" to Ezek 1:23—by quoting additional words from the same verse (the easiest way to refer to other verses prior to the division of the biblical text into chapters). The purpose of this comment is to distinguish these two verses from the twenty verses that open more commonly with the word תחת without *vav* (e.g., Deut 28:47; 2 Kgs 22:17). It is difficult to predict which of the *masora parva* notes will be expounded in the *masora magna*. However, since the Aleppo Codex is reproduced as is, this question does not affect the presentation of the evidence.

2.3. The Missing Sections of the Aleppo Codex[11]

Despite the distinct advantage of the quality of the text and notes of the Aleppo Codex over its possible alternatives (primarily its chief "competi-

10. Since לארבעתם is the more common of the two forms, it is considered the default option and is therefore not noted in the *masora parva* in any of the six passages.

11. The following section is a brief summary of the process used to reconstruct

tor," Codex ל), it also has the disadvantage of many missing pages. This is most clear in the Pentateuch, the vast majority of which is missing today, starting in Deut 28. While the preparation of the base text of the HUBP edition of the Pentateuch is an issue that does not need to be addressed at this juncture, the question has become more acute in light of the missing pages of the Aleppo Codex to the Twelve Prophets, which encompasses almost one-third of the material, including:[12]

Amos 8:13–9:15
Obadiah
Jonah
Micah 1:1–5:1
Zephaniah 3:20
Haggai
Zechariah 1:1–9:17

Due to the extent of the passages, it was decided to undertake the reconstruction of the missing portions of א. This is not the first such attempt, and both Mordechai Breuer and Menahem Cohen have attempted similar projects, including a reconstruction of the missing sections.[13] This project is not as radical as it may perhaps seem at first glance, and the primary questions can be limited to only a few areas. There is universal agreement regarding the consonants in the codex, based upon various compositions and lists that were compiled when א was still complete. The accents (טעמי המקרא) are also somewhat certain, since there is only minor differentiation between manuscripts in this category. Regarding vocalization, the primary questions relate to the use of *khatef*-vowels under nonguttural consonants; but even in

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the missing sections of א. A complete description can be found in Rafael I. Zer, "The Preparation of the Base Text of the Hebrew University Bible: Where It Is Missing in the Aleppo Codex," *Textus* 25 (2010): 49–71.

12. The issue already arose, albeit less extensively, in the book of Jeremiah, in which a few pages of א are missing (Jer 29:9–31:35; 32:2–4, 9–11, 21–24). In that volume, the HUBP editors decided to use ל, including its masoretic notes, in its place (Tov, Talmon, and Rabin, *The Book of Jeremiah*, xv).

13. M. Breuer, *Torah, Prophets, Writings: Corrected according to the Text and the Masora of the Aleppo Codex and Related Manuscripts* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Mossad HaRav Kook, 1977; repr. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2000); Menachem Cohen, *Miqra*ʾ*ot Gedolot HaKeter* [Hebrew] (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1992–).

this area, we are in possession of the grammatical work *Diqduqê Taʿamim*, composed within the Ben-Asher school, which addresses these issues.

The difficult issues of reconstruction can therefore be limited to the somewhat arcane issue of *gaʿyot* that denote secondary stresses (they are marked by a short vertical line under the letter), and in particular the "light" *gaʿyot* (געיות קלות), which are the most common of the approximately ten kinds of this phenomenon. Light *gaʿyot* are supposed to be inserted in an open syllable that is separated from the accentuated syllable by at least a half-vowel (e.g., הָֽעוֹלָמוֹת: the *gaʿya* is applied to the open syllable that is separated from the accentuated syllable by two vowels; הָֽיְתָה: the open syllable is separated from the accentuated syllable by a half-vowel, the *shewa mobile*). Despite this rule, in early Masoretic manuscripts from the tenth–eleventh centuries, many of the words that should be marked with a *gaʿya* are not, and these many exceptional cases do not conform to this principle. This of course makes reconstructing their appearance in the missing parts of the Aleppo Codex exceptionally difficult. However, we can arrive at firm conclusions regarding this issue as well by using the following combined criteria:

1. Each word is compared with other words in א of identical (or very similar) morphological pattern, and marked with the same accent. This is accomplished through a computer search using the Bar Ilan Keter program. These results show clear trends for each specific pattern.
2. Each word is also compared with other reliable manuscripts from the Ben-Asher family to determine if they mark a *gaʿya* in this specific case.

In order to test the reliability of these criteria, a controlled experiment was performed on a passage (Hos 1) that was preserved in א, so that the theoretical reconstruction could be corroborated. The combination of these two criteria indicated very clear results for the use of the *gaʿya* in each specific word, and these were confirmed by the extant text of א itself. This method was therefore demonstrated to be reliable for the reconstruction of *gaʿyot* and will be employed in the HUBP Twelve Prophets edition.

It was further attempted to reconstruct the Masoretic notes of the extant passage (Hos 1) based upon notes found elsewhere in א. However, the appearance and formulation could not be reconstructed in a systematic fashion using the same controlled experiment. It was therefore decided

to refrain from including these notes in the reconstructed sections of the Twelve Prophets.

3. Structure of Apparatuses

The textual variants recorded in the edition are presented in four separate apparatuses. The readings collated in the apparatuses are culled from a variety of written sources that, taken together, reflect the documentable transmission history of the biblical text. The apparatuses record the extant textual evidence, enabling readers to draw their own conclusions concerning the variants recorded. The division into apparatuses reflects the diverse character and contribution of the various textual witnesses, and consciously refrains from an all-encompassing apparatus combining variants from the ancient versions, biblical scrolls from the Judean Desert, quotations from the Bible in rabbinic literature, and medieval Hebrew manuscripts, which together span a period of almost two millennia. The first two apparatuses present evidence starting from the earliest stage of textual documentation, the beginnings of which can be dated to the second or third century BCE on the basis of the biblical manuscripts discovered in the Judean Desert, and attest to a degree of variation and fluidity. They include variants from two main groups of ancient witnesses: the first records readings preserved in the ancient translations; and the second, those collated from Hebrew texts. By definition, readings retroverted from the ancient translations are not as certain as those attested in a Hebrew source (for example, in a scroll from Qumran or Masada). However, the variants attested in the different translations, primarily the Septuagint, far outnumber those surviving in ancient Hebrew sources, and therefore take pride of place in textual criticism. Apparatus 3 contains readings in medieval manuscripts that result from the process of scribal transmission (such as harmonization, inversion, conflation, and so on) and linguistic variants. Only a few of the hundreds of manuscripts collated since the days of Kennicott preserve genuine variants. In light of earlier studies, five manuscripts (Kennicott numbers 30, 89, 93, 96, 150), which possibly preserve what may be considered "real" variants, are collated and recorded in the third apparatus.[14] Apparatus 4 relates to orthography, vocalization, accentuation, and *gaʿyot* vis-à-vis א.

14. See Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," *Bib* 48 (1967): 243–90.

Each apparatus, similar to the preparation of the base text, reflects the work of a team of experts responsible for its preparation. The division of labor by apparatus ensures that each body of evidence is collated and analyzed by specialists in that subfield. After each apparatus is prepared, the editorial coordinators of all of the apparatuses meet together with the editor, in order to identify connections and commonalities across the various textual apparatuses. These are noted using special symbols for internal cross-references.[15] This procedure assures the highest level of scholarly investigation regarding each group of textual witnesses, while at the same time ensuring that the larger picture of textual interrelationships does not go unnoticed.

4. Apparatus 1: Ancient Translations

Apparatus 1 includes variants collated from *primary* versions, translated directly from a Hebrew Vorlage.[16] The sources are indicated by the following symbols:

Septuagint	𝔊
Aquila	α'
Theodotion	θ'
Symmachus	σ'
Vulgate	𝔙
Peshiṭta	𝔖
Targum	𝔗

The transmission history of each version is not documented in the HUBP edition, unless it has direct relevance for the history of the Hebrew text.

Versional readings are adduced from the following sources, with the following system of notation:

𝔊 The "Old Greek" version according to both the base text and the preponderance of evidence presented in the textual apparatuses of the Göttingen edition.[17]

15. These cross-references do not indicate genetic interdependence, since many variants were independently generated by similar scribal phenomena.

16. The Hebrew text from which each was translated was not necessarily, and almost certainly not, identical to 𝔐.

17. Divergence of one or two minuscule manuscripts from printed texts is considered insufficient to warrant the siglum $\mathfrak{G}^{-}$.

$\mathfrak{G}^{-}$ The base text of the Göttingen edition, which is generally taken as representing the "Old Greek." $\mathfrak{G}^{-}$ always signifies the presence of variants in that apparatus, since otherwise $\mathfrak{G}$ would be employed. Reservations regarding the details of that eclectic text are indicated in the HUBP explanatory notes.

$\mathfrak{G}_{var}$ Variant found in the Göttingen critical apparatus.

In the Twelve Prophets volume, the same system for denoting the base text and variants has been adopted for all the versions, based upon the following editions:[18]

γ' "The Three," according the edition of Field[19] (including $\sigma'\theta'\alpha'$)
$\mathfrak{V}$ The Vulgate, according to the Benedictine *editio maior*[20]
$\mathfrak{S}$ The Peshiṭta, according to the Leiden edition[21]
$\mathfrak{T}$ The Aramaic Targum, according to Sperber's edition[22]

The analysis of readings from the ancient versions in apparatus 1 presents the most difficult methodological challenge within the critical apparatuses. The approach adopted by HUBP carefully weighs whether differences between $\mathfrak{M}$ and the versions are the result of linguistic-exegetical interpretation of the former by the latter, or alternatively due to the existence of a "real" variant which can be traced to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. As a general methodological rule, when the differences can be ascribed to common linguistic, stylistic, or translational developments, it is methodologically preferable to assume that these are the cause for

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18. The sigla ${}_{var}\alpha'$ and so on indicate that different sources that quote Aquila and so on offer conflicting evidence.

19. Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964).

20. Francis Aidan Gasquet, ed., Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem, 18 vols. (Rome: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1926–1987). The *Vetus Latina* is viewed as part of the Septuagint tradition, based upon the variants recorded in the Göttingen critical apparatus.

21. Micheline Albert et al., eds., *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version: Edited on behalf of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament by the Peshiṭta Institute* (Leiden: Brill, 1972–).

22. Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Editions*, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1959–1973).

the deviation from 𝔥, instead of positing an alternate *Vorlage*. In order to properly assess variant readings, HUBP has developed a comprehensive list of translational and transmissional phenomena, primarily in the realms of language, style, scribal practice, translation technique, and exegesis. These are expressed through fixed abbreviations and symbols that can be invoked to denote the specific phenomenon behind the difference instead of quoting the text of the version. The use of these sigla indicates that it is most likely that the versional variant does not reflect a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, but rather is the result of a specific scribal phenomenon. They generally do not require any comment, although explanations are added as necessary. A complete list of these abbreviations and symbols can be found in the introduction to each of the volumes. The quantity of such differences exceeds that of reconstructed variants.

At the same time, many differences between 𝔥 and the versions may reflect a "real" variant, namely, a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, such as pluses or minuses in the text, or variations in wording. These are recorded in the apparatus in the translational language, with retroversion into Hebrew and explanatory remarks, if any, in the notes. Retroversions suggested in the explanatory notes are recorded in order of probability. If they are certain, they are recorded without any comment. "Perhaps" (p) suggests a possible variant or editorial explanation, with a degree of doubt; "hardly" indicates that there is less basis for the proposed variant; "not" negates proposed variants. The HUBP edition does not express an opinion as to whether a proposed retroverted variant is preferable or secondary to MT.

In the first three volumes of HUBP, the versional evidence is generally presented only in its original language. Quotes from the versions in their original language involving changes in structure, person, pronoun, and so on, which need no explanation, are marked by the symbol °.[23] Translations are provided in the notes only to indicate a specific understanding of the text. In the Twelve Prophets volume, the versional evidence is still presented in the original language, but it is always translated in the notes, for the convenience of the reader.

The same reading can often be presented using more than one notation. The decision as to how they are recorded reflects the editorial evaluation of the variant and of the possible factor(s) that may have led to its creation.

23. In the Twelve Prophets volume, almost all quotations from the versions are translated in the explanatory notes. The use of this symbol is, therefore, reduced dramatically.

In cases where more than one phenomenological explanation is possible, then the reading itself is recorded in the apparatus, and the various phenomenological sigla are listed in the explanatory notes.

4.1. Apparatus 1: Sample Page

Verse 19

האופנים[2]] 𝔖 + ܥܡܗܘܢ(1): The lemma refers to the second instance of האופנים in this verse. The Peshitta adds the word "with them." According to the explanatory note, this is based upon the parallel to the first half of the verse, in which the Hebrew אצלם is translated identically in the Peshitta.[24]

Verse 20

על–לעמתם] 𝔊𝔙 reformul(1): The entire stretch of text from the word על until the word לעמתם is formulated differently in the Septuagint and Vulgate than as in 𝔥. While there is a possibility that these translations reflect a different *Vorlage* than 𝔥, the editors have determined that it is practically synonymous or only slightly different from it. Since there is no definitive supposition of an alternate *Vorlage*, the apparatus itself does not contain the text of the translations. However, they are recorded in their entirety in the footnotes. In the English footnotes, they are provided in their original languages (here in Greek and Latin), while the parallel Hebrew notes provide a Hebrew translation of these ancient witnesses.[25]

על אשר היה‿שם] 𝔊 *οὗ ἂν ἦν ἡ νεφέλη‸ἐκεῖ*

והאופנים‿ינשאו‸] 𝔊⁻ *‿καὶ οἱ τροχοὶ‸καὶ ἐξῄροντο*

The next two entries in the apparatus refer to structural issues in this verse, presenting differences in how the versions parse the syntax of the text. These entries present only the quotation of 𝔥 and the ancient translation(s) in their original language,[26] along with symbols for conjunc-

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24. Note that on this sample page the footnotes are numbered anew in each verse, as they are throughout the first three volumes of the HUBP edition. Furthermore, the explanatory notes can allude to any of the four apparatuses. Thus, for example, in verse 23, the first two notes are in reference to apparatus 1, while the third note refers to apparatus 4. In the upcoming volume, each of the four apparatuses will be followed by its own explanatory notes, which will each be numbered sequentially from the beginning to the end of the chapter (instead of by individual verse).

25. In the upcoming Twelve Prophets volume, the ancient versions will be translated into English in the footnotes (see section 8 below).

26. Beginning with the Twelve Prophets volume, any text quoted as a variant,

tion (‿) and disjunction (‸). The syntactical structure of 𝔥 is determined by the cantillation/accentuation symbols. Although they are not all of equal disjunctive force, apparatus 1 does not differentiate between these gradations, and instead only distinguishes between conjunctive and disjunctive accents.

שמה ללכת] 𝔖 >: The words indicated in the lemma are not reflected in the Peshitta.

כי רוח] 𝔗 ptcl(2): The Aramaic Targum uses a new or different particle before the word(s) in the lemma. The text is not given in the apparatus because there is no assumption of an alternate *Vorlage*, but rather a reflection of translation technique. In this instance, the text of 𝔗 is alluded to in note 2: "similarly v21 (ארי כרוח)." The same addition of the particle כ- took place in that verse, resulting in the identical phrase in both; however, the information is not repeated in the apparatus there.

החיה] 𝔗 num(3): The Aramaic Targum reflects a difference in number, in this case a plural form instead of the MT singular. The text is not given in the apparatus because there is no assumption of an alternate *Vorlage*, but rather a reflection of translation technique. According to note 3, the same translation is found in 𝔗 to Ezek 1:21.

Verses 22–23

22–23] 𝔖 reformul: These two verses in their entirety are formulated differently in 𝔖 than as in 𝔥. While there is a possibility that the Peshitta reflects a different *Vorlage* than 𝔥, the editors have determined that it is practically synonymous or only slightly different from it. Since there is no definite supposition of an alternate *Vorlage*, the apparatus itself does not present the text of the translations.[27]

Verse 22

ראשי החיה] 𝔊𝔗𝔙𝔖 num$_{\text{II III IV}}$(1): All four primary versions have a reading that differs in number from 𝔥, in this case reversing the singular and plural forms of the nouns found in MT.[28] The text is not given in

even if only to indicate a different syntactical division, will be translated in the footnotes.

27. Despite the general approach of quoting the text in the notes in a case of "reformul," the length of the reformulated passage seems to be the reason why it was not done in this case.

28. As part of the preparation this article, I rechecked the textual evidence

the apparatus because there is no assumption of an alternate *Vorlage*, but rather a reflection of translation technique. The subscript roman numerals following the description of the reading in the versions are cross-references to the other apparatuses. These references are marked only in one direction, from top to bottom, and include the apparatuses that appear under the reference.[29] These cross-references do not imply a genetic connection between the different witnesses, but are rather intended to note similar phenomena across textual witnesses. According to the footnote, 𝔊⁻ (the base text of the Göttingen critical edition of the Septuagint) further adds the dative pronoun *αὐτοῖς* ("to them").

רקיע] 𝔊 ptcl: The Septuagint uses a new or different particle before the word(s) in the lemma, the word *ὡσεὶ* ("like") is added. The text is not given in the apparatus because there is no assumption of an alternate *Vorlage*, but rather a reflection of translation technique.

הנורא] 𝔊⁻ >(2): The word indicated in the lemma is not reflected in the Septuagint (according to the base text of the Göttingen critical edition). The note refers the reader to Emanuel Tov,[30] who discusses this specific variant.

על ראשיהם] 𝔊⁻ *ἐπὶ τῶν πτερύγων αὐτῶν*(3): The Septuagint (according to the base text of the Göttingen critical edition) translates "on their wings." The note suggests that this difference is due to the influence of "seq," the subsequent context, either in the same verse or beyond; here referring to the use of the same Greek noun to translate Hebrew כנפיהם in the following verses.

Verse 23

ישרות] 𝔊 *ἐκτεταμέναι πτερυσσόμεναι*(1): The Septuagint translates the single adjective in 𝔥 using two participles, "were stretched out, flapping." As noted, the former Greek verb is used in Ezek 1:11 to translate פרדות, and the latter translates משיקות in 3:13.

לאיש–גויתיהם] 𝔊𝔙 reformul(2): The entire stretch of text from the word לאיש until the word גויתיהם is formulated differently in the Vulgate

detailed on this page of the HUBP edition. The reference to 𝔗 (Targum) here should be deleted, since the translation reflects the same number as found in 𝔥. I have nevertheless included it here to avoid confusion.

29. Beginning in the Twelve Prophets volume, cross-references will be noted in both directions, so one can easily reach these parallel readings from any of the apparatuses.

30. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 333.

and the Peshitta than as in 𝔥 (see above).The Vulgate is recorded in Latin in the English footnotes and translated into Hebrew in the parallel Hebrew notes.

להנה^{1}–להנה^{2}] 𝔊$^{-}$ >: The stretch of text between the first and second appearance of להנה in the verse is absent in the Septuagint (according to the base text of the Göttingen critical edition).

5. Apparatus 2: Ancient Hebrew Evidence

The second apparatus records variants preserved in ancient Hebrew evidence, including the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and biblical quotations in Rabbinic literature. Since the preparation of the HUBP volumes of the Pentateuch has not yet commenced, the description here will be limited to the first and third of these sources:

5.1. The Dead Sea Scrolls

Textual variants can be culled from two types of sources preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls: manuscripts of the biblical books themselves, and quotations from the books in nonbiblical compositions.[31] The literary character of the latter presents unique methodological problems concerning the evaluation of possible textual variants they may contain and will, therefore, be considered separately from the former.

5.1.1. Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Variants between these scrolls and the Aleppo Codex, including erasures, corrections, and even clear scribal errors are recorded in the apparatus. Differences due to “Qumran” orthography are not included in the apparatus, as they are linguistic, and not textual, in nature.[32] All differences in section delimitation, reflected by the presence or lack of a vacat in a scroll, are noted by the section symbol (§), without differentiation

31. Although the distinction between these two groups is not as definitive as was once assumed (see, for example, Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, SDSSRL [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 10–28), most of the texts can be confidently classified according to one of these categories.

32. See Emanuel Tov, “The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of These Scrolls,” *Textus* 13 (1986): 31–57.

between open and closed sections (since it is not clear that they formally distinguished between them). All of these differences are further listed in a separate appendix.[33] The material was collated on the basis of the final editions of each text as published in Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, unless indicated otherwise.

5.1.2. Explicit Quotations in Nonbiblical Scrolls

The value of biblical quotations in nonbiblical compositions is a complex methodological problem, since they have often been adapted linguistically, stylistically, and even with respect to their content to the new context in which they are adduced. One should be cautious in relating to these excerpts as a textual witness since it is often questionable whether they reflect an ancient variant text of the biblical book, or rather deliberate changes introduced by the authors of the compositions. They are therefore recorded in the HUBP edition in their entirety, since this fuller context allows the reader to draw sober conclusions regarding their textual value.

5.2. Biblical Quotations in Rabbinic Literature

Similar methodological questions arise regarding the thousands of biblical quotations found in rabbinic literature. Since we do not have Hebrew manuscripts of biblical books from the rabbinic period, the only witness to the text(s) used by the sages in the first centuries CE are these quotations. As part of the preparation of each volume, the HUBP edition reinvestigates the entire classical rabbinic literary corpus, based upon its manuscript evidence, in order to assess and evaluate its contribution toward the history of the biblical text.[34]

The rabbinic corpus presents numerous unique methodological considerations that affect the analysis of the biblical quotations.[35] The

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33. See section 9.1 below.

34. Most other critical editions of the biblical text rely upon the standard lists of variants in biblical quotations in the Talmud compiled by S. Rozenfeld, *Mišpaḥat Sopherim* (Vilna: Romm, 1882); V. Aptowitzer, *Das Schriftwort in der rabbinischen Literatur,* 2 vols. (Vienna: 1906–1915; repr. New York: Ktav, 1970).

35. This apparatus presents variant readings from Tannaitic and Amoraic sources. Research for the HUBP edition has demonstrated that significant variants are found primarily in Tannaitic literature, while only a few readings in Amoraic literature proportionate to its scope. Later sources are not investigated systematically, since they are usually secondary revisions of earlier homilies.

manuscripts of rabbinic texts in our possession were copied hundreds of years after their composition and were, therefore, subject to the vicissitudes of transmission. The scribes who copied these manuscripts often did so carelessly, leading to numerous corruptions, including in the quotations. They often employed scribal conventions or techniques, such as recording common passages using abbreviations, which led to subsequent errors. Variants vis-à-vis MT were often "corrected" by later scribes to correspond to the textus receptus. The *plene* orthography used in the rabbinic material often contaminated the quotations of biblical verses. Furthermore, it is not always possible to distinguish between a "real" biblical quotation and a paraphrase intended to serve as a basis for a midrashic homily (compare the brief discussion of nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls above).

In light of these issues, the inclusion of a biblical variant found in a rabbinic manuscript within the HUBP critical apparatus is limited to specific circumstances. Only well-attested variants were recorded, after carefully weighing the relative value of the manuscripts and the number of unrelated attestations. These were listed in the apparatus only when they were in agreement with at least one of the following criteria: (1) the variant forms the basis of the midrashic homily ("herm" = "hermeneutical reading"); (2) the variant is also attested in apparatus 1; (3) the variant is also attested in both apparatuses 3 and 4; (4) the variant is also attested in other rabbinic compositions; and (5) a Masoretic note attests to the antiquity of the variant reading (such as יפה or סבירין, which indicate that the reading in question is appropriate or plausible).

The approach adopted for recording variants from biblical quotations in rabbinic literature is stricter in the HUBP Ezekiel volume than that used in Isaiah and Jeremiah. The Twelve Prophets edition will continue this stricter policy. This approach accounts for the relative paucity of variants from rabbinic literature in comparison to the approach taken by the editors of the first two volumes. Variants that were not included in apparatus 2 due to the methodological constraints enumerated here, but that are related to variants in other apparatuses, are adduced in the notes of the other apparatuses.

5.3. Apparatus 2: Sample Page

Verse 21

יעמדו] 4QEzek^b ד super: In the Qumran scroll 4QEzekiel^b (4Q74) the letter ד was written in superscript above the word, correcting its original omission.

Verse 22

ודמות] 4QEzek[b] ודמותם: The Qumran scroll 4QEzekiel[b] (4Q74) preserves a reading with an attached third-person plural masculine pronominal suffix.

החיה] b. Ḥagiga$_{mss}$ 13a, Tanḥuma *teruma*$_{ms}$ 11 (369), PirqeRE$_{mss}$ 4 (90) החיות$_{III\ IV}$: A number of rabbinic sources reflect the plural form of noun. The variant reading is found in multiple manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud tractate Ḥagigah and of Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, as well as in a single manuscript of Midrash Tanḥuma. The specific manuscripts and editions referred to in the rabbinic corpus are listed in the introduction. The same reading is also found in apparatuses 3 and 4 (see also above in apparatus 1). These cross-references are marked only in one direction, from top to bottom, and include the apparatuses that appear under the reference.

6. Apparatus 3: Medieval Biblical Manuscripts

Two types of Hebrew witnesses are included in apparatus 3: genizah fragments and complete European medieval manuscripts. During this stage in the transmission history of the text of the Hebrew Bible, the MT became the dominant text-type, with relatively minor variation from א as compared to the material in the first two apparatuses. The genizah fragments date from the end of the first millennium CE, prior to the crystallization of the Tiberian Masoretic system. They reflect two earlier branches of the masorah, the Palestinian and Babylonian. On the other hand, the second group of texts dates to the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, and reflects a later stage of transmission, following the activity of the Masoretes.

6.1. Genizah Manuscripts

The first group of sources consists of fragments from the Cairo Genizah. The manuscripts reflect a wide range of linguistic traditions and transmissions of the text from different periods and locations, so it is methodologically problematic to present this material as one unit. As a result, variants from genizah fragments have been recorded only when they reflect traditions that are older than that of the Tiberian Masora, including the following:[36]

36. In order to assist the reader, the HUBP edition has replaced the Babylonian vocalization system with the corresponding Tiberian signs.

1. Fragments with Palestinian vocalization, indicated in the apparatus as follows:
   G-P: genizah fragment with Palestinian vocalization
   200, 204, and so on: manuscript number as catalogued by Revell[37]
2. Fragments with Babylonian vocalization, indicated in the apparatus as follows:
   G-B: genizah fragment with Babylonian vocalization
   Eb (or: Kb): fragments whose vocalization is simple (or compound)
   10, 22, and so on: manuscript number as catalogued by Yeivin[38]
   Msr 1, 2, and so on: Masoretic lists published by Ofer[39]

6.2. Complete European Manuscripts

The vast majority of variants in medieval manuscripts reflect differences that derive almost exclusively from scribal practices, whether due to linguistic or associative considerations, or, most frequently, from copyist errors. Therefore, as a group, these do not possess significant textual value. However, a few specific manuscripts appear to contribute in this area. The main group of sources in this apparatus are complete manuscripts that were already collated in Kennicott's edition, and are indicated here following him as manuscripts 30, 89, 93, 96, and 150.[40] These five manuscripts were selected for apparatus 3 from among the hundreds that he recorded because of the unparalleled quantity of variants they contain vis-à-vis MT.[41] These five manuscripts are somewhat unique among the hundreds available because they also contain variants of a different qualitative nature, similar to those found in witnesses of earlier periods. Nevertheless, it should not be assumed that these variants on their own reflect early readings, but rather they can serve as corroborative evidence for the ear-

37. E. J. Revell, *Biblical Texts with Palestinian Pointing and Their Accents (*Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977).

38. Israel Yeivin, *The Hebrew Language Tradition as Reflected in the Babylonian Vocalization* [Hebrew], 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1985).

39. Yosef Ofer, *The Babylonian Masora of the Pentateuch: Its Principles and Methods* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001).

40. Benjamin Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1776–1780). Kennicott collated only the consonantal text and disregarded differences in vocalization.

41. See Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts."

lier witnesses.[42] Based upon these earlier studies, the HUBP edition of the Twelve Prophets will continue to collate these specific manuscripts.

These five manuscripts are collated anew, utilizing both the original manuscripts and photographs. The variants recorded in this apparatus concern differences in the consonantal text or in vocalization entailing significant variants in morphology (conjugation, determination, and so on). Variations in the use of *matres lectiones or differences due to* the Babylonian vocalization system (in the case of the genizah fragments) are not recorded. In some instances, the determination whether a reading differs from א either orthographically or grammatically is not unequivocal and reflects the judgment of the HUBP research team.

6.3. Apparatus 3: Sample Page

Verse 20

שם] 89 (pm) 96 150 (pm) שמה$_{IV}$: Three of the medieval manuscripts read the alternate form שמה, found subsequently in the verse in the expression שמה הרוח. In both manuscripts 89 and 150, this was the original reading ("pm") in the manuscript, which was then corrected to שם (=𝔐). See above for the discussion of the Masoretic note at this point in the text. The cross-reference to apparatus 4 refers to a *sebirin* note in the *masora parva* of 14ל that warns against miscopying the word as שמה.

שם–ילכו] 30 (pm) >: The entire stretch of text in the lemma was not in the original text of manuscript 30, but was subsequently corrected.

ללכת^{1}] 150 + ..שמ: Following the first instance of the word ללכת in this verse, the scribe began to write another word, beginning with שמ (perhaps שמה), but he did not complete it.

Verse 22

החיה] 93 החיות$_{IV}$: Manuscript 93 reads the plural החיות instead of the singular החיה. A similar reading is found in apparatus 4 according to the cross-reference. These references are marked only in one direction, from top to bottom, and include the apparatuses that appear under the reference.

42. Even in cases in which the medieval manuscripts agree with earlier witnesses, it cannot be automatically assumed that they are genetically related to one another. Rather, they might reflect independent processes by which the same reading was created.

הקֶרח] 96 קֵרח: Manuscript 96 reflects two differences vis-à-vis the word הקֶרח in 𝔐. First, there is a difference with respect to vocalization, with a *tsere* instead of a *segol* under the letter ק. Second, the definite article -ה is absent on this word in this manuscript.

Verse 23

להנה[2]] 96 >: The second instance of the word להנה in this verse is absent from manuscript 96.

7. Apparatus 4: Orthography, Vowels, and Accents in Medieval Manuscripts

The variants recorded in this apparatus usually do not affect the meaning or form of the text. However, the precision of a scribe concerning minor details, including orthography, vowels, and accents, may help determine the level of accuracy of a "masora codex." This is relevant only with regard to a small group of manuscripts. This apparatus records ancient witnesses of the Tiberian Ben-Asher type and early representatives of other types, as well as developments of the Tiberian tradition as it took final shape in Jacob Ben-Ḥayyim's *Biblia Rabbinica*, which became the basis for later editions. Readings from א are also recorded in the apparatus when the manuscript itself contains a correction. A detailed list of the sources included in this apparatus can be found in the introduction to the HUBP Ezekiel edition.

The Aleppo Codex (א) is fully collated with all of the manuscripts in this apparatus. When no variant is recorded, agreement with א can be assumed only for complete manuscripts. Some of the available manuscripts are incomplete, precluding any assumption of agreement based on silence. The reader should consult the introduction to each HUBP volume regarding the state of preservation of each of these manuscripts.

This Hebrew apparatus is nonverbal and composed right-to-left. In cases of variants in vocalization, accents, or *gaʿyot*,[43] only the letter or letters exhibiting a variant are vocalized in the lemma, and in the quotation of evidence from the textual witness, only those letters are recorded. Different details in the same word are noted separately, divided by a semicolon

43. Beginning with the Twelve Prophets volume, the *gaʿyot* will no longer be recorded in apparatus 4, but rather elsewhere in the volume (see below). This will in turn lead to a reduction in the size of this apparatus.

according to their order within the word. The symbols and abbreviations used in apparatus 4 are different from the previous three. A complete list can be found in the introduction of each volume.

7.1. Apparatus 4: Sample Page

A large percentage of the entries in this apparatus relate to *gaʿyot*, and these differences will not be analyzed here in detail.[44] Other variants that are perhaps more significant are as follows:

7.1.1. Differences in Orthography

20, 21: לעמתם] ר: לעומתם
23: ישרות] ל10: ישרת
אֲחותה] 10ל ק1'[45] פ ר: אחתה
ולאיש] ש־מ"ק: "גׄ למערׄ" ; ל37 נ־מ"ק: בׄ בקׄ(3)

The final entry refers to the *masora parva* (מסורה קטנה = מ"ק) of two other medieval manuscripts. In the *masora parva* of א, the word וּלְאִישׁ is annotated with גׄ, indicating that this form (including its vocalization) appears three times in MT (Lev 15:33; 2 Sam 2:15; Ezek 1:23). The *masora parva* of manuscript ש specifies that it occurs in three instances according to *maʿarbaʾê* (the Western tradition). In contrast, the *masora parva* of manuscripts 37ל and נ (reflecting the Eastern textual tradition) indicates that this form occurs only twice in the entire Bible (בׄ בקׄ[רייה]). As explained in the footnote, this discrepancy is the result of the *madinḥaʾê* reading of 2 Sam 2:15, according to which the personal name (ול)אישבשת was written without a division. The example is discussed by Yeivin.[46]

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44. A few examples will suffice; the following are the three first entries from apparatus 4 on the sample page:

הַחיות[1]] ל ל29 30 37 נ ק מ: הָ
יֵלכו] מ: יֵ
האופנים[1]] ל28 29 37 נ ק מ: אְו

45. The symbol ' in apparatus 4 indicates that this was the original reading in the manuscript, which was subsequently corrected (the equivalent of ‘pm’ in the other apparatuses?).

46. Israel Yeivin, *The Aleppo Codex of the Bible: A Study of Its Vocalization and Accentuation* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1968), 79.

7.1.2. Differences in Vocalization

22: נטוי] ל10: יְ
23: אֱחותה] נ: אֲ
שְׁתים[1,2]] ל18(פירק?)[47]: שׁ

In each of these three examples, a manuscript provides an alternate vocalization to **א**. In each case, the apparatus notes the vocalization only on the specific letter for which the variant exists, both in the lemma and in the variant. In the first example, there is no vowel under the *yod* in the word **נטוי**, while manuscript 10ל provides a *shewa*. In each of the next two examples, the variant vocalization under specific letters is noted.

7.1.3. Differences in Accentuation

לעמת֔ם] נ' ק: לע֜מת֔ם

Differences in accentuation, as noted by the use of cantillation marks, are also recorded in the apparatus. In these instances, the readings in **א** and in the other manuscripts are presented only with these marks, in order to emphasize the difference in accentuation.

7.1.4. Differences Related to a Variant Text[48]

20: שם] ל18" ר: שמה[49]
22: החיה] ל14־מ"ק: "סביר החיות"

The *masora parva* of manuscript 14ל preserves a *sebirin* note, whose primary purpose is to prevent scribes from mistakenly copying the specified variant in their text. For the attestation of this reading, see above, apparatuses 1–3, and the masoretic notes.

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47. The origin of this variant is questionable and may be a correction by Firkowitsch. See E. Deinard, *Masa Crim* [Hebrew] (Warsaw: [n.p.], 1878), 194–204, regarding Firkowitsch's infamous forgeries.

48. I have not included here the distinct variant readings in this apparatus attributed to the *prima manus* of 29ל, which appear to be the result of careless copying.

49. See on apparatus 3 above and the masoretic notes.

8. Explanatory Footnotes

The four apparatuses present the textual evidence in a manner as objective as possible, although there is a certain amount of editorial subjectivity in how the material is presented, primarily with respect to the use of verbal sigla to represent recurring linguistic and textual phenomena. As a guiding principle, the HUBP edition refrains from assessing the readings within the apparatuses themselves, and limits any editorial analysis or commentary to the explanatory footnotes that appear at the bottom of each page. By demarcating the division between explicit evidence and scholarly evaluation, the reader can utilize the former, even when he or she disagrees with the latter, although it is hoped that the analysis itself will also be of value even for those who choose an alternate explanation.

The explanatory notes relate primarily, but not exclusively, to the first apparatus. These notes provide detailed analysis of the readings recorded in the apparatus, including linguistic, philological, and exegetical analysis. Potential retroversions are proposed and assessed, and the arguments and evidence for or against a particular option are presented. These assessments, although thoroughly grounded in classic linguistic, textual, and philological methodology, are necessarily subjective and reflect the opinion of the editors of the HUBP edition. Bibliographical references to secondary sources are limited to detailed analyses of text-critical issues and phenomena, translation technique, suggested retroversions, and related questions, which shed light on the nature of a specific variant.

In the first three volumes of HUBP, these explanatory notes appeared side-by-side in both Hebrew and English. They were identical in content in both languages, with one primary difference: ancient texts quoted in the English notes in their original language were translated into Hebrew in the Hebrew notes.[50] Beginning in the Twelve Prophets volume, the explanatory notes will be presented only in English. All quotations from ancient texts (other than Hebrew) will be accompanied by an English translation. The notes will thus contain all the information that was found in the previous volumes but will be free of the redundancy in content.

50. They were not retroverted to a putative Hebrew *Vorlage*, but rather translated into Modern Hebrew. Possible retroversions were recorded in Biblical Hebrew in both the English and Hebrew notes.

9. Appendices and Byproducts of Research

In addition to the base text, apparatuses, and explanatory footnotes that comprise the primary focus of the edition, the research pursued in the preparation of the HUBP edition has led to additional data of value to scholars interested in the transmission of the biblical text in the medieval period, with special focus on א. Although they are not included in the apparatuses themselves, they were deemed of enough significance to be included within the confines of the HUBP edition.

9.1. Open and Closed Sections

Sections in the Hebrew manuscripts are recorded in the apparatuses according to the type of the sources. In apparatuses 2 and 3 the siglum § indicates an interval functioning as a marker of a new sense unit, without differentiating between types (i.e., “open” and “closed”). Such intervals were recorded only in instances in which there was a difference between א and other manuscripts. In apparatus 4, section markers are recorded and specified as “closed” (ס) or “open” (פ), since the precision of a Masoretic codex depends—among other factors—on the issue of agreement in reference to sections.

Beginning with the Ezekiel volume, a chart appears at the end of the introduction that consolidates all of this information in one location. It includes all intervals, distinguishing between open and closed types when possible, in all extant sources, including Judean Desert scrolls from apparatus 2, the genizah fragments and complete manuscripts from apparatus 3, and the manuscripts recorded in apparatus 4.

9.2. *Gaʿyot*

As noted above in the context of the reconstruction of the missing sections of א, medieval manuscripts differ as to the use of *gaʿyot* (secondary stresses, marked by a short vertical line), sometimes following set rules, but frequently not. There is significant variation between medieval manuscripts in this area. In the first three volumes, these differences were noted in the fourth apparatus. In fact, the differences were so great in number that they reflected the most common type of variant in that apparatus, inflating it to unnecessary proportions. Beginning with the Twelve Prophets volume, differences in *gaʿyot* will be recorded in a separate index and,

therefore, will not appear on the main page of the edition. This will lead to a reduction in size of the fourth apparatus, accentuating the other differences which are recorded there, while at the same time allowing for convenient access to all the medieval manuscript evidence for *gaʿyot*.

9.3. Corrections and Erasures in א

During the copying process of א, the base text of the HUBP edition, numerous corrections and changes were inserted into the text. Many of these can only be observed by careful examination of the manuscript, either the original codex or a magnified digital version. As part of the research for the preparation of the HUBP edition, these have been noted, rechecked, and categorized in order to trace the scribal history of this invaluable document. This material was originally intended to be published as part of the edition of each biblical book. However, due to the sheer volume of material and the desire to make it accessible to a broader public, it has been decided to allow online access to this data on the HUBP website.

10. Conclusion

The goal of the Hebrew University Bible Project is to provide the most comprehensive evidence possible for the history of the biblical text. Since HUBP is a diplomatic edition of the Hebrew Bible with MT as a base text, there is no pretense of reconstructing an "original" version of the Bible, with all of the methodological and practical difficulties inherent in such a project.[51] Rather, we aim to provide the scholarly community with access to this wealth of data, accompanied by, but separate from, textual and philological analysis. Any scholar or student can then use the HUBP edition for textual and interpretive analysis in the way that they see fit, as a powerful tool and thorough foundation by which to approach the study of the Bible. The edition, together with others following similar methodological principles, thus serves as a model and means for textual criticism in particular and as a foundation for biblical studies in general.

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51. For a consideration of the methodological issues in the preparation of scholarly editions, see Michael Segal, "Methodological Considerations in the Preparation of an Edition of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*, eds. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo Torijano Morales, THBSup 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 34–55.

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Exercising Λογισμός: The Delineation of Recensional Activity in Greek 4 Maccabees

Robert J. V. Hiebert

1. Introduction

I am pleased to have the opportunity to contribute this essay to a Festschrift honoring my late friend and colleague at Trinity Western University, Peter Flint. His sudden and unexpected passing was a great shock to all of us who were privileged to get to know him. Needless to say, he will be sorely missed. Peter was, of course, well known in the field of Dead Sea Scrolls research, but he also made important contributions in the area of Septuagint studies, notably focused on the books of Psalms and Numbers. I am very appreciative of his encouragement and support of me and my research throughout the years. His enthusiasm was infectious, and his sense of entrepreneurship in promoting the cause of cutting-edge scholarship in both academic and public settings was admirable.

My contribution to the present volume is the product of my research associated with the preparation of the critical edition of the book of 4 Maccabees for the historic Göttingen Septuaginta series. Noteworthy early editions of Greek 4 Maccabees include those prepared by Otto F. Fritzsche, Henry B. Swete, and Alfred Rahlfs.[1] Prior to my becoming involved in this undertaking, foundational research had already been conducted on

1. Otto F. Fritzsche, ed., "ΜΑΚΚΑΒΑΙΩΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΣ," in *Libri apocryphi Veteris Testamenti graece* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1871); Henry B. Swete, ed., *Hosea–4 Maccabees; Psalms of Solomon; Enoch; The Odes*, vol. 3 of *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905); Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart, eds., *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

the text of this first century CE composition. From 1916 to 1972, collators at the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen recorded the relevant textual data from the more than seventy extant Greek manuscripts in two collation book volumes. A Syriac edition with an eclectic text based on nine collated manuscripts was published by Robert L. Bensly and William E. Barnes in 1895.[2] In 1938, Heinrich Dörrie produced an edition of *Passio Sanctorum Machabaeorum*, a Latin free adaptation of 4 Maccabees, for which some thirty-nine manuscripts had been collated.[3] Hans-Josef Klauck prepared his German translation of this book in consultation with Robert Hanhart of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen, who provided him with "zahlreiche wertvolle Hinweise in textkritischen Fragen."[4]

My own research on 4 Maccabees builds on the efforts of these luminaries and incorporates as well the results of the collation work carried out at the Unternehmen subsequent to the appearance of the editions of Fritzsche, Swete, and Rahlfs. The following list of Greek manuscript groups has as its point of departure the one that appears in Klauck's edition,[5] but it has been considerably modified and expanded on the basis of data provided by the Unternehmen's Detlef Fraenkel and as a result of my extensive investigation of manuscript affiliations. In this process, I have sometimes been able to confirm the suggestions with respect to manuscript affiliations recorded by collators and others who have previously done work on the text of 4 Maccabees, and other times I have come to new conclusions in regard to manuscript affiliations.

Manuscript Groups

Uncials:
A S V
    A′ = A 542 (11:5–fin libri)

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2. Robert L. Bensly and William E. Barnes, eds., *The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895).

3. Heinrich Dörrie, ed., *Passio SS. Machabaeorum*: *Die antike lateinische Übersetzung des IV. Makkabäerbuches*, AGWGPH 3.22 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1938).

4. Hans-Josef Klauck, *4. Makkabäerbuch*, JSHRZ 3/6 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1989), 678 n. 163.

5. Ibid. 679.

L: 236 491 534 728
q: 71 74 120 370 380 452 731 3002
q1: 44 107 610
q2: 55 747
q´’ = q + q1 + q2
q´ = q + q1
q’ = q + q2
q1’ = q1 + q2
m: 316 317 322 325 391 397 446 457 467 472 473 586 591 592 594 595 596 597 607 617 639 640 641 656 677 682 683 686 695 699 713 714 774 778 782 789
m1: 455 585
m2: 587 738
m3 (init libri–11:4): 62 542 747$^{\mathrm{c/mg}}$
m´’` = m + m1 + m2 + m3
m´’ = m + m1 + m2
m´` = m + m1 + m3
m’` = m + m2 + m3
m1’` = m1 + m2 + m3
m´ = m + m1
m’ = m + m2
m` = m + m3
m1’ = m1 + m2
m1` = m1 + m3
m2` = m2 + m3
11:5–fin libri: *m´’* 62 747$^{\mathrm{c/mg}}$

Codices mixti:
46 52 58 332 340 577 668 690 741 771 773 930

A few explanatory comments are in order with respect to the preceding manuscript groupings. First, it goes without saying that manuscript groups are delineated on the basis of agreement among witnesses when they attest readings that do not agree with the text that is deemed to be original. Second, the uncial codices Alexandrinus (A), Sinaiticus (S), and Venetus (V), which are some of the most important witnesses to the original Greek text of 4 Maccabees, strictly speaking do not, in fact, constitute a group, because when they do not contain the original text they often diverge from one another. Third, it will be noticed that, from 11:5

onwards, the *m3* group ceases to exist. At that point manuscript 542 comes to be affiliated with A, thus creating a new group pairing, to which I have given the siglum A´, while manuscript 62 aligns itself with groups *m*, *m1*, and *m2*.

The task of preparing a critical edition of an ancient text involves distinguishing the work of the author or translator from the labors of those who subsequently left their mark on it. Such an endeavor requires the employment of λογισμός, "reasoning power." This term appears more than seventy times in 4 Maccabees to designate the capacity that its author asserts was exercised by assorted luminaries featured in the Jewish Scriptures and by those who suffered martyrdom at the hands of Antiochus IV Epiphanes as they strove to master various human passions—including the instinct for survival—because of their devotion to God and to their ancestral traditions. While textual criticism is not nearly as dramatic an undertaking as are the exploits of these heroes of the faith, it does necessitate λογισμός in assessing the merits and significance of divergent readings. As indicated above, witnesses come to be grouped by text critics on the basis of patterns of divergence from the original text, and some of those departures are the result of intentional changes made for one reason or another by revisers or recensionists. The present essay will highlight some of the evidence for such activity in the textual history of Greek 4 Maccabees.

2. Variants in 4 Macc 14

I am limiting the scope of this investigation primarily to chapter 14, though reference will be made to the occurrence of phenomena being discussed in other parts of the book where that is appropriate. The database with which I am working includes variant readings found in the manuscript groups specified above in cases where more than half the members of the highlighted groups attest the listed variants. In the table below, those readings are recorded in a sequence that involves additions, omissions, transpositions, morphological adjustments, and changes in wording and sentence structure, and that begins with one group and continues on to seven groups.

In order to provide a comprehensive picture of the manuscript support for the readings, I have listed the other relevant witnesses in addition to the designated groups. For the present study, however, I will concentrate

on the groups.[6] Following the table, I will discuss the evidence for the systematic modification of the original text in some of the groups.

Table 1. Variant Readings by Category and Manuscript Groups

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:1	τῶν τῆς	της των αδελφων[7]	A′ S 690	1
14:3	ὦ	>	A′	1
14:1	τῶν τῆς	tr	A′ S 690	1
14:11	ταῖς	τοις	A′ S 455	1
14:9	ἐνεκαρτέρουν	εκαρ.	A′ 316 46 52	1
14:16	ἐννοσσοποιησάμενα	νοσσο. (νοσιο. 595)	A′ 595^{c}	1
14:17	δύναται	δυνατει (–τι A)	A′	1
14:20	νεανίσκων	νεανιων (νεεν. V*)	A′ V^{a} 741	1

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:10	ἐπαλγέστερον	pr αλλο	L^{-491}	1
14:17	τοῖς	+ ιδιοις	L^{-491}	1
14:13	πάντα	παντας	*L* 74 690	1
14:19	ἀπαμύνουσιν	επαμ.	*L*	1
14:2	ἐλευθερώτεροι	–ριωτεροι	*L* 585; –ριεστεροι 455	1
14:7	καθάπερ	ωσπερ	L^{-728}	1

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:17	δύναται	δυνανται	S 491 $q^{-71\ 370\ 3002}$ 322–397–446–455–467–597–686–714–782 58 577	1
14:15	πετεινῶν	πετηνων (–τιν. S^{c})	542 S* $q^{-71\ 120\ 370^{c}\ 452}$ 316–473	1

6. Throughout this article, Greek lemma readings include accents and breathing marks; variant readings do not.

7. This variant involves both an addition to the lemma and the transposition of articles. Thus each of those elements is accounted for separately. That will be the case in other instances in which more than one variable is involved in a reading.

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:3	comma	>	*q1* 58	1
14:15	init – (17) fin	>	*q1* 747^{c}	1
14:20	τέκνων	∩ 15:1 2°	55–71–3002–*q1*	1
14:13	θεωρεῖτε	–ται	71–ql^{-107*} 46 340 771	1
14:6	καθάπερ	και απερ	71–3002*–$q1^{-610}$	1
14:13	πολύπλοκος	πολυτεκνος	71–*q1*	1

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:17	δέ	>	$q2^{(-747^{c1\ et\ c2})}$ 455	1
14:12	μήτηρ γάρ	tr	*q2* 690	1
14:17	δύναιντο	δυνανται	$q2^{(-747^{c2})}$ 397–446–$455^{c\ pr\ m^{vid}}$–467–597–686 58 340 577	1
14:14	ἄλογα	λοιπα	$q2^{-747^{c}}$	1

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:11	ἐν	>	$m^{-325\ 591\ 594\ 607\ 617\ 640\ 656\ 682\ 683\ 713\ 778\ 789}$	1
14:13	δέ	>	*m* 52	1
14:18	ἐπιδεικνύναι	>	m^{-682}	1
14:12	ἑνί	ενος	$m^{-391\ 778^{c}}$	1
14:1	τὸν αἰκισμόν	των αικισμων	491 *m* 668	1
14:12	τῶν τέκνων	τεκνω	$m^{-316\ 457\ 473\ 656\ 699}$	1
14:17	κυκλόθεν	–λωθ.	74 $m^{-325\ 391\ 397\ 467\ 656\ 682\ 686}$ 577* 771	1
14:14	ἄλογα	αλλα	V $m^{-446\ 597}$ 577	1
14:16	δένδρων ὀπάς	δενδρωγας (–δρογ. 457–472–473–586–592–595–596–607–617–639–640–656–682–699–714–778–782; –δροογ. 322–391(‖)–591–594(|)–683–713(|)–789*; –δρορογ. 789^{c}(|))	*m*	1

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:15	κατά	pr και	*m1* 58 Sy	1
14:17	κωλύειν	pr το	*m1*	1

14:20	Ἀβραάμ	pr τω	316–472–473–586–595–596–607–639–*m1*	1
14:9	ἡμεῖς	+ και μονον	*m1* 58	1
14:15	γάρ	+ και	*m1* 58	1
14:9	μόνον 1°	∩ 2°	*m1*	1
14:12	τῶν τέκνων	>	316–457(|)–473–607–656–699(|)–*m1*	1
14:19	προσιόντας 1°	∩ 2°	*m1*	1
14:20	τῶν νεανίσκων	>	*m1*	1
14:7	τῆς κοσμοποιίας / ἡμέραι	tr	*m1*	1
14:7	εὐσέβειαν	et (8) ἑβδομάδα tr	*m1*	1
14:8	ἐκύκλουν	–λουντο	*m1*	1
14:4	ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ μειρακίων	αυτων	*m1*	1
14:5	ὥσπερ	ως	*m1* 58	1
14:15	ἥμερα	ημερουται (–ρουνται 455)	*m1*	1
14:15	ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα προασπίζει τῶν νεοττῶν	οροφουνται	*m1*	1

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:19	τοὺς προσιόντας 1°	>	*m2* 340	1
14:15	ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα	φοιτωντα	*m2*	1
14:19	ἐπαμύνονται	αμυν.	747 *m2* 741	1

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:18	πρός	pr την	A´ S* V 62–*m* 340 577 668 771	2

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:3	τῆς εὐσεβείας	την ευσεβειαν	*L m2* 690 741	2

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:6	ψυχῆς 2°	+ μιας	*q*´$^{-44}$ 58	2
14:4	ἐκ	>	*q*´ 58 690	2
14:9	μόνον 2°	>	*q*´ 690 741	2
14:14	τά 2°	>	*q*´$^{-120^c\ 452}$	2
14:6	ἀθανάτου τῆς	tr	*q*´ 58	2

14:7	πανάγιε	–γιας	$q'^{-120* \ 452}$ 58	2
14:7	ἑβδομάς	–μαδος	q' 58	2
14:8	οὕτως	ουτω	542 S* q'^{-452} 391 52 690 741(|)	2

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:10	διέλυεν	διελυσε(ν)	491 71–3002–*q1 m1* 690	2

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:13	ἤ	ante στοργή tr	*m*'	2
14:10	ὧν	ου	*m*'	2
14:6	ὑπό	υπ	$m'^{-316 \ 325 \ 391 \ 457 \ 473 \ 591 \ 592 \ 594 \ 617 \ 640 \ 656 \ 682^c \ 683 \ 699 \ 713 \ 778*}$; > 682^c	2
14:4	ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ μειρακίων	εξ αυτων	62–*m*'	2
14:11	ὑπερεφρόνησεν	περιεφ.	V 491 62–585–*m*' Sy	2

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:6	καθάπερ	pr και	322–397–446–467–597–686–714–782–*m1*'	2

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:14	εἰς	προς	A′ V *q*′ 46 52 340 577 668 741	3

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:2	βασιλέων	–λεως	A′ $m'^{-472 \ 586 \ 595 \ 596 \ 607 \ 639 \ 682^c}$	3

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:17	ἀνακαλούμενα	pr και	*L* $q'^{(-747^{c2})}$ 397–446–467–597–686–$m2^{-738*}$ 58 340 668 741 771 Sy	3
14:16	ἐννοσσοποιησάμενα	–ποιουμενα (εννοσο. $q^{-74 \ 3002}$ 771; -ποιηουμενα 55 $747^{c1 \ et \ mg}$; εννοσοποιημενα 586)	S^c *L q*' 586 46 52 741 771	3

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:9	νῦν	+ ουν	*L* 62–*m*′ 58 690	3

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:9	ὁρῶντες	et ἀκούοντες 2° tr	*L* 62–$m^{\prime-682}$–747^{mg}; ου φριττοντες 682^{s} et ερωντες 682	3
14:9	ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μόνον	αλλα και	*L* 62–*m*'–747^{mg}	3

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:12	νεανίσκων	+ εκεινων	S^{mg}(εκιν.) *q*′′ 46 52 58 Sy	3
14:18	ἐπιδεικνύναι	–νυσθαι	$q^{\prime\prime-747^{mg}}$ 62 46 52 58	3
14:13	σπλάγχνων	τεκνων	$q^{\prime\prime-107\ 120\ 370\ 452\ 747^{c}}$ 46 52 340 771	3
14:19	ἐπαμύνονται	απαμ. (απομ. 120 771)	$q^{\prime\prime-452\ 747\ 3002}$ 340 668 771	3
14:19	ἀπαμύνουσιν	απαμυνονται (απομ. 771)	$q^{\prime\prime-44\ 610^{*}\ 3002}$ 340 668 741 771	3

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:9	νεανιῶν	νεανισκων	*q2 m1*' 58 340	3

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:9	ἀπειλῆς	pr της	62–*m*′′–747^{mg} 58	3
14:16	φαράγγων	pr των	62–*m*′′	3
14:10	fin	+ αυτων	62–*m*′′ 690 Sy	3
14:6	ἐκεῖνοι	>	$m^{\prime\prime-391}$	3
14:1	ἐπὶ τὸν αἰκισμόν / ἐποτρύνοντες	tr	62–*m*′′	3
14:5	ὁδὸν τρέχοντες	tr	62–*m*′′ 46 52 58	3
14:6	ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου	αθανατου (θαν. 316–325–473–591–592–594–617–640–656–683–699–713–778*) ψυχης	62–$m^{\prime\prime-391\ 682^{c}}$; > 682^{c}	3
14:10	καὶ σύντομος ἡ τοῦ πυρός / οὖσα[8]	tr	3002 62–$m^{\prime\prime-789}$	3

8. This is the lemma in Swete's edition, whereas in the Rahlfs-Hanhart edition it is καὶ σύντομος οὖσα ἡ τοῦ πυρός (attested by S 340 668 771).

14:16	φαράγγων ἀπορρῶγας	απορρωγας (απορρογ. 391–457–586–591–592*–594–617–640–682–683–699–713–778–789–*m1*; απορωγ. 325) των φαραγ-γων (- ραγκ. 62–686)	62–*m*ʹʹ; tr 58	3
14:3	ἐναρμόστου[9]	εναρμονιου (–μων. 457–699)	*m*ʹʹ–747^{mg} 690	3
14:4	πρός	επι	62–$m''^{-397\ 446\ 467\ 597\ 686}$	3

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:17	δύναται	+ τροπον (τροπο 55)	Aʹ V *L* $q'^{(-747^{c2})}$ 62 46 52 58 340 577 668 741 771	4
14:6	οἱ	>	Aʹ *q*ʹʹ 46 52 58	4
14:6	αἱ	γαρ	Aʹ *q*ʹʹ 46 52 58	4
14:17	ὅ	ον	Aʹ V *L* $q'^{(-747^{c2})}$ 62 46 52 58 340 577 668 741 771	4

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:16	κορυφάς	pr τας	Aʹ 728 *m*ʹʹ 58	4

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:4	ὤκνησεν	pr ελθειν	L^{-491} 62–*m*ʹʹ 741	4
14:16	ὀρέων	pr των	*L* 62–*m*ʹʹ 58	4
14:14	τήν	>	S* *L* 62–*m*ʹʹ 690 771	4
14:7	πανάγιε	–για	542 *L* 120*–452 62–*m*ʹʹ 577 668 690 741 771	4
14:9	ἀλλὰ καί	εμακαριζοντο θαυμαζομενοι (–ζωμ. 455) πως (αλλα (> 491) και *L*; > 58)	*L* 62–*m*ʹʹ–747^{mg} 58 741	4

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:6	εὐσεβείας	+ κινουμενοι	V *q*ʹʹ *m2* 46 52 58 340 668 741 771	4

9. This is the lemma in Swete's edition, whereas in the Rahlfs-Hanhart edition it is ευαρμοστου.

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:17	δύναιντο	δυναται	380–*q1* 62–*m*′′$^{–397\ 446}$ 455^{c} 467 597 686	4

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:5	ἐπ’	επι	*q2 m*′′$^{–391\ 473}$; > 391–473 668*	4

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:15	ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα[10]	οροφοιτουντα (οροφυτ. S 457–472–586–591–592–594–595–607–617–639–640–656–683–699–713–778–789 340 771; –φητ. 71; -φυτουντο 682)	A′ S *L q*′$^{(–747^{c2})}$ 62–*m*′ 46 52 58 340 668 771	6

Verse	Lemma	Variant	Groups and Manuscripts	#
14:10	γένοιτο	pr *αν*	S^{c} V *L q*′′ 62–*m*′′ 46 52 340 668 690 741 771	7

To begin with, it is instructive to note the statistical breakdown of variant readings in 4 Macc 14 attested solely by the manuscript groups specified below (along with the scattered witnesses that are indicated where applicable).

A′: 8	*q*′: 8
L: 6	*m*’: 5
q: 2	
q1: 6	*q*′’: 5
q2: 4	*m*′’: 11
m: 9	
m1: 16	*L m*′’: 5
m2: 3	

In the category of readings attested by a single group, it is apparent that the two *m1* manuscripts, which agree on sixteen divergences from

10. This reading is attested only by manuscript 741. The editions of Swete and Rahlfs-Hanhart have οροφοιτουντα as their lemma.

the original text in chapter 14, are closely aligned. No less significant in establishing group affiliations, however, are the nine agreements on variant readings attested by the majority of the more than thirty members of the *m* group, the five agreements of the *m*’ pairing, the eleven agreements of the *m*′′ set, or even the five agreements of the *L m*′′ combination. The *m* groups embody the textual tradition of the menologia manuscripts that are associated with the Orthodox church’s calendar, according to which the saints—including the Maccabean martyrs—are commemorated on their respective feast days. Not infrequently, the *m* groups join with another textual tradition, designated *L*, in attesting departures from the original text. The preceding statistical summary also provides evidence of a third collocation of related groups identified by the siglum *q*. It should be noted that most of the *L* and *q* manuscripts also include one or more of 1, 2, and 3 Maccabees and that the editors of these Göttingen Septuaginta volumes have employed the same sigla for those groups.[11]

3. Categories of Variant Readings

Having listed the variant readings in 4 Macc 14 in the order of the number of manuscript groups that attest them, I will now proceed to classify them according to the kinds of readings that are involved and the groups that attest each kind.[12] This will provide an indication of the types of recensional activity that are part of the textual history of the original Greek version of the book.

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11. L^{-491} $q'^{-380\ 452\ 3002}$–55 contain 1–3 Maccabees, while 3002 contains 3 Maccabees. See Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, MSU 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), 387–90. Not all manuscripts of the preceding groups are extant for 1–3 Maccabees, and in a few cases they are grouped differently than for 4 Maccabees. See Werner Kappler, ed., *Maccabaeorum liber I*, 3rd ed., SVTG 9.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990); Werner Kappler and Robert Hanhart, eds., *Maccabaeorum liber II*, 2nd ed., SVTG 9.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976); Robert Hanhart, ed., *Maccabaeorum liber III*, 2nd ed., SVTG 9.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).

12. These lists will include only the relevant data for each reading, not necessarily all the variants for any lemma.

3.1. Additions

	Particles
L m´	14:9 *νῦν*] + *ουν L* 62–*m´* 58 690
L q´´ m	14:10 *γένοιτο*] pr *αν* S^{c} V *L q´´* 62–*m´´* 46 52 340 668 690 741 771
	Articles
m1	14:17 *κωλύειν*] pr *το m1*
	14:20 ᾿Αβραάμ] pr *τω* 316–472–473–586–595–596–607–639–*m1*
A´ *m*	14:18 *πρός*] pr *την* A´ S* V 62–*m* 340 577 668 771
m´´	14:9 *ἀπειλῆς*] pr *της* 62–*m´´*–747^{mg} 58
	14:16 *φαράγγων*] pr *των* 62–*m´´*
A´ *m´´*	14:16 *κορυφάς*] pr *τας* A´ 728 *m´´* 58
L m´´	14:16 *ὀρέων*] pr *των L* 62–*m´´* 58
	Conjunctions
m1	14:15 *κατά*] pr *και m1* 58 Sy
	14:15 *γάρ*] + *και m1* 58
m1’	14:6 *καθάπερ*] pr *και* 322–397–446–467–597–686–714–782–*m1’*
L q’ m2	14:17 *ἀνακαλούμενα*] pr *και L* $q'^{(-747c2)}$ 397–446–467–597–686–$m2^{-738*}$ 58 340 668 741 771 Sy
	Possessive Pronoun
m´´	14:10 fin] + *αυτων* 62–*m´´* 690 Sy
	Demonstrative Pronoun
q´´	14:12 *νεανίσκων*] + *εκεινων* S^{mg}(*εκιν.*) *q´´* 46 52 58 Sy
	Adjectives
L	14:10 *ἐπαλγέστερον*] pr *αλλο* L^{-491}
	14:17 *τοῖς*] + *ιδιοις* L^{-491}
	Attributive Participle
q´´ m2	14:6 *εὐσεβείας*] + *κινουμενοι* V *q´´ m2* 46 52 58 340 668 741 771
	Numeral
q´	14:6 *ψυχῆς* 2°] + *μιας* q'^{-44} 58
	Substantives
A´	14:1 *τῶν τῆς*] *της των αδελφων* A´ S 690

A´ *L q*’ 14:17 δύναται] + τροπον (τροπο 55) A´ V *L* $q'^{(-747^{c2})}$ 62 46 52 58 340 577 668 741 771

Conjunctive Phrase

m1 14:9 ἡμεῖς] + και μονον *m1* 58

Purpose Infinitive

L m´’ 14:4 ὤκνησεν] pr ελθειν L^{-491} 62–*m*´’ 741

3.2. Omissions

Vocative Particle

A´ 14:3 om ὦ A´

Articles

q´ 14:14 om τά 2° $q'^{-120^{c}\ 452}$

A´ *q*´’ 14:6 om οἱ A´ *q*´’ 46 52 58

L m´’ 14:14 om τήν S* *L* 62–*m*´’ 690 771

Conjunctions

q2 14:17 om δέ $q2^{(-747^{c1})}$ 455

m 14:13 om δέ *m* 52

Prepositions

m 14:11 om ἐν $m^{-325\ 591\ 594\ 607\ 617\ 640\ 656\ 682\ 683\ 713\ 778\ 789}$

q´ 14:4 om ἐκ *q*´ 58 690

Demonstrative Pronoun

m´’ 14:6 om ἐκεῖνοι m''^{-391}

Adverb

q´ 14:9 om μόνον 2° *q*´ 690 741

Complementary Infinitive

m 14:18 om ἐπιδεικνύναι m^{-682}

Homoioteleuton

q1 14:20 τέκνων] ∩ 15:1 2° 55–71–3002–*q1*

m1 14:9 μόνον 1°] ∩ 2° *m1*

14:19 προσιόντας 1°] ∩ 2° *m1*

Phrases

m1	14:12 om *τῶν τέκνων* 316–457(|)–473–607–656–699(|)–*m1*
	14:20 om *τῶν νεανίσκων* *m1*
m2	14:19 om *τοὺς προσιόντας* 1° *m2* 340

Extended Omissions

q1	14:3 om comma *q1* 58
	14:15 om init – (17) fin *q1* 747^{c}

3.3. Transpositions

A´	14:1 *τῶν τῆς*] tr A´ S 690
q2	14:12 *μήτηρ γάρ*] tr *q2* 690
m1	14:7 *τῆς κοσμοποιΐας* / *ἡμέραι*] tr *m1*
	14:7 *εὐσέβειαν*] et (8) *ἑβδομάδα* tr *m1*
q´	14:6 *ἀθανάτου τῆς*] tr *q´* 58
m’	14:13 *ἡ*] ante *στοργή* tr *m*’
L m’	14:9 *ὁρῶντες*] et *ἀκούοντες* 2° tr *L* 62–*m*’$^{–682}$–747^{mg}; *ου φριττοντες* 682^{s} et *ερωντες* 682
m´’	14:1 *ἐπὶ τὸν αἰκισμόν* / *ἐποτρύνοντες*] tr 62–*m´*’
	14:5 *ὁδὸν τρέχοντες*] tr 62–*m´*’ 46 52 58
	14:6 *ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου*] *αθανατου* (*θαν.* 316–325–473–591–592–594–617–640–656–683–699–713–778*) *ψυχης* 62–*m´*’$^{–391\ 682c}$; > 682^{c}
	14:10 *καὶ σύντομος ἡ τοῦ πυρός* / *οὖσα*] tr 3002 62–*m´*’$^{–789}$
	14:16 *φαράγγων ἀπορρῶγας*] *απορρωγας* (*απορρογ.* 391–457–586–591–592*–594–617–640–682–683–699–713–778–789–*m1*; *απορωγ.* 325) *των φαραγγων* (–*ραγκ.* 62–686) 62–*m´*’; tr 58

3.4. Morphological Adjustments

Tense

m1	14:8 *ἐκύκλουν*] –*λουντο* *m1*
L q’	14:16 *ἐννοσσοποιησάμενα*] –*ποιουμενα* (*εννοσο.* *q*$^{–74\ 3002}$ 771; -*ποιηουμενα* 55 747$^{c1\ et\ mg}$; *εννοσοποιημενα* 586) S^{c} *L q*’ 586 46 52 741 771
q1 m1	14:10 *διέλυεν*] *διελυσε(ν)* 491 71–3002–*q1* *m1* 690

Voice

q′′	14:18 ἐπιδεικνύναι] –νυσθαι *q*′′$^{-747^{mg}}$ 62 46 52 58

Voice/Number

q1	14:13 θεωρεῖτε] –ται 71–*q1*$^{-107*}$ 46 340 771

Mood

q2	14:17 δύναιντο] δυνανται *q2*$^{(-747^{c2})}$ 397–446–455$^{c\ pr\ m^{vid}}$–467–597–686 58 340 577

Mood/Number

q1 m′′	14:17 δύναιντο] δυναται 380–*q1* 62–*m*′′$^{-397\ 446\ 455^{c}\ 467\ 597\ 686}$

Number

q	14:17 δύναται] δυνανται S 491 *q*$^{-71\ 370\ 3002}$ 322–397–446–455–467–597–686–714–782 58 577
m’	14:10 ὧν] ου *m*’
A′ *m*′	14:2 βασιλέων] –λεως A′ *m*′$^{-472\ 586\ 595\ 596\ 607\ 639\ 682^{c}}$

Gender

A′	14:11 ταῖς] τοις A′ S 455
L	14:13 πάντα] παντας *L* 74 690
A′ *L q*’	14:17 ὅ] ον A′ V *L q*’$^{(-747^{c2})}$ 62 46 52 58 340 577 668 741 771

Case

m	14:12 ἑνί] ενος *m*$^{-391\ 778^{c}}$
L m2	14:3 τῆς εὐσεβείας] την ευσεβειαν *L m2* 690 741
q′	14:7 πανάγιε] –γιας *q*′$^{-120*\ 452}$ 58
	14:7 ἑβδομάς] –μαδος *q*′ 58

Case/Number

m	14:1 τὸν αἰκισμόν] των αικισμων 491 *m* 668
	14:12 τῶν τέκνων] τεκνω *m*$^{-316\ 457\ 473\ 656\ 699}$

Alternative Form of the Same Case

L m′′	14:7 πανάγιε] –για 542 *L* 120*–452 62–*m*′′ 577 668 690 741 771

Alternative Spelling of the Same Word

q	14:15 πετεινῶν] πετηνων (–τιν. S^{c}) 542 S* *q*$^{-71\ 120\ 370^{c}\ 452}$ 316–473
m	14:17 κυκλόθεν] –λωθ. 74 *m*$^{-325\ 391\ 397\ 467\ 656\ 682\ 686}$ 577* 771

οὕτω before a Word Beginning with a Consonant

q´	14:8 οὕτως] ουτω 542 S* q'^{-452} 391 52 690 741(|)

Elision

m'	14:6 ὑπό] υπ $m'^{-316\ 325\ 391\ 457\ 473\ 591\ 592\ 594\ 617\ 640\ 656\ 682^{c}\ 683\ 699\ 713\ 778^{*}}$; > 682^{c}

Reversal of Elision

q2 m´'	14:5 ἐπ'] επι *q2* $m''^{-391\ 473}$; > 391–473 668*

3.5. Changes in Wording and Sentence Structure

A´	14:9 ἐνεκαρτέρουν] εκαρ. A´ 316 46 52
	14:16 ἐννοσσοποιησάμενα] νοσσο. (νοσιο. 595) A´ 595^{c}
	14:17 δύναται] δυνατει (–τι A) A´
	14:20 νεανίσκων] νεανιων (νεεν. V*) A´ V^{a} 741
L	14:2 ἐλευθερώτεροι] –ριωτεροι *L* 585; –ριεστεροι 455
	14:7 καθάπερ] ωσπερ L^{-728}
	14:19 ἀπαμύνουσιν] επαμ. *L*
q1	14:6 καθάπερ] και απερ 71–3002*–$q1^{-610}$
	14:13 πολύπλοκος] πολυτεκνος 71–*q1*
q2	14:14 ἄλογα] λοιπα $q2^{-747^{c}}$
m	14:14 ἄλογα] αλλα V $m^{-446\ 597}$ 577
	14:16 δένδρων ὀπάς] δενδρωγας (–δρογ. 457–472–473–586–592–595–596–607–617–639–640–656–682–699–714–778–782; -δροογ. 322–391(||)–591–594(|)–683–713(|)–789*; –δρορογ. 789^{c}(|)) *m*
m1	14:4 ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ μειρακίων] αυτων *m1*
	14:5 ὥσπερ] ως *m1* 58
	14:15 ἥμερα] ημερουται (–ουνται 455) *m1*
	14:15 ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα προασπίζει τῶν νεοττῶν] οροφουνται *m1*
m2	14:15 ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα] φοιτωντα *m2*
	14:19 ἐπαμύνονται] αμυν. 747 *m2* 741
q´'	14:19 ἐπαμύνονται] απαμ. (απομ. 120 771) $q''^{-452\ 747\ 3002}$ 340 668 771
m'	14:4 ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ μειρακίων] εξ αυτων 62–*m*'
	14:11 ὑπερεφρόνησεν] περιεφ. V 491 62–585–*m*' Sy

A´ *q´*	14:14 εἰς] *προς* A´ V *q´* 46 52 340 577 668 741
L m'	14:9 ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μόνον] *αλλα και L* 62–*m*'–747$^{\text{mg}}$
q´'	14:13 σπλάγχνων] *τεκνων q*´'$^{-107\ 120\ 370\ 452\ 747\text{c}}$ 46 52 340 771
	14:19 ἀπαμύνουσιν] απαμυνονται (απομ. 771) *q*´'$^{-44\ 610*\ 3002}$ 340 668 741 771
q2 m1'	14:9 νεανιῶν] *νεανισκων q2 m1*' 58 340
m´'	14:3 ἐναρμόστου] εναρμονιου (–μων. 457–699) *m*´'–747$^{\text{mg}}$ 690
	14:4 πρός] επι 62–*m*´'$^{-397\ 446\ 467\ 597\ 686}$
A´ *q*´'	14:6 αἱ] *γαρ* A´ *q*´' 46 52 58
L m´'	14:9 ἀλλὰ καί] εμακαριζοντο θαυμαζομενοι (–ζωμ. 455) πως (αλλα (> 491) και *L*; > 58) *L* 62–*m*´'–747$^{\text{mg}}$ 58 741
A´ *L q*' *m´*	14:15 ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα] οροφοιτουντα (οροφυτ. S 457–472–586–591–592–594–595–607–617–639–640–656–683–699–713–778–789 340 771; –φητ. 71; –φυτουντο 682) A´ S *L q*'$^{(-747\text{c}2)}$ 62–*m´* 46 52 58 340 668 771

4. Recensional Activity

4.1. Additions

One of the maxims of textual criticism is *lectio brevior potior*.[13] This principle is based on the observation by textual critics that recensional activity often involves adding to the original text of a document. Additions of various sorts do occur rather frequently in the *L*, *q*, and *m* textual traditions of 4 Maccabees. The tallies of this type of variant in chapter 14, whether attested by a single one of these groups or in combination with other groups, are as follows: *L*: 8, *q*: 6, *q1*: 4, *q2*: 5, *m*: 9, *m1*: 14, *m2*: 10. A good number of these, as might be expected, involve the article or the conjunction *και*. In addition to establishing the definiteness of the substantive with which it is linked, an article may be inserted into the text to clarify or reinforce a grammatical relationship within a discourse unit (for example, <u>τω</u> Ἀβραάμ [14:20 *m1*]; καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων ἐπιδεικνύναι <u>την</u> πρὸς τὰ τέκνα συμπάθειαν [14:18 A´ *m*]). A conjunction may be used to coordinate two contiguous phrases (τῶν πετεινῶν τὰ μὲν ἥμερα <u>και</u> κατὰ

13. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 277–78.

τὰς οἰκίας ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα [14:15 *m1*]) or to introduce the final member of a series of circumstantial clauses (*περιιπτάμενα κυκλόθεν αὐτῶν ἀλγοῦντα τῇ στοργῇ* <u>*και*</u> *ἀνακαλούμενα τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ* [14:17 *L q*']).

Other kinds of additions likewise facilitate clarity and explicitness. In 14:10, a possessive pronoun serves to emphasize the fact that it was the bodies of the seven brothers that were destroyed by fire (*τὰ σώματα* <u>*αυτων*</u> [*m*'']), while in 14:12, a demonstrative pronoun links the mother, who is also numbered among the Maccabean martyrs, with those seven young men (*ἡ μήτηρ γὰρ τῶν ἑπτὰ νεανίσκων* <u>*εκεινων*</u> [*q*'']). In 14:17, an adjective underscores the fact that protective birds endeavor to help their own offspring (*βοηθεῖ τοῖς* <u>*ιδιοις*</u> *τέκνοις* [*L*]). In the second half of a comparison in 14:6, an attributive participle (*κινουμενοι*) reinforces the connection with the first half via its cognate counterpart (*κινοῦνται*): *καθάπερ αἱ χεῖρες καὶ οἱ πόδες συμφώνως τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφηγήμασιν κινοῦνται, οὕτως οἱ ἱεροὶ μείρακες ἐκεῖνοι ὡς ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου τῆς εὐσεβείας* <u>*κινουμενοι*</u> *πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς συνεφώνησαν θάνατον* (*q*'' *m2*). Also in 14:6, the numeral one can be understood to function as an indefinite article, and it may also serve to highlight the seven brothers' unity in their commitment to piety (*ὑπὸ ψυχῆς* <u>*μιας*</u> *ἀθανάτου τῆς εὐσεβείας* [*q*']).

Although the *L*, *q*, and *m* groups all attest significant numbers of additions in 4 Macc 14, in 2 and 3 Maccabees there are many pluses in *L* but not in *q*.[14] None of the *m* manuscripts contain the texts of 2 and 3 Maccabees.

4.2. Omissions

Werner Kappler and Robert Hanhart observe that there are fewer omissions than additions in *L* and *q* of 2 and 3 Maccabees.[15] This corresponds to the situation that obtains in 4 Maccabees. The statistics for omissions in 4 Maccabees 14 are as follows: *L*: 1, *q*: 4, *q1*: 7, *q2*: 2, *m*: 5, *m1*: 6, *m2*: 3. In some cases, the shorter text is due to homoioteleuton (14:9 *μόνον* 1° ∩ 2° *m1*; 14:19 *προσιόντας* 1° ∩ 2° *m1*; 14:20 *τέκνων* ∩ 15:1 2° *q1*). In other cases,

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14. Kappler and Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber II*, 19–20, 24; Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber III*, 18, 28. For data concerning this phenomenon throughout 4 Maccabees, see Robert J. V. Hiebert, "Establishing the Textual History of Greek 4 Maccabees," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 128–31.

15. Kappler and Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber II*, 20, 24; Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber III*, 19, 28.

the omissions appear to be deliberate and stylistically motivated so as to avoid repetitiveness and to facilitate economy of expression.

The following three examples involve *q* groups.

14:3 om comma (*q1*). The vocative outburst in verse 3 (*ὦ ἱερᾶς καὶ ἐναρμόστου περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀδελφῶν συμφωνίας*) may have been regarded as a case of rhetorical excess by the recensionist in view of the prior eruption in verse 2 (*Ὦ βασιλέων λογισμοὶ βασιλικώτεροι καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἐλευθερώτεροι*).

14:9 *οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μόνον ἀκούοντες* (*q*′). The second occurrence of the adverb *μόνον* was presumably deemed to be redundant.

14:15 om init – (17) fin (*q1*). The three omitted verses contain the author's description of parent birds protecting their vulnerable young, which serves to illustrate the point that *ὅπου γε καὶ τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα ὁμοίαν τὴν εἰς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν γεννώμενα συμπάθειαν καὶ στοργὴν ἔχει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*: ("Even unreasoning animals show sympathy and affection for their offspring like that of human beings" [14:14 NETS]).[16] The transition from these words in verse 14 to verse 18 is, however, quite seamless: *καὶ τί δεῖ τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζῴων ἐπιδεικνύναι πρὸς τὰ τέκνα συμπάθειαν* ("And why is it necessary to offer proof of sympathy for offspring on the part of unreasoning animals"). Excising the intervening verses does not break the thread of the author's argument, so it could have been on that basis that the recensionist rationalized the decision to abbreviate this section of the text.

The next four examples involve *m* groups.

14:6 *οἱ ἱεροὶ μείρακες ἐκεῖνοι* (*m*′′). In the light of the context provided in 14:4, the demonstrative pronoun might have been judged not to be essential for identifying the youths to whom reference is being made.

14:12 *ἡ μήτηρ γὰρ τῶν ἑπτὰ νεανίσκων ὑπήνεγκεν τὰς ἐφ᾽ ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ τῶν τέκνων στρέβλας* (*m1*). The attributive phrase *τῶν τέκνων* may have been regarded as unnecessary in view of the earlier appearance of *νεανίσκων*.

14:19 *μέλισσαι περὶ τὸν τῆς κηρογονίας καιρὸν ἐπαμύνονται τοὺς προσιόντας καὶ καθάπερ σιδήρῳ τῷ κέντρῳ πλήσσουσι τοὺς προσιόντας τῇ νοσσιᾷ αὐτῶν* (*m2*). The first occurrence of *τοὺς προσιόντας* could perhaps have been considered superfluous in the light of the subsequent occurrence.

16. Quotations of NETS 4 Maccabees are taken from Stephen Westerholm's translation in Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

14:20 *ἀλλ᾽ οὐχὶ τὴν Ἀβραὰμ ὁμόψυχον τῶν νεανίσκων μητέρα μετεκίνησεν συμπάθεια τέκνων* (*m1*). The attributive phrase *τῶν νεανίσκων* may have been classified as redundant due to the subsequent occurrence of *τέκνων*.

4.3. Transpositions

The evidence from chapter 14 indicates that the *m* groups in particular attest the presence of transpositions: *L*: 1, *q*: 1, *q1*: 1, *q2*: 1, *m*: 7, *m1*: 7, *m2*: 7. In some cases, these changes in word order seem to have been motivated by the desire to locate grammatically related components of a sentence in proximity to one another. For example, in 14:7, instead of ἑπτὰ τῆς *κοσμοποιίας* ἡμέραι, the repositioning in *m1* of the genitive phrase after the nominative subject unites the latter with its numerical modifier, ἑπτά. Similarly, in 14:13, instead of ἡ τῆς φιλοτεκνίας στοργή, the word order is rearranged in *m*' so that the subject and its article are juxtaposed. In other instances, the intention seems to be to bring the verbal component nearer to the beginning of a clause or sentence. This occurs in 14:1 where, instead of *προσέτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν αἰκισμὸν ἐποτρύνοντες*, the participle is repositioned before the prepositional phrase in *m*´', and in 14:10 where, instead of *καὶ σύντομος ἡ τοῦ πυρός οὖσα*, the participle is relocated to the beginning of that sequence in *m*´'.

4.4. Morphological Adjustments

In this category, I have included a range of alternate readings that have to do with inflections (conjugations and declensions) and allomorphs (alternative forms of the same lexeme). The statistical breakdown in chapter 14 reveals that all of the *L*, *q*, and *m* groups are substantially represented: *L*: 7, *q*: 9, *q1*: 8, *q2*: 6, *m*: 10, *m1*: 6, *m2*: 6. A sample of the kinds of variant readings involved include: changes in verb mood and number (14:17 *δύναιντο*] *δυνανται q2*; *δυναται q1 m*´'); the substitution of genitive for vocative forms to go with the vocative particle ὦ (14:7 *πανάγιε*] –*γιας q*´; 14:7 ἑβδομάς] –*μαδος q*´); a change in number (14:10 ὤν] *ου m*'); *οὕτω* before words beginning with consonants (14:8 *οὕτως*] *ουτω q*´); and elision (14:6 ὑπό] *υπ m*').[17]

17. *οὕτω* before words beginning with consonants is particularly characteristic of the *q* groups throughout 4 Maccabees (see Hiebert, "Establishing the Textual His-

4.5. Changes in Wording and Sentence Structure

When it comes to changes involving word choice and sentence structure, all groups are again well represented, though the *m* groups stand out inasmuch as they each attest to more alternative readings than any of the *L* or *q* groups: *L*: 4, *q*: 5, *q1*: 6, *q2*: 6, *m*: 9, *m1*: 9, *m2*: 9. One broad category of variant that occurs in some of the *m* groups in chapter 14 entails abridgement of wording or word forms. Examples of the former are found in 14:4 where, because the seven brothers have already been mentioned in 14:3, the recensionist of the *m1* group has felt free to substitute simply *αυτων* for *ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ μειρακίων*, and the one whose activity is attested in the *m*' groups has opted for the prepositional phrase *εξ αυτων*; and in 14:15, where the text of the *m1* group indicates that tame birds find cover under roofs (*οροφουνται*), rather than that they flit about roofs and "protect their young" (*ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα προασπίζει τῶν νεοττῶν*). The simplification of compound forms occurs in 14:5 (*ὥσπερ*] *ως m1*), 14:15 (*ὀροφοφοιτοῦντα*] *φοιτωντα m2*), and 14:19 (*ἐπαμύνονται*] *αμυν. m2*).

A selection of substantive readings of other types is enlightening.

14:13 *πολύπλοκος*] *πολυτεκνος q1*. In this case, it seems that the occurrence of this variant may be due to the influence of the terms *τέκνων* in 14:12 and *φιλοτεκνίας* in 14:13. As an adjective used in the description of the mother's love for her seven sons, it has the effect of highlighting the intensity of her feeling for her children in view of the fact that she has had to endure the torment of witnessing the terrible suffering and deaths of each of them in turn.

14:14 *ἄλογα*] *λοιπα q2*; *αλλα m*. These two variants are understandable in the light of the comparison that is being made in this verse between "unreasoning animals" (*τὰ ἄλογα ζῷα*) and humans, both of which exhibit sympathy and affection for their offspring. The change from "unreasoning" to other (*λοιπα*, *αλλα*) living creatures besides human beings in the alternative readings eliminates the possibility that the inability to reason will be attributed to people.

14:11 *ὑπερεφρόνησεν*] *περιεφρονησεν m*'. In this case, the variant may have been introduced as a result of the influence of the appearance of *περιεκράτησεν*, a virtual synonym, earlier in this verse. These verbs are employed in connection with declarations that reason and the mind

tory," 131–32). Elision is much more commonly attested in *q* groups than in *m* groups throughout 4 Maccabees (see ibid., 132–33).

enabled the martyrs to prevail despite the torment that they had to endure.

14:9 ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μόνον] αλλα και *L m*᾽. This variant involves restructuring of a compound sentence (οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον ὁρῶντες, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ μόνον ἀκούοντες) for the sake of greater clarity and, it would appear, stylistic improvement.

14:9 ἀλλὰ καί] εμακαριζοντο θαυμαζομενοι (–ζωμ. 455) πως (αλλα (> 491) και *L*) *L m*′᾽. This set of variants needs to be seen in conjunction with the preceding one. It represents a continuation of the restructuring and, in this case, the augmentation of the present verse with the result that the seven brothers are now depicted as being blessed and amazed during the course of their ordeal. In the *m* groups, this amazement is seemingly attributed to their growing awareness of and appreciation for how they were able to endure suffering.

14:13 σπλάγχνων] τεκνων *q*′᾽. This alternative reading is explicable as a move away from what could be perceived as the redundancy of the phrase τὴν τῶν σπλάγχνων συμπάθειαν, and at the same time toward the reinforcement of the sentiment about the mother's love for her children expressed earlier in the verse (ἡ τῆς φιλοτεκνίας στοργή).

14:9 νεανιῶν] νεανισκων *q2 m1*᾽. The lemma and variant are synonymous. While there are more than 2,000 occurrences of the former word attested in Greek literature, there are more than 3,600 occurrences of the latter word.[18] It would appear, therefore, that the introduction of this variant was occasioned by the substitution of the more frequently occurring word for the less frequently occurring one.

14:3 ἐναρμόστου] εναρμονιου *m*′᾽. In this case, too, the lemma and variant are synonyms. Apart from its occurrence in 4 Macc 14:3, however, the former adjective occurs only once in the positive degree, in a tenth-century document attributed to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae* 807.5), and in the comparative degree in a twelfth- to thirteenth-century work by Euthymius Tornices (*Orationes* 3.6.4).[19] The latter, however, occurs 268 times in Greek literature.[20] Again, a more common word has been substituted for a less frequently occurring, and in this case rare, one.

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18. Maria Pantelia, dir., *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*, University of California, Irvine, http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546d.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

5. Conclusion

This investigation of recensional activity in the textual history of Greek 4 Maccabees has shown that there are both similarities and differences with respect to what has been observed by editors of other books of Maccabees in the Göttingen Septuaginta series. On the one hand, some of the same manuscript groups (*L* and *q*) exhibit the same kinds of variants in the different books. On the other hand, new configurations of manuscript groups and indeed a new manuscript tradition (*m*) not attested in the other books appear in 4 Maccabees. These and other observations confirm what Septuagint text critics have long realized, namely, that one cannot make *a priori* assumptions about the text-type that a manuscript or group will exhibit in any given part of the Septuagint corpus.

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The Epistemology of Textual Criticism

Ronald S. Hendel

> The point is that *this* is how we play the game. There are also rules, but they do not form a system, and only experienced people can apply them right.
> – Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*

1. Text-Critical Reasons

The rebirth of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in the wake of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has occasioned serious attention to issues of methodology. The most explicit and sustained engagement with such issues is found in the works of Emanuel Tov, particularly in his successive editions of *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* and in his recent essay "The Relevance of Textual Theories for the Praxis of Textual Criticism."[1] While Tov's formulations are characteristically thoughtful and erudite, they are hampered by a commitment to a practical empiricism and scientism, common among philologists, that shies away from vigorous pursuit of the theoretical underpinnings of our disciplinary practices. I propose to explore the epistemology of textual criticism in dialogue with Tov's formulations. My goal is to bring into focus the implicit rules of our

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I dedicate this essay to Peter Flint, who made important contributions to the text-critical enterprise. He was an early advocate and contributor to the Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition project (HBCE), for which I am deeply grateful. I miss his charm, erudition, and friendship. A different version of this essay appears in my book *Steps to a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, TCS 10 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 127–47.

1. Emanuel Tov, "The Relevance of Textual Theories for the Praxis of Textual Criticism," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason et al., JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1:23–35. See also an earlier formulation in Tov, "Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules," *HTR* 75 (1982): 429–48.

disciplinary game along with their conceptual entailments. Only when we understand these tacit practices can we properly evaluate them in ways that both conserve and expand their potential.

I am guided by the idea that text-critical reason has its reasons, even if they are difficult to elucidate fully. In other words, the implicit rules of our discipline—including our patterns of discovery and justification—are more than just habits or intuition. These rules are worth thinking about and, where necessary, may be criticized and revised. But it is difficult to see beneath our entrenched procedures, which often seem to the specialist to be self-evident. As the philosopher Peter Lipton aptly observed, "It is amazingly difficult to give a principled description of the way we weigh evidence. We may be very good at doing it, but we are miserable at describing how it is done."[2] My attempt to do so for textual criticism is provisional and exploratory.

Tov has consistently maintained that textual criticism is a subjective art and a form of common sense. These terms imply a contrast with more objective inquiries, such as science. As he emphasizes in the most recent edition of his handbook on the subject, text-critical analysis of the Hebrew Bible "is an *art* in the full sense of the word.… This procedure is as subjective as can be. *Common sense*, rather than textual theories, is the main guide, although abstract rules are sometimes helpful."[3] His emphasis on the subjective nature of the discipline is expanded in new introductory section, called "Subjectivity of This Book," wherein he emphasizes that "almost every paragraph in this book attests to subjectivity."[4] I maintain that the contrasts of subjective versus objective or art versus science do not accurately characterize the implicit rules and technique of textual criticism. In order to gain some clarity on the rules of this particular game, we must eschew simple oppositions and cast our analytical net more broadly.

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2. Peter Lipton, *Inference to the Best Explanation*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2004), xi.

3. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible,* 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 280–81 (this section in Tov's handbook is a revision of Tov, "Criteria," 445).

4. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 22.

2. Housman's Fleas

As Tov observes, his position on the epistemology of textual criticism essentially restates the arguments of A. E. Housman in his classic essay, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism."[5] With biting wit, Housman maintained that textual criticism consists of a rigorous application of common sense:

> [Textual criticism] is not a sacred mystery. It is purely a matter of reason and of common sense. We exercise textual criticism whenever we notice and correct a misprint. A man who possesses common sense and the use of reason must not expect to learn from treatises or lectures on textual criticism anything that he could not, with leisure and industry, find out for himself. What the lectures and treatises can do for him is to save him time and trouble by presenting to him immediately considerations which would in any case occur to him sooner or later.[6]

To illustrate his argument, Housman adduces the metaphor of a dog hunting for fleas.

> A textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motions of the planets: he is much more like a dog hunting for fleas. If a dog hunted for fleas on mathematical principles, basing his researches on statistics of area and population, he would never catch a flea except by accident. They require to be treated as individuals; and every problem which presents itself to the textual critic must be regarded as possibly unique.[7]

Housman contrasts the dog's (and textual critic's) subjective common sense with the Newtonian scientist's objective principles. While I endorse Housman's emphasis on the necessity of applying thought to textual criticism, I contest his—and Tov's—insistence that textual criticism is an application of common sense to texts. It is true that, as Housman says, "we exercise textual criticism whenever we notice and correct a misprint."

5. Tov, "Criteria," 430. See also Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 1; A. E. Housman, "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism," in *Selected Prose*, ed. John Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), 131–50.

6. Housman, "Application," 132.

7. Ibid., 132–33.

However, textual criticism involves more than common sense and ingenuity. It is a historical discipline that engages with complicated genealogies and abstract objects, and that requires erudition and methodological tact. Like any complex cultural practice, our discipline depends on all sorts of theoretical and empirical underpinnings. The question is whether we are—or want to be—aware of these implicit rules, theories, and practices.

Although Housman aims to demystify the practice of textual criticism, his position arguably masks what Christopher Lloyd calls a discipline's "hidden epistemologies."

> The problem of hidden epistemologies is that they can mislead practitioners into believing that "common sense" (for which we should read "the currently prevailing idea of naïve empiricism") or personal empathic insight or rhetorical persuasiveness are the only possible arbiters of interpretation and explanation.[8]

In this respect, Housman's and Tov's appeals to common sense are misleading. The appeals mask the implicit rules of the inquiry and create an aura of self-evident authority for its practitioners. It is a strategy of justification, not explanation. Appeals to "common sense" or "art" serve to ward off detailed inquiry into the foundations of the discipline. To be sure, this is not Tov's or Housman's intention—they simply hold that the procedures of textual criticism are self-evident. However, I submit that mystification and institutional justification are consequences of this position.

To claim that textual criticism is a subjective art not only mystifies the technique but also romanticizes it. Aviezer Tucker aptly criticizes this form of esotericism in historiographical disciplines:

> *Historiographic esotericism* holds that historians do possess knowledge of history, but it is impossible to explicitly explain how or why. Therefore historians cannot teach how to obtain knowledge of history any more than statesmen of great virtue can teach it to their children and pupils according to Plato. Historiographic wisdom would resemble Socratic virtue; gourmet baking and beer brewing, an art that cannot be reduced

8. Chris Lloyd, *The Structures of History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 4; quoted in Aviezer Tucker, *Our Knowledge of the Past: A Philosophy of Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 19.

> to any "recipe"; sets of theories and methods that can be described, replicated, and explained abstractly, or explicitly taught to novices.[9]

The metaphor of Housman's fleas argues that textual criticism is a matter of native talent. He emphasizes that textual critics are born, not made, that its art is "not communicable to all men, nor to most men."[10] A natural practice or art cannot be explicitly criticized. As Tucker observes, this is a flawed explanation, which deflects inquiry into a complex scholarly practice. I suggest that Housman's fleas metaphor is wrong. The textual critic is more like a detective or a diagnostician than a dog with an itch.

3. The Evidential Paradigm

In a famous essay, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," Carlo Ginzburg argued that the historian at work is akin to a detective who analyzes clues to solve a case, or a doctor who examines symptoms to cure a patient, or a psychoanalyst who uncovers a patient's past traumas.[11] These tasks rely on what Ginzburg calls a semiotic and evidential paradigm, which infers past causes from present traces and effects.[12] Like these other disciplines, textual criticism infers past textual states from the clues in the surviving manuscripts. Like its congeners, textual criticism deals with individual cases, which may be puzzling or opaque. Based on a meticulous analysis of the clues, it infers the probable causes and history of cases of textual change. It is an inferential and historical enterprise, relying on the epistemic procedures of diagnosis and conjecture. As Ginzburg observes, "As with the physician's, historical knowledge is indirect, presumptive, conjectural."[13]

Notably, the core disciplines of the evidential paradigm—including history, textual criticism, diagnostic medicine, and forensics—became

9. Lloyd, *Structures of History,* 19, emphasis original.

10. Housman, "Application," 150.

11. Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 96–125.

12. Ginzburg (ibid., 205 n. 49) notes that he is building on "some memorable pages on the 'probable' character of historical knowledge" in Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft: Reflections on the Nature and Uses of History and the Techniques and Methods of Those Who Write It*, trans. Peter Putnam (New York: Vintage, 1953), 124–33.

13. Ginzburg, "Clues," 106.

mature during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Ginzburg writes, "Towards the end of the nineteenth century—more precisely in the decade 1870–1880—a presumptive paradigm began to assert itself in the humane sciences that was based specifically on semiotics."[14] Disciplines that elucidate individual, unreproducible past phenomena "could not avoid turning to the conjectural [paradigm].… When causes cannot be reproduced, there is nothing to do but to deduce them from their effects."[15]

At the beginning of that crucial decade, Julius Wellhausen published his text-critical monograph, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht* (1871), which laid the foundation for all subsequent textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Notably, he begins the book with an analogy between the procedures of textual criticism and medicine. Both disciplines, he implies, share—or *ought* to share—certain exemplary epistemic practices. In contrast to the ad hoc corrections made by contemporary textual critics, he urges that, like an expert diagnostician, the critic must examine the whole patient, including a full history, before treating a particular condition:

> It seems to me that textual criticism of the Old Testament is done too sporadically these days. One is content with individual emendations without engaging in a coherent assessment of the nature of the transmitted texts—one does not first attempt to learn about the constitution of the patient as a whole, but starts treating him immediately.… A more comprehensive approach seems worthwhile.[16]

Wellhausen's prescriptive analogy with the "more comprehensive approach" of medical diagnostics highlights the epistemic practices of the evidential paradigm. Just as the doctor infers the causes from a comprehensive examination of the patient's symptoms and history, so the textual critic should undertake a "coherent assessment of the nature of the transmitted texts" before inferring the causes of textual change and making judgments about the best available (or earliest inferable) reading. In this semiotic paradigm, one must examine, collate, and question, based on detailed knowledge, before moving on to the diagnosis and, with luck, a cure. Not surprisingly, the fictional medical doctor, John Watson,

14. Ibid., 102.

15. Ibid., 117.

16. Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis untersucht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), iii. Translation is that of the author.

describes Sherlock Holmes's forensic task in a way that also corresponds to his medical practice: "to frame some scheme into which all these strange and apparently disconnected episodes could be fitted."[17] With some slight modifications, this description applies well to the work of the textual critic.

Ginzburg emphasizes that the focus on individual cases distinguishes the evidential paradigm from Newtonian science. The latter focuses on general phenomena or laws, of which individual cases are messy instantiations. In Newtonian science, the matrix of cause and effect is reproducible, but in the evidential disciplines, the cases are singular and the causes unreproducible. (In this respect, historically based sciences, such as evolutionary biology and paleontology, qualify as evidential disciplines, since they deal with individual cases and, for the most part, not general laws. However, the rise of genetics blurs these boundaries.)[18] The difference between the general law and the individual case entails different epistemic rules. In the evidential disciplines, Ginzburg writes:

> The object is the study of individual cases, situations, and documents, precisely *because they are individual*, and for this reason get results that have an unsuppressible speculative margin: just think of the importance of conjecture (the term itself originates in divination) in medicine or in philology.[19]

Textual criticism involves conjecture precisely because, like medicine and history, it deals with individual cases. It is a diagnostic paradigm, which is neither art nor science.

From these considerations, we can refine Tov's characterization of textual criticism as a subjective art. Its subjectivity is constrained by its epistemic goal, to infer past states from present textual details. Like a good detective or diagnostician, the textual critic must be able to assess the situation, assemble relevant evidence, imagine possible causes, and distinguish degrees of probability. The critic reconstitutes a plausible past. It is an indirect, inferential process, and may end in success or failure. But it is a rational and analytic procedure, not mere art or intuition.

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17. Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles: Another Adventure of Sherlock Holmes* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1902), 69.

18. See, for example, Stephen Jay Gould, "Evolution and the Triumph of Homology, or Why History Matters," *AmSc* 74 (1986): 60–69.

19. Ginzburg, "Clues," 106, emphasis original.

Against Housman, the practices of textual criticism are not simply reducible to the application of common sense. If this were so, it would be difficult to explain why these practices have changed over the years. This situation also holds true for other evidential disciplines. In the medieval and early modern period, doctors (or barbers) bled their patients and attributed the etiology of symptoms to analogy and witchcraft. During the same period scholars often regarded textual variants in the Hebrew Bible as deliberate falsifications caused by Jews or the devil.[20] Modern text-critical diagnoses are based on different background assumptions than our medieval forebears.

In sum, textual criticism has a historically contingent genealogy, which yields the theories and rules that determine our selection of relevant data and constrain our explanations of causes. The epistemic procedures of the modern evidential paradigm inform our analyses and judgments. Dogs (and their wolf ancestors) have always scratched for fleas in roughly the same way. Textual criticism emerged at specific times and places. Its procedures have changed for the better and will, one hopes, continue to do so.

4. The Logic of Error and Innovation

Textual criticism consists of two complimentary phases: studying the history of the extant and ancestral texts (*historia textus*), and restoring the earliest inferable state of the text (*constitutio textus*). The practical goal is the production of a critical edition that combines the fruits of both of these inquiries. Let us turn to the first phase, *historia textus*, for which the most important clues are errors and innovations.

Only certain kinds of error and innovation—by which I mean mechanical slips and deliberate revisions—serve as reliable clues for textual history. The best clues are called "indicative errors" (*Leitfehler* or *errores significativi*).[21] This category consists of errors or innovations that are shared between manuscripts and are monogenetic; namely, derived from a single text. Changes that are likely to have been created indepen-

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20. See Ronald S. Hendel, "The Untimeliness of Biblical Philology," *Philol* 1 (2015): 9–28.

21. Paulo Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Lachmann's Method: A Non-Standard Handbook of Genealogical Textual Criticism in the Age of Post-Structuralism, Cladistics, and Copy-Text*, StL 7 (Padua: Libreriauniversitaria, 2014), 54–57, 109–117.

dently (polygenetic errors) have no implications for textual affiliation. Innovations or errors that exist only in one manuscript (*errores singulares*) also have no implications for textual affiliation. Only shared derived innovations are reliable clues.

Michael Reeve aptly elucidates the general principle of inferring historical relationships by means of indicative errors:

> The main principle … [is] that when copies share an innovation absent from the rest they are related (more closely, that is, than by being copies of the same work); if none of those that share the innovation can plausibly be regarded as the one where it originated, it must have originated in a lost ancestor common to them all. With luck, the extant copies and their postulated ancestors can be arranged in a family tree.[22]

The logic of shared derived innovation and error is key not only for textual history but also for historical inquiry in other evidential disciplines, including linguistics and biology.[23] As Ginzburg observes, the "use of gaps and mistakes as clues" to reconstitute forgotten histories is characteristic of the epistemology of the evidential disciplines.[24]

As Sebastiano Timpanaro has shown, this concept has long been tacitly used by textual critics, including Karl Lachmann in his 1850 edition of Lucretius.[25] As noted by Jean-Baptiste Camps, the principle was first elucidated explicitly in 1903 by Paul Lejay:[26]

> A family of manuscripts is constituted by their common errors, or, if one prefers the more exact term, by their common innovations. Thus, the existence of a series of correct and authentic readings in several manuscripts

22. Michael D. Reeve, foreword to Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know*, 10.

23. Michael D. Reeve, "Shared Innovations, Dichotomies, and Evolution," in *Manuscripts and Methods: Essays on Editing and Transmission* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011), 55–103.

24. Carlo Ginzburg, "Family Resemblances and Family Trees: Two Cognitive Metaphors," *CI* 30 (2004): 555.

25. Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, trans. Glenn W. Most (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

26. Jean-Baptiste Camps, "Copie, authenticité, originalité dans la philologie et son histoire," *Questes* 29 (2015): 35–67. See also Reeve, "Shared Innovations," 57–58.

> cannot prove that these manuscripts derive from a common source. Only errors are probative.[27]

In 1937 Paul Maas coined the term *Leitfehler* (translated as "indicative error") to denote this category of common errors and innovations.[28]

In historical linguistics, as Henry Hoenigswald observes, "[August] Schleicher transferred the principle of the exclusively shared copying error from manuscript work to linguistics" in his *Stammbaumtheorie* (family-tree theory) of the Indo-European languages (e.g., in his *Comparative Grammar of Indo-Germanic Languages*, published in 1861 and 1862).[29] The linguistic principle of shared innovation was first explicitly articulated by Berthold Delbrück in 1880: "We have as conclusive evidence [for subgrouping] only those *innovations which are developed in common*."[30] This principle has become a touchstone in linguistic method.[31] As Hoenigswald comments, "while shared retentions are compatible with a subgrouping, innovations are indicative of one."[32]

In his classic work, *Phylogenetic Systematics* (1966), Willi Hennig made this concept central to biological taxonomy.[33] He coined the term "synapomorphy" for derived traits shared by two or more terminal taxa, and he emphasized that synapomorphies are the only reliable basis for establishing genealogical affiliation:

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27. P. Lejay, review of *Aeli Donati quod fertur Commentum Terenti*, ed. Pual Wessner, *RCHL* 56 (1903): 171. My translation.

28. Paul Maas, "Leitfehler und stemmatische Typen," *ByzZ* 37 (1937): 289–94.

29. Henry M. Hoenigswald, "Language Families and Subgroupings, Tree Model and Wave Theory, and Reconstruction of Protolanguages," in *Research Guide on Language Change*, ed. Edgar C. Polomé, TLSM 48 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 442.

30. Translation adapted from B. Delbrück, *Introduction to the Study of Language: A Critical Survey of the History and Methods of Comparative Philology of the Indo-European Languages*, trans. E. Channing (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1882), 137, as quoted by C. Douglas Chrétien, "Shared Innovations and Subgrouping," *IJAL* 29 (1963): 67.

31. See Lyle Campbell, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2004), 190–201. For this principle in Semitic linguistics, see Robert Hetzron, "Two Principles of Genetic Reconstruction," *Lingua* 38 (1976): 89–108.

32. Hoenigswald, "Language Families," 443.

33. Willi Hennig, *Phylogenetic Systematics*, trans. D. Dwight Davis and Rainer Zangerl (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1966).

> The supposition that two or more species are more closely related to one another than to any other species, and that, together they form a monophyletic group, can only be confirmed by demonstrating their common possession of derived characteristics ("synapomorphy").… Only the latter category of resemblance [synapomorphy] can be used to establish states of relationship.[34]

From texts to languages to species, shared derived errors are the chief clues for genealogical relationships and descent.

Some textual critics maintain that the overall profile of agreements and disagreements is sufficient to establish textual affinities among manuscripts. In contrast to the genealogical (or common-error) method that uses *Leitfehler* as its chief clues, the tabulation of all agreements and disagreements does not involve text-critical judgment. It can be done by mechanical comparison, and thereby avoids the subjectivity of identifying *Leitfehler*. However, this "objective" method does not withstand scrutiny. As Michael Weitzman states, "Without the notion of error, one cannot even draw a stemma for two manuscripts AB, showing whether A derives from B or B from A or both from a lost source.… The notion of error cannot be sidestepped."[35] Agreement in correct readings has no probative value for genealogical inferences, nor do changes that are likely to be polygenetic. Only monogenetic innovations are indicative.

A recurring problem in elucidating the historical relationships among texts is what Giorgio Pasquali called "horizontal" or "transversal" transmission, which yields an "open tradition." As Gianfranco Contini elucidates:

> In the simplest case … [textual] transmission is "vertical" (Pasquali's term), that is, from copy to copy without deviations, and it is univocal, that is, it concerns a text that is fixed, with no alternatives. Pasquali calls "horizontal" or "transversal" a tradition in which more than one exemplar intervenes, by collation or contamination.[36]

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34. Willi Hennig, "Phylogenetic Systematics," *ARevE* 10 (1965): 104. This article is a succinct summary of his book of the same name, cited in the previous note.

35. Michael P. Weitzman, "The Analysis of Open Traditions," *StB* 38 (1985): 95, 97. See further Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 263–69.

36. Quoted in Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know*, 128.

In cases where horizontal transmission has taken place, the stemmatic relationships become equivocal or indeterminate. As Weitzman observes, "The same *apparatus criticus* admits more than one genealogy in an open tradition."[37] Relationships can still often be discerned, but there is an irreducible degree of uncertainty about which is the most probable of the possible stemmata. Weitzman presents the following alternatives as analytically homologous in the case of horizontal transmission:[38]



These alternative stemmata can easily represent the relationships between MT (=A), SP (=B), and LXX (=C) in the Pentateuch, since there is arguably a degree of horizontal transmission at some point (or several points) in the proto-SP genealogy. The SP shares many small- and medium-sized harmonizations with LXX (against MT) throughout the Pentateuch, but it also shares the expanded edition of the tabernacle text in Exod 35–40 with MT (against LXX). Some degree of horizontal transmission seems necessary to posit here, probably between proto-MT and proto-SP texts or from a common source.[39]

In the domain of horizontal transmission, the logic of error and innovation encounters its own uncertainty principle. Inferences based on the

37. Weitzman, "Open Traditions," 88.

38. Ibid., 92.

39. For the stratum of shared harmonizations in SP and LXX, see Kyung-Rae Kim, "Studies in the Relationship between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint" (PhD diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994). Kim counts roughly two hundred (mostly short) harmonizing pluses shared by SP and LXX. My thanks to Emanuel Tov for making this dissertation available to me. For additional long harmonizing/exegetical pluses shared by SP and LXX (e.g., at Exod 22:4, Lev 15:3, and Lev 17:4), see David Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws: Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*, FAT 92 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 35–58, 76–99.

best clues—indicative errors, synapomorphies—yield an equivocal textual history. Despite its blurred lines, even an equivocal history provides an evidential basis for inferences concerning the opposite of error—the identification of the best set of readings (viz., the earliest inferable readings) in the textual tradition.

5. Inference to the Best Explanation

The second phase of text-critical inquiry is textual evaluation and restoration (*constitutio textus*). This phase relies on the inferences drawn from textual history but is, at the same time, also a prerequisite for textual history, since only by evaluating readings can we identify the *Leitfehler* that are the primary clues for ascertaining textual affiliation and history. Text-critical judgment is entailed in both phases of text-critical inquiry. This is a circular procedure, as is the case in all historical and conjectural disciplines. As Housman rightly observed, "The task of the critic is just this, to tread that circle deftly and warily."[40] Once again, this is not pure subjectivity or art, but a condition of the epistemic paradigm of textual criticism.

The procedure of textual evaluation and restoration is briefly described by Tov:

> It is the art of defining the problems and finding arguments for and against the originality of readings. The formulation and weighing of these arguments are very central to textual criticism.… Therefore, it is the choice of the most contextually appropriate reading that is the main task of the textual critic.[41]

Tov qualifies this statement by adding, "This procedure is as subjective as can be." Tov's description is accurate as far as it goes, but it is hampered by the pejorative weight of "art" and "subjectivity." The blunt oppositions of art/science and subjective/objective are inadequate instruments. Textual evaluation and restoration are inferential procedures, which should not be equated with pure subjectivity. Such oppositions, generated by naïve empiricism, mask the actual procedures of textual evaluation.

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40. Housman, "Application," 145.
41. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 281.

Charles Sanders Peirce coined the word *abduction* to describe the kind of inferential process that we are describing. The term refers to a two-step process of generating hypotheses and selecting among them. He writes:

> The first starting of a hypothesis and the entertaining of it, whether as a simple interrogation or with any degree of confidence, is an inferential step which I propose to call *abduction*.… This will include a preference for any one hypothesis over others which would equally explain the facts, so long as this preference is not based upon any previous knowledge bearing upon the truth of the hypotheses, nor on any testing of any of the hypotheses, after having admitted them on probation. I call all such inference by the peculiar name, *abduction*, because its legitimacy depends upon altogether different principles from those of other kinds of inference.[42]

In recent philosophy, this species of inference is usually called "inference to the best explanation." Peter Lipton aptly describes the roots of this process in our desire to explain unknown phenomena:

> We infer the explanations precisely because they would, if true, explain the phenomena. Of course, there is always more than one possible explanation for any phenomenon—the tracks might have instead been caused by a trained monkey on snowshoes, or by the elaborate etchings of an environmental artist—so we cannot infer something simply because it is a possible explanation. It must somehow be the best of competing explanations.[43]

The two-step process of hypothesis generation and selection accurately describes the procedures of textual evaluation. It is generally characteristic of the evidential paradigm. As Lipton observes, this is the inferential procedure of detectives, doctors, textual critics, and—with some additional resources—scientists:

> The sleuth infers that the butler did it, since this is the best explanation of the evidence before him. The doctor infers that his patient has measles, since this is the best explanation of the symptoms. The astronomer infers

42. Charles S. Peirce, "Abduction and Induction," in *Philosophical Writings of Peirce*, ed. Justus Buchler (New York: Dover, 1955), 151.

43. Lipton, *Inference*, 56.

> the existence and motion of Neptune, since that is the best explanation of the observed perturbations of Uranus.[44]

The chief difference for the scientist is the possibility of empirically testing the best explanation. The "Neptune hypothesis" was confirmed when the planet Neptune was actually sighted through a telescope. Historical disciplines usually lack this possibility of empirical confirmation (or falsification), with the occasional exception of archaeological discoveries that confirm an explanation that was previously hypothetical. Notably, the discovery of the biblical manuscripts from Qumran confirmed a number of previously hypothetical text-critical inferences.[45]

Inference to the best explanation (viz., abduction) involves different criteria and kinds of judgment in its two-step process. The first step, the generation of hypotheses, involves a combination of imagination and background knowledge, in which one considers a range of plausible causes. Lipton comments: "We must use some sort of short list mechanism, where our background beliefs help us to generate a very limited list of plausible hypotheses."[46] In textual evaluation, we leave out a multiplicity of implausible hypothesis, such as the "monkeys in a room" scenario, or alien thought-control, or (usually) divine intervention.

When the critic is evaluating readings, the hypotheses will include scenarios like the following:

1. A is the best reading (viz., the earliest inferable reading), and B is historically secondary (viz., an error or a revision based on A).
2. B is the best reading, and A is historically secondary.
3. C*, which is a conjecture (viz., an unattested reading), is the best reading, from which the extant readings are secondarily derived.
4. A textual problem is identifiable, but there are no plausible hypotheses to explain it.

This kind of short list of hypotheses is easily generated. The most complicated and, indeed, subjective, is number 3, the plausible conjecture. As E.

44. Ibid.

45. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 329; and Tov, "The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Understanding of the Septuagint," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 285–300.

46. Lipton, *Inference*, 149.

J. Kenney observes, "The making of conjectures, as distinct from testing them, is intelligent guesswork."[47]

The second step, testing the hypotheses and selecting among them, is a more rigorous process. Here is where, as Tov says, one formulates and weighs the arguments for and against each of the hypotheses. Background knowledge is crucial in this step as well, since one must be familiar with the general tendencies of scribal transmission and the history of the textual evidence (derived from the prior inquiry into *historia textus*) in order to adjudicate among the different hypotheses.

It is in testing the hypotheses that the so-called rules or guidelines of textual criticism come into play, such as *lectio difficilior* (the difficult reading is to be preferred) or *lectio brevior* (the shorter reading is to be preferred). As Tov characteristically observes, these are not "objective criteria."[48] But they are important parts of the textual critic's background knowledge. Timpanaro aptly describes the relationship between the textual critic's background knowledge and the evaluation of a particular case: "[The] task … demands an effort to understand how various general tendencies contribute on any given occasion to the production of a single and particular error."[49] As with the other conjectural disciplines, the diagnosis of the cause of a particular clue or symptom depends on the background knowledge and acuity of the sleuth, doctor, or textual critic, including knowledge of how scribes, criminals, or diseases characteristically behave and detailed understanding of the particular case.

One of the rules of textual criticism has a particular importance in the critical selection of the best explanation. As Kyle McCarter observes:

> There is really only one principle, a fundamental maxim to which all others can be reduced. This basic principle can be expressed … most precisely with the question, *Utrum in alterum abiturum erat*? "Which would have changed into the other?"—that is, "Which is more likely to have given rise to the other?" This is the question the critic asks when he is

47. E. J. Kenney, "Textual Criticism," in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed. (New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1974), 18:189–95.

48. Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 270.

49. Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Freudian Slip: Psychoanalysis and Textual Criticism*, trans. Kate Soper, RT (London: Verso, 1976), 84.

> ready to choose between alternative readings. When answered thoughtfully, it will provide the solution to most text-critical problems.[50]

This principle, which was formulated by eighteenth century New Testament critics, is described by Bruce Metzger and Bart Ehrman as “the most basic criterion for the evaluation of variant readings.”[51]

The reason that this principle is so basic is that it presents with clarity the epistemic situation of textual criticism as a historical—and evidential—discipline. As Kenny states, the textual critic weighs historical probabilities. The existing texts and variants—the errors and innovations—are clues to the history of readings. Our selection of the historically earlier reading recapitulates, on the level of the individual case, the task of *historia textus*. In this phase the error or innovation is a clue to the prior chronological state: the earlier, preferred reading. The elucidation of error and innovation, in this phase, allows us to infer the direction of historical change that reveals the earlier, possibly original, reading. We infer the causes of the innovations by abduction, and so infer the history of readings. In so doing we attempt to explain the relationships among the available clues, which consist of errors, innovations, and older (preferred) readings.

Notably, in the phase of testing hypotheses, emendations are subject to the same evaluative procedures as existing readings. As Kenney emphasizes, “The emendation itself, can and must be controlled and tested by precisely the same criteria as are used in deciding between variants.”[52] A hypothesis that derives the extant reading(s) from a conjecture faces the same selective criteria; namely, the careful formulation of arguments for and against each hypothesis, the testing and weighing of historical probabilities.

I emphasize that the critic’s capacity for judgment is involved in both steps of this inductive process. In the first step, one must use judgment to exclude implausible hypotheses and to formulate plausible ones. In the second step, the formulating and weighing of arguments for and against each hypothesis, the acuity of critical judgment is most acute. In this stage,

50. P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible*, GBS (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 72.

51. Bruce M. Metzger and Bart D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 300.

52. Kenney, “Textual Criticism,” 192.

the difference between good and bad critics is palpable in the cogency of their arguments for and against each hypothesis. When done properly, the selection of the best explanation is an exacting intellectual process, combining background knowledge with critical tact. It is not an art, but a complex weave of inferences, which requires technical mastery.

However, we must realize that the best explanation is not necessarily the true explanation. In theory, even Sherlock Holmes can be wrong. This is the epistemic condition of the conjectural and evidential paradigm. As Lipton observes, "Inference to the Best Explanation requires that we work with a notion of potential explanation that does not carry a truth requirement."[53] The best explanation might be true, but we cannot know this to be the case. This is a limit condition of evidential disciplines. As Tucker writes for historical inquiry:

> Historiography … attempt[s] to provide a hypothetical description and analysis of some past events as the best explanation of present evidence. This knowledge is probably true, but it is not true in an absolute sense. The most that historiography can aspire for is increasing plausibility.[54]

A complementary observation concerns the limits of our text-critical imagination. If none of the entries on the short list of hypothesis is true, then selecting among them cannot yield a true explanation. Increasing plausibility is the relevant standard, not absolute truth.

Our explanatory ability is limited by the incompleteness of our textual evidence and by the imperfection of our powers of inference. A perfect text-critical procedure is not at hand. Like all historical inquiry, we see the past indirectly through our (always fallible) evaluation of its present traces. As Ginzburg writes, "Direct knowledge of such a connection is not possible. Though reality may seem to be opaque, there are privileged zones—signs, clues—which allow us to penetrate it."[55]

53. Lipton, *Inference*, 69.
54. Tucker, *Our Knowledge of the Past*, 258.
55. Ginzburg, "Clues," 123.

6. Conclusion: The Life of Texts

As Housman observes, "The things which the textual critic has to talk about are not things which present themselves clearly and sharply to the mind."[56] Housman is right, which complicates his view that the procedures of textual criticism are merely applied common sense. Paolo Trovato aptly comments, "Housman is obviously overlooking the fact that someone endowed with these faculties—common sense, the use of reason, leisure and industry—could reinvent many things, from the wheel up, or rewrite many chapters in modern medicine manuals."[57] But there is no need to reinvent the wheel or modern medicine. Nor is it desirable to avoid hard thought about the epistemic underpinnings of textual criticism.

The yoking of medicine and textual criticism here reminds us that textual criticism partakes of the epistemic practices of the evidential paradigm.[58] In its roots, this paradigm derives from instinctive and ancient skills, as when a hunter-gatherer analyzes animal tracks. In the mid- to late nineteenth century, a congeries of disciplines refined these procedures, including philology, forensics, medicine, and history. These disciplines infer causes from their present effects, from particular clues, signs, or symptoms. They are semiotic disciplines which, through conjecture and inference, conjure portions of the past from existing traces. But the reconstituted past always has a measure of uncertainty. The knowledge constructed through these disciplines always has blurred margins.

The inferential process at the heart of these disciplines is abduction, or inference to the best explanation. This is a two-step process that requires imagination and judgment. In the first step the critic generates hypotheses, and in the second step the critic tests them. The tests consist of arguments for and against each hypothesis, and a comparison of their relative merits. Where no positive solution avails, the critic must admit that the problem cannot be plausibly solved, and should have a way to accommodate the analytical impasse. Admitting defeat is a necessary part of the game.

A crucial part of the game is the logic of error and innovation. In textual criticism, as in other evidential disciplines (linguistics, evolutionary biology), indicative errors or shared derived innovations are central clues to the history of the phenomena. The recognition of this rule constituted a

56. Housman, "Application," 136.

57. Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know*, 28

58. Ginzburg, "Clues."

turning point in each discipline. The logic of innovation enables the critic to construct a logically sound (and plausibly accurate) stemma as a map to the past history of a particular reading, text, language, or organism. The procedure for elucidating the earliest (or archetypal) reading involves the same practice as the genealogy of a text, but in reverse, where the preferred reading is the earliest inferable node of the historical sequence, rather than (as in textual history) the final node of a previous history. The two phases of text-critical inquiry, *historia textus* and *constitutio textus*, thus partake of similar rules, and spiral around each other in a nexus of interconnected inferences. The more the critic plays the game, the more the rules seem a diverse unity, a syntax and semantics of a single language.

The critical testing of hypotheses involves knowledge of scribal practices, such as the scribal tendency to simplify complex forms, to modernize, to explicate. These tendencies are summarized in the term *lectio difficilior preferendum est* ("the more difficult reading is to be preferred"). But this is just a reminder of the rule, and the rule itself is a summary of a vast range of scribal practices, which differ among scribal schools and eras. The rule, as Housman and Tov emphasize, is not a substitute for thought. It, and the other rules one finds in the handbooks, is a mnemonic aid, nothing more. A difficult reading that is impossible, or that violates the text's literary style, should never be preferred. As Marc Bloch warns historians, "The reagents for the testing of evidence should not be roughly handled. Nearly all the rational principles, nearly all the experiences which guide the tests, if pushed far enough, reach their limits in contrary principles or experiences."[59] The rules of the game require that the textbook rules be handled with care, lest they become obstacles to the intelligent testing of hypotheses and evidence.

The Italian textual critic Paolo Chiesa writes, "Textual criticism is the discipline that … investigates the genesis and evolution of a work, … studying its transformations in the course of time."[60] These features—a text's genesis, evolution, and transformations through time—should finally be represented in a critical edition. As Chiesa notes, the "objective is to publish a 'reliable' text of a given work."[61] It cannot be a perfect text of a given work. Perfection is not available in the evidential disciplines. Well warranted, reliable, increasingly plausible explanations of the

59. Bloch, *Historian's Craft*, 120.
60. Quoted in Trovato, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know*, 165.
61. Ibid.

extant evidence: these are the standards for our inquiries. We are dealing with historical probabilities and warranted inferences, not mathematical proofs. If Ginzburg is correct, this is because the evidential paradigm deals with particular cases, not with general laws, and, therefore, is hedged with an inevitable margin of uncertainty.

These are the rules of the game that we play. It is not an art or a science, but something in between: a diagnostic technique, a way of reading the tracks of the past, a pursuit of the text in all its historical transformations.

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The Changing Landscape of Editing Ancient Jewish Texts

Sarianna Metso and James M. Tucker

1. Introduction

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has profoundly transformed our understanding of how texts were produced and transmitted in Jewish antiquity, and this new understanding is changing our views of how to conceive modern editions of ancient texts. The preserved manuscripts have made it clear that ancient Jewish scribes creatively developed all types of texts and, in terms of scribal techniques and conventions, seem to have applied little difference in their handling of scriptural versus nonscriptural material.[1] Prior to the Jewish War (ca. 66–73 CE), all textual material was

It is with great gratitude for the generous support Professor Peter Flint has shown to younger scholars and students over many years that we offer this article to honor and remember his lifetime achievements. Thanks to his making the opportunity available for Sarianna Metso to teach for a year at Trinity Western University as a young scholar, it was possible for her to start a career in North America. James Tucker was a graduate student at Trinity Western University and received strong teaching and mentoring from Professor Flint. In 2014, he was admitted as a doctoral student to the University of Toronto.

1. For discussion, see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Tov, "Scribal Practices and Approaches Revisited," *HBAI* 3 (2014): 363–74; Steve Delamarter, "Sociological Models for Understanding the Scribal Practices in the Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods*, ed. Maxine L. Grossman (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 182–97; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Assessing Emanuel Tov's 'Qumran Scribal Practice,'" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*, ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen M. Schuller, STDJ 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 173–207; Sidnie White Crawford, "Rewritten Scriptures as a Clue to Scribal Traditions in the Second Temple Period," in *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms,*

malleable—often to a striking degree, and the existence of multiple versions of any given text was normal rather than exceptional.

Rather than authored by a single person, the works were mostly community-generated and anonymously augmented by multiple successive scribes. Most editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts published so far, however, present each of the preserved manuscript copies individually, sometimes in separate publications.[2] An understandable, but theoretically and methodologically rather indefensible consequence is that the quantitatively most-preserved copy of any particular document ends up occupying the place of prominence in the ensuing analyses of the text. That copy is rarely the most authentic or the oldest but simply presents a single moment in a complex transmission history. The challenge now is how to present the entirety of the evidence pertaining to a document in a meaningful way, recognizing its complex development and transmission history.

The manuscripts pertaining to the Community Rule are a case in point. The preserved manuscripts of this document exhibit both essential agreement as well as major variations in structure and contents, which point not so much to carelessness of scribes as to deliberate development in the growth of the work. Most scholars typically use the best-preserved manuscript, 1QS, for a description of the work's character, but it is by no means certain that the precise form of the work in that manuscript, as opposed to other forms, would have been preferred by the scribes and groups behind the text. In fact, redaction-critical studies indicate that the earlier versions (in $4QS^{b,\, d}$) continued to be copied long after the later version (in 1QS) had been produced.[3] Copies representing various stages of redaction were

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or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes, ed. József Zsengellér, JSJSup 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 105–18.

2. A recent exception to this is a new series characterized as "comprehensive editions of Hebrew texts from Qumran," which is certainly a welcome and significant step forward (Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew Writings*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [Hebrew], BBM [Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2010], vii). The editorial principles underlying the series, however, are different from The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition series, for example, as indicated by the titling of the Rule of the Community as a "Synoptic Edition" (Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, vi).

3. Scholarly views on the implications of this observation vary. For discussion, see Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, STDJ 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); John

circulating simultaneously, without any particular copy representing the definitive one. Thus, the transmission of community compositions was no different from that of scriptural manuscripts, which permitted the use of older textual forms side by side with newer ones.[4]

2. The Blurred Line between Textual and Redaction Criticism

In the analysis of the manuscripts from Qumran, it has become increasingly difficult to maintain a clean separation between textual and literary criticism: the period of developing composition and the period of copying and creating textual variants were coterminous.[5] This realization has had a profound effect not only on the way the task of a textual critic has had to be reconceptualized but also on the more practical level of how editions should be produced.[6] For example, manifestations of this theoretical and methodological shift can be seen in the international collaborative project The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition now underway.[7] It aims to create

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J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 52–87; and Charlotte Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*, TSAJ 154 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 110–19.

4. For example, 4QJer[b], which represents the earlier edition of the book of Jeremiah, is paleographically more than half a century later than 4QJer[a], which contains the later, expanded edition of that book. See the comments of Emanuel Tov on these manuscripts in Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, DJD 15 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 150, 172, 203.

5. See Eugene Ulrich's contribution, "Variant Editions of Biblical Books Revealed by the Qumran Scrolls," in this volume.

6. See, for example, George Brooke, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003,* ed. Jonathan G. Campbell, William John Lyons, and Lloyd K. Pietersen, LSTS 52 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 26–42; Michael V. Fox, "Text Criticism and Literary Criticism," in *"Built by Wisdom, Established by Understanding": Essays on Biblical and Near Eastern Literature in Honor of Adele Berlin*, ed. Maxine L. Grossman, STJHC 23 (Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 2013), 341–56; and Zipora Talshir, "Textual Criticism at the Service of Literary Criticism and the Question of an Eclectic Edition of the Hebrew Bible," in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Julio Trebolle Barrera (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 33–60.

7. Ronald S. Hendel, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical

an eclectic or "critical" edition as opposed to a diplomatic one and will present parallel columns of text whenever manuscript evidence indicates multiple editions for a scriptural book.

A similar shift in thinking is called for in the way nonscriptural works are edited. Since the ancient communities betrayed no preference for one textual form over another, it no longer seems justifiable to do so either in modern editions or in analyses of ancient texts. Nevertheless, an editor of an ancient work has to decide how to present the preserved material, and sometimes this results in rather unsatisfactory compromises. The fluidity of the material related to the Community Rule poses challenges at the most fundamental level and raises the question: what constitutes the Community Rule?

While most scholars identify the Community Rule with the text of 1QS 1–11 and view 1QSa and 1QSb as appendices to that work, Hartmut Stegemann considered the scroll of 1QS as containing four independent works: 1QS 1–4, 5–11, 1QSa, and 1QSb.[8] In light of the evidence of 4QS^{d}, indicating that the beginning of the scroll corresponded with 1QS 5:1, it is indeed possible to consider 1QS 1–4 as a work independent from 5–11. This approach is followed, for example, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, where *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* (1QS 1–4 par.) is differentiated from *Serekh le'anshey ha-Yaḥad* (1QS 5–11 par.).[9] On the other hand, some manuscripts, such as 1QS and 4QS^{b}, contain material from both 1–4 and 5–11.[10] A clear borderline between textual and redactional criticism is impossible

Edition," *VT* 58 (2008): 324–51; Hendel, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Its Aims and a Response to Criticisms," *HBAI* 2 (2013): 63–99.

8. Among this collection of four works, Stegemann considered the Treatise on the Two Spirits as an appendix to 1QS 1:1–3:12; see Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 108–16; Stegemann, "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSb, and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 479–505.

9. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Texts Concerned with Religious Law*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 2–79.

10. The evidence of 4QS^{a} and 4QS^{c}, which have preserved material paralleling only 1QS 1–4, as well as the evidence of 4QS^{e} and 4QS^{f}, which have preserved material paralleling only 1QS 5–11, is more difficult to assess. A definitive determination of the original contents of these partially preserved scrolls is impossible to obtain, even in cases when the original dimensions of a scroll can be reconstructed. In the case of 4QS^{e}, if one presumes that the middle part of the scroll was preserved and that approximately the same amount of material deteriorated in the outer layers of the scrolls as in the inner layers, then 4QS^{e} would have started with the text parallel-

to maintain, and an editor is forced to make an arbitrary choice in deciding the limits of the material, a choice that can easily be challenged.

While an editor's decision to treat 1QS 1–4 and 5–11 as two independent works might be understandable, the question arises where to draw the line in incorporating redactional evidence. Both on the basis of content and material evidence it is generally accepted that the Treatise on the Two Spirits, for example, originally formed an independent work.[11] The reidentification of certain fragments, such as 4Q502 16 and 1Q29 13–17, as belonging to the Treatise serves only to strengthen this conclusion.[12] Should the Treatise be treated as a work of its own, as some have done? From the point of view of textual history, this may seem reasonable, but how then is one to approach the material (1QS 1:1–3:12) that precedes the Treatise?

A content analysis of the introduction comprising 1QS 1:1–16 clearly shows that it was composed as an introduction for the entire material of 1QS 1–11, since certain themes are raised in the introduction that are elaborated only in 1QS 5–11.[13] It thus seems likely that 1QS 1–11 was seen as a structural entity, at least in the context of that particular scroll and at

ing 1QS 5:1, like 4QS^{d}. For more information on the physical reconstruction of these scrolls, see Metso, *Textual Development*, 18–56, 108–10.

11. For conclusions in this regard, see Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, STDJ 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 127–28 n. 40; Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995*, ed. Moshe J. Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275–335; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 154–55; and Stegemann, *Library of Qumran*, 110.

12. Tigchelaar identifies 4Q502 16 as belonging to 4QS^{c} and 1Q29 13–17 as belonging to a different manuscript than frags. 1–12. He relabeled 1Q29 13–17 as "1QTwo Spirits Treatise?"; see Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "'These Are the Names of the Spirits of…': A Preliminary Edition of 4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the Two Spirits Treatise (4Q257 and 1Q29a)," *RevQ* 21 (2004): 529–47.

13. The theme of property, referred to in 1QS 1:13, for example, is dealt with more fully only in 1QS 6:18–21. Similarly, the introduction mentions the calendar in 1QS 1:9 and 1:13–14, but the topic is not thoroughly discussed until 1QS 10:1–8. For a full discussion of the themes raised in the introduction, see Metso, *Textual Development*, 121–22.

that particular point of textual history. The partially preserved title on the verso of the handle sheet of 1QS may also give an indication of how the content of the scroll was seen by its ancient readers. The words [סר]ך היחד ומן[are preserved on the handle sheet. The words [סר]ך היחד match the partially preserved title in 1QS 1:1 as well as its parallel in 4QS^{a}. Combined with the content analysis of the introduction in 1QS 1:1–16, which indicates that 1QS 1–11 functioned as a structural unity, one might speculate that ומן[on the handle sheet may have started the part of the title that referred to 1QSa and 1QSb. It has to be admitted, however, that מן does not occur at the beginning of either 1QSa or 1QSb, but neither does it match the first words of 1QS 5:1 or its parallels in 4QS^{b} and 4QS^{d}.

As is often acknowledged, the poor state of preservation poses challenges, and in some cases it is impossible to know whether the material preserved by a fragment comes from a genuine copy of the full(er) work or perhaps represents merely a quote. Of manuscripts labelled 4QS^{i} and 4QS^{j}, only a single fragment is preserved from each, leaving an editor only to make guesses about the contexts from which the fragments originated. The case of 4QS^{h} is equally difficult. Although a set of three fragments is customarily posited under this siglum, only two of them likely come from the same scroll. One of them (frag. 1) provides a parallel to 1QS 3:4–5, a passage that in 1QS occurs only a few lines before the Treatise, while the other (frag. A) has no exact parallel in 1QS. Its language, however, can be seen as resembling the end sections of the Treatise in 1QS. The question that is difficult to judge is whether the fragments represent a copy of the Community Rule or whether they present a case analogous to 5Q13, a manuscript named simply "Rule" that clearly is a different work but, interestingly, quotes the same passage of 1QS 3:4–5 that we encounter in 4QS^{h}.

In the end, one is faced with the realization that what most scholars consider a conceptual unity—a work called The Community Rule—is simply, or began as, an amalgamation of mostly disparate texts that were susceptible to creative scribal practices, thus producing a "joyful excess of variance" in the process of its transmission.[14] Perhaps the textual realm was not even the primary form in which these traditions resided in the

14. Bernard Cerquiglini (*In Praise of the Variant: A Critical History of Philology* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999], 33–45) articulated his understanding of "joyful excess" in contradistinction to Lachmannian philology, a method which was primed to envision textual variance primarily as scribal error. Lachmannian philology is discussed in greater detail below.

life of ancient communities, but it was the oral and aural form that was considered primary and authoritative. These observations are indicators that modern conceptions of a work do not necessarily coincide with those of the ancient scribes. Rather, scribes were drawing from a reservoir of traditions that were malleable to varying degrees. At what point did the accumulating material become The Community Rule? How should a textual critic or an editor of ancient texts approach this kind of material? To sort out these complicated questions, the emerging field of material philology, which recognizes that the boundaries between production and reception are blurred, has produced new insights.[15]

3. Rethinking the Role of a Textual Critic

Traditional textual criticism, often termed as *Lachmannian philology*,[16] operates on an assumption that a textual critic traces recensions backwards in time, thus moving closer to an original text.[17] Textual differences are catalogued and analyzed, leading one to postulate generalized textual families or a stemma. While this method has been instrumental to biblical scholarship, the evidence of the fragments and manuscripts from Qumran problematizes it. Clearly, the evidence from Qumran shows that rather than focusing on the faithful reproduction of a *Vorlage*, some scribes were

15. Several recent studies have used insights from material philology, including Liv Ingeborg Lied, "*Nachleben* and Textual Identity: Variants and Variance in the Reception History of 2 Baruch," in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall*, ed. Matthias Henze and Gabriele Boccaccini, JSJSup 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 403–28; Kipp Davis, "The Social Milieu of the Jeremiah Scriptures in Second Temple Judaism: New Light from the Schøyen Collection and the Evidence for Multiple Literary Editions at Qumran," in *Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IOQS in Munich*, ed. Samuel I. Thomas et al., STDJ (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). We thank Dr. Davis for making this essay available in advance of its publication. See also Matthew Phillip Monger, "4Q216 and the State of Jubilees at Qumran," *RevQ* 104 (2014): 595–612.

16. Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) did not articulate a specific methodology at a theoretical level per se. Rather, the method became associated with his name, no doubt because of his influence on those practicing philology after him. On the development of this approach, see Sebastiano Timparano, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, trans. Glenn W. Most (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 84–101.

17. *Original* here should not be confused with a textual archetype. Rather, what in Lachmann's philology is meant by original implies an authorial figure who was believed to have been intellectually responsible for the production of the work.

actively engaged and deliberately participated in the literary reshaping of their received traditions. The field of material philology holds promise for Qumran studies insofar it focuses on variances in manuscript traditions, particularly in terms of how differences (or rather: variances) are indicative of developing interpretative traditions.[18] It prioritizes the material artifact in its assessment and does not envision the philologist's task as tracing a text backwards in time, but rather accepts the artifact as a cognitive product of a particular scribe, at a particular place, and at a particular moment in history.

Within Lachmannian philology, textual differences, made evident through the collation of manuscripts and examination of assumed recensions, are often presumed as scribal errors or secondary readings—mere distractions from the attempt to recover the authorial text.[19] Although there is a stated recognition that scribes would make deliberate changes, there is also a consistent drive to recover the author's intended wording, presuming that at the completion of the collation process it is possible to hypothesize an archetype. Material philology does not dispute the existence of an archetype, but it places an emphasis on the synchronic nature of textual analysis—accounting for the wording or linguistic features of the text, as well as its material nature and sociohistorical framework.[20] It

18. As Cerquiglini argued regarding medieval textuality, "medieval writing does not produce variants; it is *variance*" (*In Praise of the Variant*, 77–78, italics original).

19. The words of Ernst Würthwein (*The Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Biblia Hebraica*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 105) are emblematic of this perspective: "Many generations of scribes and translators have played a role in transmitting the text of the Old Testament. They contain, therefore, a great variety of scribal errors, such as occur inevitably in any form of manuscript transmission, caused by errors of reading, errors of hearing, orthographical slips, and defective exemplars." There is little discussion by Würthwein envisioning tradents as participants in the semantic development or contours of a text, or what we might consider as the role of an author. For consideration of these other roles and variables, see Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 23–78. Secondary readings: the terminology of "secondary" is well established in the field of biblical textual criticism, and scholars use it with various levels of nuance. Emanuel Tov (*Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2013], 164) gave some consideration to when the term is appropriate: "Even if one is unable to decide between two or more readings, the possibility that one of them was nevertheless the original and the other(s) was (were) secondary cannot be rejected."

20. For the importance of a synchronic analysis, see the methodological essay by Lutz Doering, "Parallels without 'Parallelomania': Methodological Reflections on

appreciates that literary works continue to exist through time in varying socioeconomic, political, legal, theological, and intellectual contexts.[21]

4. Fragment, Text, and Work

Material philologists draw attention to the conceptual distinctions between a fragment, a text, and a work. While a fragment is perhaps the easiest to characterize and can be defined as an incomplete material artifact since some words are missing, it would be somewhat lacking to describe a text inversely as the aggregate whole of its inscribed words. A better understanding of a text includes both the reception of anterior textual traditions and the ongoing scribal activity responsible for textual growth and the evolution of intertextual traditions. Therefore, a better characterization of a text is that it is an inscribed series of meaningful linguistic utterances that (in part, at least) constitute a discourse. Important in this characterization is that it recognizes discourses as cognitive and communicative processes.

For the characterization of a work, Liv Ingeborg Lied has suggested that "a 'work' is a conceived compositional unit.… The concept of a 'work' is both a representation and an abstraction, and is not to be confused with 'the text.'"[22] Lied's characterization is helpful, for it also facilitates an understanding of a version, which we might say is a textual manifestation

Comparative Analysis of Halakhah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls; Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 7–9 January 2003*, ed. Steven D. Fraade, Aharon Shemesh, and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 62 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 13–42; and comments in Lied, "*Nachleben* and Textual Identity," 409.

21. Matthew J. Driscoll, "Words on the Page: Thoughts on Philology, Old and New," in *Creating the Medieval Saga: Versions, Variability, and Editorial Interpretations of Old Norse Saga Literature*, ed. Emily Lethbridge and Judy Quinn, VCSNC 18 (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2010), 81–105. This is often marred, however, by additional methodological issues when one attempts to conceive of the matrix of options between realia and the mythical function of the text. That is, one cannot assume the text always reflects historical circumstances (Sarianna Metso, "Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History from Rule Texts Found at Qumran," *DSD* 11 [2004]: 315–35).

22. Liv Ingeborg Lied, "Text—Work—Manuscript: What is an Old Testament Pseudepigraphon?" *JSP* 25 (2015): 150–65. We thank Dr. Lied for sending an early copy of this essay.

of a work whose aggregate similarities, made known by a comparison with another text (i.e., collation), establish its relationship to the work. For our discussion of the complexities of editing ancient Jewish writings, Michael V. Fox similarly makes a particularly interesting point in his recent article relating to the task of preparing a critical edition of the book of Proverbs: "An edited text is an attempt to recreate the work, which is, as Tanselle defines it, a 'verbal construction,' an ideal, which does not necessarily coincide with any documentary text. As E. J. Kenney says, the text critic's task 'is with the reconstruction of what no longer exists. A text is not a concrete artifact, like a pot or a statue, but an abstract concept or idea.'"[23]

5. 4Q230 and the Treatise on the Two Spirits

To illustrate how insights from material philology can aid in the analysis of the Qumran scrolls, it may prove instructive to consider the manuscript 4Q230, entitled Catalogue of Spirits[a], and its relationship to the Treatise on the Two Spirits in the Community Rule. No official edition of 4Q230 exists to date, but Eibert Tigchelaar published a preliminary edition of the manuscript in 2004 and an additional discussion in 2007.[24] This manuscript, consisting of thirteen (?) little fragments, has preserved only one fragment (frag. 1) sizeable enough to form an impression of the content of the text.[25] In his preliminary edition, Tigchelaar gives full transcriptions for only three additional small fragments (frags. 8, 9, and 12) with only few partial lines preserved, and remarks that "the interpretation of the text depends

23. Fox, "Text Criticism and Literary Criticism," 354.

24. Tigchelaar, "These Are the Names"; Tigchelaar, "Catalogue of Spirits, Liturgical Manuscript with Angelological Content, Incantation? Reflections on the Character of a Fragment from Qumran (4Q230 1), with Appendix: Edition of the Fragments of IAA #114," in *A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and Its Religious Environment*, ed. Michael J. Labahn and Bern Jan Lietaert Peerbolte, LNTS 306 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 133–46.

25. In his preliminary edition, Tigchelaar ("These Are the Names," 530–31) leaves the exact number of fragments belonging to this manuscript somewhat open. He points out that PAM 43.237 "contains one medium-sized fragment, as well as twelve small ones. In ROC 114 one more small fragment has been added to these thirteen ones" (ibid., 530). On the other hand, he writes that "at least one of these small fragments belongs to another manuscript [4Q9]" and concludes "I consider it impossible to determine on the basis of the photograph whether all the other fragments belong to one manuscript" (ibid., 531).

on the largest fragment [frg. 1]."[26] The text reads as follows, with some variation in diacritics from Tigchelaar's proposal, and a fresh translation:

1]ו֯ר֯ו֯ח֯[ ]ט֯מ֯[[27]
2]גזל ורוח תוֹפלהׄ[[28]
3]ורוח בוז ואגרוף רשׁע֯[
4]אׄלה שמות֯ רוחות ה[
5]ח֯ושך[29] ונק֯ל֯ׄ[ ]הׄ בכול֯ׄ[
6]ע֯ם כול פוֹעל֯ׄ[י] אין עד֯[
7]אש *vacat* [
bottom margin

1]and a (or: the) spirit of imp[urity (or: unclean spirit)
2]robbery and a spirit of insolence[
3]and a spirit of contempt and a wicked fist[
4]these are names of the spirits[
5]darkness and you will be cursed[30] in all[
6]with all doer[s] of iniquity until[
7] fire *vacat* [
bottom margin

The questions of interest to us are, first, the material relationship of 4Q230 1 to those manuscripts of the Community Rule that have preserved the text of the Treatise, and, secondly, the relationship of 4Q230 to the work of the Community Rule. For the preparation of a critical edition of

26. Ibid., 530.

27. Tigchelaar transcribes this as ו֯ר֯ו֯ח֯[ות ה]ט֯מ֯[אה ("Catalogue of Spirits," 134). There is no trace of the *he* on the material remains of the skin. Tigchelaar first read this line as [ו֯ר֯ו֯ח֯[ות]ט֯מ֯[אות ("These Are the Names," 531), thus seeing no linguistic analogy with the reading of רוח טמאה in 11Q5 19:15. Tigchelaar later changed his reading on the grounds that the feminine morpheme ending ות- is not visible on the skin (see PAM 41.712). The material evidence does not permit one to decide whether רוח is in a construct relationship with the nominal form טמאה (compare Zech 13:2; 4QIncantation [4Q444] 1–4 + 5, 8) or in an adjectival relationship with טמא (compare 11Q5 19:15). In either case, the determinative marker could have been used under specific conditions.

28. See 4Q525 14 ii 28 for the only other occurrence of this syntagm in our Hebrew corpora.

29. PAM 41.712 preserves a slight trace of the *khet*.

30. See discussion below on the problem with this translation.

the Community Rule, answers to these questions are crucial, for they will determine where and how in the critical edition the material evidence of 4Q230 is presented. On the one hand, if 4Q230 is deemed to be a text representing the Treatise, even if at a different point of textual history than the other manuscripts attesting to the Treatise, then it would seem logical to present 4Q230 in a parallel column to the text of the Treatise. On the other hand, if 4Q230 is determined not to be related to the work of the Treatise, then its textual readings should not parallel the Treatise. In that case, it would be better to treat 4Q230 in the commentary, or perhaps in textual notes on the Treatise.

As suggested by Tigchelaar, the words in line 4, "these are the names of the spirits (אלה שמו̊ת רוחות)," are central for the interpretation of the fragment. He is likely correct in presuming that they formed "a conclusion of a list or enumeration" of the spirits as opposed to a heading introducing such a list, for the words "you will be cursed" in line 5 may belong to a new section, if Tigchelaar's assumption that ונק̊ל̊[ ]ה̇ should be reconstructed as ונקל[ות]ה is correct.[31] An alternative reconstruction, ונקל[ית]ה, "and you are despised," would not necessarily presume the beginning of a new section.[32] One has to keep in mind that 4Q230 1—along the lines of our definition of a fragment discussed above—presents us with incomplete textual data. Tigchelaar himself points out that "we have no way of telling the length of the lines, and the amount of text missing between the end of line 4 רוחות ה[and the beginning of line 5]ח̊ושך, or whether the latter word belongs to the same sentence as line 4, or with the curse of line

31. Tigchelaar, "These Are the Names," 533.

32. Any reconstruction of the extant characters ונק̊ל̊[ ]ה̇—whether one surmises ונקל[ות]ה or ונקל[ית]ה—encounters some problems. Tigchelaar reads ונקל[ות]ה and translates "and cursed are you." The issue is on what grounds we can understand the root קלל* in the *niphal* to communicate the idea of "be cursed." Usually, this meaning is communicated with the *piel*—this would be the only occurrence of the idea "be cursed" in the *niphal*. Perhaps the root here is קלה*, in which case the reconstruction would be ונקליתה (*niphal*, pf., 2nd masc. sg.). This reconstruction would be better translated as "and you are despised." The problem with this reading, of course, is that we have no comparative philological data using the root קלה* in such a list as appears here in 4Q230. But it should also be noted that in the Treatise of 1QS there are no occurrences of קלל or the synonymous terms for cursing, such as זעם and ארר. Regarding a possible section break, the presence of a *vacat* in line 5, as suggested by Tigchelaar, is not entirely clear. The space is not markedly larger than word spaces elsewhere in the fragment.

5."[33] Significant for our analysis is the observation that no direct parallel to these words occurs in any of the manuscripts of the Community Rule.

Yet the fragment has significant linguistic and conceptual affinities with the Treatise in the Community Rule. If the text of line 1 (טׄמׄ[ ]וׄרׄוׄחׄ[, "an unclean spirit" or "spirit of impurity") introduces the following list of vices in lines 3 and 4, then the vices listed, including "a spirit of robbery" ([רוח] גזל), "a spirit of insolence" (ורוח תוׄפלהׄ), and "a wicked fist" (אגרוף רשׂע) are assorted manifestations of the "spirit of impurity." A similar passage is attested in the Treatise of 1QS. Following a notice that "these are the spirits of truth and falsehood" (הנה רוחות האמת והעול) in 1QS 3:18–19 is a list of virtues and vices detailing the behavioral manifestations (see 1QS 4:2) between the two spirits and humankind (see 1QS 3:17–18).

Additional similarities between 4Q230 1 and the Treatise involve shared lexical items. For example, the word חושך concludes a sentence in 4Q230 1 5, and אש occurs in close proximity.[34] In the list of vices related to רוח עולה (1QS 4:9), 1QS 4:11 includes the word חושך similarly near the end of a clause and in close proximity to אש (1QS 4:13). Since there is no way to determine the length of lines in 4Q230 1, it is difficult to determine the extent of this potential parallel to 1QS 4:9–14, which reads as follows:[35]

> 9 *vacat* ולרוח עולה רחוב נפש ושפול ידים בעבודת צדק רשע ושקר גוה ורום לבב כחש ורמיה אכזרי 10 ורוב חנף קצור אפים ורוב אולת וקנאת זדון מעשי תועבה ברוח זנות ודרכי נדה בעבודת טמאה 11 ולשון גדופים עורון עינים וכבוד אוזן קושי עורף וכיבוד לב ללכת בכול דרכי <u>חושך</u> וערמת רוע ופקודת 12 כול הולכי בה לרוב נגוֿעים ביד כול מלאכי חבל לשחת עולמים באף עברת אל נקמוׄת לזעות נצח וחרפת 13 עד עם כלמת כלה ב<u>אש</u> מחשכים וכול קציהם לדורותם באבל יגון ורעת מרורים בהויֿות חושך עד 14 כלותם לאין שרית ופליטה למו

> 9 To the spirit of injustice belong greed, slackness in the service of righteousness, wickedness and falsehood, pride and haughtiness, lying and deceit, cruelty 10 and great hypocrisy, impatience and abundant folly,

33. Tigchelaar, "These Are the Names," 534.

34. It needs to be kept in mind, however, that there may be a literary shift and a beginning of a new section with the word ונקׄלׄ[ ]הׄ in 4Q230 1 5, as Tigchelaar has suggested (ibid., 533–34).

35. Transcription by Sarianna Metso and James Tucker. Translation by Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, CCWJCW 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 99.

> zeal for insolence, abominable deeds committed in a spirit of lust, impure ways in the service of uncleanness, 11 a blaspheming tongue, blind eyes, a deaf ear, a stiff neck, a stubborn heart causing a man to walk in all the ways of <u>darkness</u>, and an evil cunning. The visitation 12 of all those who walk in it will be abundant chastisements at the hand of all the destroying angels, eternal destruction brought about by the anger of the avenging wrath of God, perpetual terror, and everlasting shame 13 with the ignominy of destruction in the <u>fires</u> of darkness. And all the times of their generations (will be spent) in sorrowful mourning and bitter distress in the abysses of darkness until 14 they are destroyed without remnant or survivor for them.

In his assessment of 4Q230, Tigchelaar considers the manuscript as "related" to the Treatise of the Two Spirits. He draws attention to the fact that the Treatise is "commonly regarded as pre-sectarian," and much of the vocabulary reminiscent of the Treatise is not attested elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus.[36] Although Tigchelaar does not specify how he envisions the related relationship between the two, it seems that he does not conceive it to be close enough to qualify 4Q230 as a *copy* of the Treatise, but rather as belonging to a work containing lexically similar material with an indirect literary relationship at most. Such a conclusion is entirely reasonable and, in light of the scant evidence, perhaps the only plausible one.

The evidence of 4QS[a], however, provides an analogy so close to the case we find in 4Q230 1 that some additional consideration is warranted. While the first two preserved fragments of 4QS[a] present material paralleling sections preceding the Treatise (1QS 1:1–5 and 3:7–12), a third fragment, named "Frag. A" and labeled as "unidentified" by Alexander and Vermes, contains vocabulary similar to the Treatise without presenting a direct parallel.[37] When assessing the material evidence of 4Q230, one has to keep open the possibility that it is perhaps only an accident of preservation that determines our classification of one manuscript (4QS[a]) as a copy of the Community Rule but the other (4Q230) as belonging to an entirely different work. It is difficult to get around this problem. Unfortunately, an

36. Tigchelaar, "These Are the Names," 537.

37. Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, eds. *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, DJD 26 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 36–37. It is possible that the text forms a shorter and divergent version of 1QS 3:20–25 (Metso, *Textual Development*, 20–21, 91).

assessment of how much text preceded 4Q230 1 and whether any material paralleling 1QS 1:1–3:12 was present in the scroll of 4Q230 is not possible—the surviving text of 4Q230 is insufficient to attempt a physical reconstruction of the scroll. Tigchelaar considers the vocabulary of 4Q230 fragments 8, 9, and 12 also reminiscent of the Treatise, but not enough text has survived to form an impression of their contents.

At the theoretical level, then, an editor has to reckon with at least three possibilities when assessing the evidence of 4Q230 1 and its relationship to the Treatise: (1) the fragment belonged to a work that uses vocabulary similar to the Treatise but is not a copy of the Treatise; (2) the fragment does represent the Treatise but perhaps at a stage of textual history when the Treatise was still a stand-alone work and not part of the Community Rule; and (3) the fragment does represent the Treatise and was part of the composition of the Community Rule, but presents a variant version for the Treatise, similar to the case of 4QS$^{b, d}$, which present a shorter version for 1QS 5–6. If one considers the likely sociohistorical contexts of 4Q230, yet a fourth, and a very real, possibility presents itself: 4Q230 and the Treatise in 1QS may have been connected through oral tradition. Matthew Driscoll, although discussing different and much later manuscripts, describes this scenario well: "Occasionally [the] versions are so different that it is impossible to imagine how they could go back to a single original, and here it has been customary to see them as representing separate manifestations of an underlying (oral) tradition. In other cases it is necessary to speak of separate works treating similar material, rather than of separate versions of a single work."[38]

6. Conclusion

The work of an editor often requires painfully felt compromises between theoretical considerations and practical decisions. Within the confines of a single chapter, a detailed discussion of all relevant material possibly relating to the Treatise is not possible, but our discussion of 4Q230 should illuminate the complexities facing an editor dealing with manuscripts from Qumran. As we imagine the textual history of the Community Rule, the evidence shows that it was highly dynamic, and it is important to reckon with all conceivable possibilities of development. The textual, and likely

38. Driscoll, "Words on the Page," 87.

also oral, discourses that underlie the material remains of the Qumran library are manifestations of the communicative and cognitive processes of ancient Jewish scribes. While a modern editor is necessarily bound by the physical artifact, Cerquiglini's words are worth remembering: "Occasionally, the fact that one [scribal] hand was the first was probably less important than this continual rewriting of a work that belonged to whoever prepared it and gave it form once again."[39]

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39. Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, 33.

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The Text of the Book of Jeremiah according to Barkhi Nafshi and the Rule of Benedictions

Armin Lange

1. Introduction

Peter Flint was well known for his text-critical studies on various biblical Dead Sea scrolls. After he passed away too young, I miss his enthusiasm for the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the ancient biblical texts. In the spirit of this enthusiasm, Peter repeatedly expressed interest in my work on textual criticism of Jeremiah quotations in the Dead Sea Scrolls. A study on the textual criticism of the use of Jeremiah in two Essene poetic works from the Qumran library—that is, Barkhi Nafshi and the Rule of Benedictions—is hence a fitting tribute in appreciation of his achievements and hopefully serves to preserve his memory. My contribution to Peter's memorial volume is a sequel to a similar study on the use of Jeremiah in the Hodayot and completes my text-critical analysis of the use of Jeremiah in Essene poetic texts. For methodological considerations, as well as the classification and identification of intertextual references, the reader is referred to my earlier study.[1]

1. Armin Lange, "The Textual History of the Book Jeremiah in Light of Its Allusions and Implicit Quotations in the Qumran Hodayot," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 251–84; see also Lange, "The Text of Jeremiah in the War Scroll from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Nóra Dávid et al., FRLANT 239 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 95–116; see also Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, JAJSup 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 15–48.

2. Barkhi Nafshi

Since the editio princeps of 4QBarkhiNafshi[a-e] (4Q434–38), not many studies have been published on the collection of songs called Barkhi Nafshi.[2] Manuscript deterioration impairs the analysis of this collection of songs. From a perspective of genre, the individual songs can be described as hymns, and Barkhi Nafshi as a collection of hymns.[3] The Barkhi Nafshi hymns are similar to what is collected in the Hodayot but are introduced characteristically with ברכי נפשי את אדוני (4QBarkhiNafshi[a] [4Q434] 1 i 1 and 4QBarkhiNafshi[d] [4Q437] 1 1). The opening is inspired by Pss 103:1–2, 22, and 104:1, 35. The date and milieu of Barkhi Nafshi are difficult to assess. The phrase "your chosen ones" (4QBarkhiNafshi[e] [4Q438] 3 2; see also Ps 106:5) reminds of similar self-descriptions by members of the Essene movement. Divine epithets like אדוני (4QBarkhiNafshi[a] [4Q434] 1 i 1; 4QBarkhiNafshi[b] [4Q435] 3 4; 4QBarkhiNafshi[d] [4Q437] 1 1; 2 i 13, 14, 15) and עליון (4QBarkhiNafshi[a] [4Q434] 2 10; 4QBarkhiNafshi[e] [4Q438] 6 2) are known from other Essene texts such as the Hodayot as well. While the evidence remains inconclusive, the literary ductus and thought of Barkhi Nafshi make an Essene origin of this collection likely.[4] Given a probable Essene origin, a date between 150 BCE and 68 CE is likely. This time window can be narrowed somewhat by the paleographic date of 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) as the earliest preserved Barkhi Nafshi manuscript. Its hand is described as "late Hasmonean or early Herodian formal" by the editio princeps.[5] The paleographic date of 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) requires thus a *terminus ante quem* in the second half of the first century BCE. The use of Dan 4:24(27) in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 3 requires a *terminus post quem* around the middle

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2. The editio princeps is that of Moshe Weinfeld and David R. Seely, "Barkhi Nafshi," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, Esther G. Chazon et al., DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 255–334. For a survey, see Mika S. Pajunen, "From Poetic Structure to Historical Setting: Exploring the Background of the Barkhi Nafshi Hymns," in Penner, Penner, and Wassen, *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 355–76, esp. 355–57.

3. See Pajunen, "Poetic Structure."

4. See David R. Seeley, "The Barki Nafshi Texts (4Q434–439)," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Stephen D. Ricks, STDJ 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 211–13; Seeley, "Barkhi Nafshi," *EDSS* 1:76–77, esp. 77.

5. Weinfeld and Seeley, "Barkhi Nafshi," 327.

of the second century BCE. At least in the case of some of the better preserved songs, the anthological style so familiar from the Hodayot can be observed in Barkhi Nafshi as well. Examples include the pastiche of intertextual references to the books of Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, and Daniel in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1–14 discussed below.[6]

2.1. The Text of Jeremiah in Barkhi Nafshi

With two implicit allusions (Jer 27:12 [34:10] in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] [4Q438] 3 3 and Jer 33[40]:6 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] [4Q434] 1 i 9) and one implicit quotation (Jer 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] [4Q434] 1 i 1), Barkhi Nafshi preserves a total of eleven words of ancient Jeremiah text.[7] In some cases, Barkhi Nafshi changes its anterior text significantly while incorporating it (Jer 27:12 [34:10] in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] [4Q438] 3 3), while in others it stays as close as possible to its anterior text, only substituting for difficult-to-understand rhetoric (Jer 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] [4Q434] 1 i 1; Jer 33[40]:6 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] [4Q434] 1 i 9).

The textual affiliation of the Jeremiah text used in Barkhi Nafshi leans toward Jeremiah MT. The variant list below demonstrates that Barkhi Nafshi reads two times with Jeremiah MT against Jeremiah LXX and two further times with a part of the Masoretic Text tradition against the majority of the Jeremiah MT manuscripts. Although not enough evidence is preserved for any statistically valid conclusions, it can be summarized that no reading against the whole of the masoretic textual tradition of Jeremiah is preserved in Barkhi Nafshi.

Jer 20:13
4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 נפש; cf. MT[Kenn30]] MT אֶת־נֶפֶשׁ

Jer 27:12
4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 בעולך with MT בְּעֹל and Sir 51:26 (בעלה)] > LXX (cf. Bar 2:21)

6. See below, at 2.1.

7. References to Jeremiah in square brackets refer to Jeremiah LXX.

Jer 27:12

4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 וצוארי MT[Kenn30] צואריכם; cf. Sir 51:26 (וצואריכם)] MT אֶת־צַוְּארֵיכֶם

Jer 33:6

4QBarkhi Nafshi[b] (4Q434) 1 i 9 ויגל לֹהֹם תֹּוֹרֹות שלום ואמת; cf. MT וּרְפָאתִים וְגִלֵּיתִי לָהֶם עֲתֶרֶת שָׁלוֹם וֶאֱמֶת] LXX *καὶ φανερώσω αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰατρεύσω αὐτὴν καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ πίστιν*

2.2. Jeremiah 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1

> ברכי נפשי את אדוני מֹעל כול נפלאותיו עד עולם וברוך שמו כי הציל נפש אביון ואת 2 ענו לא בזא ולא שכח צרת דלים
>
> Bless, oh my soul, the Lord because of all his wonders forever. And blessed be his name because he has delivered the soul of the poor, and 2 neither did he despise the humble nor did he forget the distress of the helpless. (Jer 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshia [4Q434] 1 i 1)[8]
>
> שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה הַלְלוּ אֶת־יְהוָה כִּי הִצִּיל אֶת־נֶפֶשׁ אֶבְיוֹן מִיַּד מְרֵעִים׃
>
> Sing for the Lord, praise the Lord, because he has delivered the soul of the poor out of the hand of the evildoers. (Jer 20:13 MT)
>
> *ᾄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ, αἰνέσατε αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐξείλατο ψυχὴν πένητος ἐκ χειρὸς πονηρευομένων.*
>
> Sing to the Lord, praise him, because he has delivered the soul of the poor out (the) hand of the (evildoers). (Jer 20:13 LXX)

With four words in exact verbal parallel, the employment of Jer 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 qualifies as an implicit quotation because the four words כי הציל נפש אביון occur in prerabbinic Hebrew literature only in these two references.[9] The likelihood of an implicit quotation of Jer 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 increases even more when it is recognized that both texts represent calls to praise God. The implicit quotation of Jer 20:13 is actually the first of a long list of intertextual

8. Single underlining marks an overlap with 4QBarkhi Nafshi[d] [4Q437] 1 1–2. Gray shading indicates portions of text derived from Jeremiah. All translations are my own.

9. See Weinfeld and Seeley, "Barkhi Nafshi," 273.

employments in the song 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1–14. This song even includes one more intertextual reference to the book of Jeremiah:[10]

	4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434)
Jer 20:13	1 i 1
Ps 34(33):16	1 i 2–3
Prov 14:21	1 i 3
Dan 4:24(27)	1 i 3
Isa 50:4	1 i 3–4 // 4QBarkhi Nafshi[b] (4Q435) 1 1
Deut 10:16	1 i 4
Isa 42:16	1 i 9 // 4QBarkhi Nafshi[b] (4Q435) 1 8
Jer 33(40):6	1 i 9
Job 28:25	1 i 10
Ps 34(33):8	1 i 12

The anthological character and repeated employment of Jeremiah in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1–14 provide additional corroboration for an implicit allusion to Jer 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1.

In the part of Jer 20:13 that is quoted in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1, no textual differences between Jeremiah MT and Jeremiah LXX occur. With one exception, neither orthographic nor textual differences can be found between Jer 20:13 and 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1. The only difference between Jer MT 20:13 MT and 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 is that the former reads אֶת־נֶפֶשׁ, while the latter has only נפש. In this reading, 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 is supported by MT[Kenn30]. Because 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 employs the object marker את two times in one line alone, and because this object marker is attested twelve times in the Barkhi Nafshi manuscripts from Qumran,[11] it is unlikely that the author of the song 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1–14 deleted it out of his implicit quotation of Jer 20:13. It is more likely that the implicit quotation of 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 preserves an original reading that is attested by at least one medieval masoretic manuscript as well. Early on in the scribal tradition of the (proto-)

10. See Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 265.

11. Martin G. Abegg Jr., James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 114.

Masoretic Text of Jeremiah, a scribe added the object marker את to the word נפש in adjustment with the אֶת־יְהוָה at the beginning of the verse. Because the same phenomenon occurs also in the allusion to Jer 27:12 (34:10) in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 (cf. Sir 51:26 and MT[Kenn30]), and because MT[Kenn30] lacks the object marker את also in Jer 20:15, it needs to be asked if the proto-Masoretic Text of Jeremiah underwent a linguistic revision in the course of which the object marker את was added systematically in various places of the book. That 4QJer[a] (4Q70) attests already in the third century BCE to the object marker את in Jer 20:15 makes an answer to this question all the more difficult. Only a detailed study of MT[Kenn30] could provide an answer. But such an investigation goes beyond the scope of the present study. Kennicott describes the textual quality of this manuscript as "*intermedio*."[12] For the question of the textual affiliation of Barkhi Nafshi's Jeremiah text, it remains important to note that 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 reads in Jer 20:13 with a part of the (proto-)masoretic textual tradition of Jeremiah against the majority of the Jeremiah MT manuscripts.

2.3. Jeremiah 33(40):6 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 9

> ויתן לפניהם מחשכים לאור ומעקשים למישור ויגל לֹהֹם תֹוֹרוֹת שלום ואמת[...]
> And he put before them dark places into light and rough places into uprightness and he revealed to them laws of peace and truth. (4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] [4Q434] 1 i 9)
>
> הִנְנִי מַעֲלֶה־לָּהּ אֲרֻכָה וּמַרְפֵּא וּרְפָאתִים וְגִלֵּיתִי לָהֶם עֲתֶרֶת שָׁלוֹם וֶאֱמֶת׃
> Behold, I will bring up to it recovery and healing and I will heal them and I will reveal to them an abundance of peace and trust. (Jer 33:6 MT)
>
> *Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀνάγω αὐτῇ συνούλωσιν καὶ ἴαμα καὶ φανερώσω αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰατρεύσω αὐτὴν καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην καὶ πίστιν.*
> Behold, I am bringing it complete healing and healing and I will reveal to them and I will heal it and I will make for them peace and trust. (Jer 40:6 LXX)

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12. *Plurimas habet variationes praestabilis hic codex; et scriptus videtur circa an. 1200. De charactere codicis hujus intermedio* (Benjamin Kennicott, *Dissertatio Generalis in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum: Cum variis lectionibus ex codicibus manuscriptis et impressis* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1780], 74).

The four parallel words between 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9 and Jer 33(40):6 leave little doubt about the employment of the latter text in the former. That three out of these four words, that is, להם, שלום, and ואמת, agree with each other in grammar, morphology, and orthography corroborates the use of Jer 33(40):6 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9. The likelihood of such an intertextual dependency becomes even greater when it is seen that not only is Jer 20:13 employed in 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 1 but that the whole song 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 1–14 is a pastiche of such intertextual references (see above).

That 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9 reads ויגל against the וְגִלֵּיתִי of Jeremiah MT (cf. Jeremiah LXX: *καὶ φανερώσω αὐτοῖς*) and ת֯ו֯ר֯ות against the עֲתֶרֶת of Jeremiah MT suggests an implicit allusion to Jer 33(40):6 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 1 rather than an implicit quotation.

The two textual differences between Jer 33:6 MT and 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9 mentioned above do not go back to variant readings in the anterior text of 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9 but are alternations for which the author of the song 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 1-14 is responsible. He changed the first-person singular *qal* perfect of the verb גלה in Jer 33(40):6 to a third-person *vav* imperfect of the same verb and stem, because he speaks of God in his song in the third-person and not in the first-person as Jer 33(40):6 does. 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9 praises God furthermore for deeds he already did in the past, while Jer 33(40):6 prophesies the future salvation of Jerusalem and Judah. 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9 uses therefore a *vav* imperfect as opposed to the *perfectum propheticum* of Jer 33:6 MT.

That 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9 speaks of ת֯ו֯ר֯ות ("laws") instead of עֲתֶרֶת ("abundance") also does not hint to a variant reading in the Jeremiah text underlying 4QBarkhi Nafshi^{a} (4Q434) 1 i 9. עֲתֶרֶת is a *hapax legomenon* in prerabbinic Hebrew literature.[13] The ת֯ו֯ר֯ות of 4QBarkhi

13. John M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 51 reads in 4QpPs^{b} (4Q173) 1 4 ע[תרות. Horgan reconstructs this text with more likelihood, though, as נס[תרות; see Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretation of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 227; Horgan, "Psalm Pesher 3 (4Q173 = 4QpPs^{b} = 4QpPs 118, 127, 129)," in *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, vol. 6B of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 32.

Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 9 should be understood as an interpretative linguistic actualization of the difficult-to-understand *hapax legomenon* in Jer 33:6 MT rather than a variant reading to עֲתֶרֶת. That עֲתֶרֶת was difficult to understand even in the late Second Temple period could also be confirmed by Jer 40:6 LXX, which reads *καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοῖς* ("and I will make for them") instead of עֲתֶרֶת in Jer 33:6 MT.

The disagreements between Jer 40:6 LXX and Jer 33:6 MT are not restricted to *καὶ ποιήσω αὐτοῖς* instead of עֲתֶרֶת. Jeremiah 40:6 LXX has also a different word sequence when it reads *καὶ φανερώσω αὐτοῖς καὶ ἰατρεύσω αὐτὴν* ("and I will reveal to them and I will heal it") instead of MT's וּרְ־ פָאתִים וְגִלֵּיתִי לָהֶם ("and I will heal them and I will reveal to them"). That 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 9 has ויגל לֹהֹםֹ תֹּוֹרֹות leaves no doubt that in the Jeremiah text it employed the word וּרְפָאתִים preceded וְגִלֵּיתִי rather than following it, like in the parent text of Jeremiah LXX. Hence in its word sequence, 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 9 reads in Jer 33(40):6 with Jeremiah MT against Jeremiah LXX.

2.4. Jeremiah 27:12 (34:10) in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3

[ר]בה וצוארי הביאוֹתי בעולך ומוֹסרֹ]

[m]any. And my neck I will bring under your yoke and discipline. (4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] [4Q438] 3 3)

וצואריכם בעלה הביאו ומשאה תשא נפשכם

Bring your necks under her yoke and your life shall bear her weight. (Sir 51:36 MS B)

τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν, καὶ ἐπιδεξάσθω ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν παιδείαν.

Place your neck under a yoke and have your soul accept instruction. (Sir 51:26 LXX)

וְאֶל־צִדְקִיָּה מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה דִּבַּרְתִּי כְּכָל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לֵאמֹר הָבִיאוּ אֶת־צַוְּארֵיכֶם בְּעֹל מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל וְעִבְדוּ אֹתוֹ וְעַמּוֹ וִחְיוּ

And to Zedekiah, the king of Babel, I spoke according to all these words saying: Bring your necks under the yoke of the king of Babel and serve him and as his people live. (Jer 27:12 MT)

> Καὶ πρὸς Σεδεκίαν βασιλέα Ιουδα ἐλάλησα κατὰ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τούτους λέγων Εἰσαγάγετε τὸν τράχηλον ὑμῶν καὶ ἐργάσασθε τῷ βασιλεῖ Βαβυλῶνος.
> And to Zedekiah, the king of Judah, I spoke according to all these words, saying: Move your neck and serve the king of Babylon. (Jer 34:10 LXX)

Together, the three words צואר ("neck"), על ("yoke"), and בוא (*hiphil*) occur in prerabbinic Hebrew literature only in Jer 27:12 MT; Sir 51:26,[14] and 4QBarkhi Nafshi^e (4Q438) 3 3. In Greek Jewish literature, a further employment of Jer 34:10 LXX (Jer 27:12 MT) can be found in Bar 2:21. An allusion of Barkhi Nafshi to Sir 51:26 is unlikely, because both texts have a different word sequence that is in both cases distinct from Jer 27:12 MT. Furthermore, Barkhi Nafshi mentions the word ומוסר ("and discipline"), which is lacking in Sir 51:26. It is hard to imagine that it would have employed this term in allusion to Sir 51:26, because Ben Sira uses the metaphor of the yoke to recommend that the untutored one put his neck under the yoke of wisdom so that he may gain sapiential education. Thus, Sir 51:26 employed Jer 27:12 MT most likely with a meaning rather close to the one in 4QBarkhi Nafshi^e (4Q438) 3 3 but in a different rhetoric. The most plausible explanation for the evidence is that Sir 51:26 and 4QBarkhi Nafshi^e (4Q438) 3 3 employed Jer 27:12 MT independently from each other. The differences between Jer 27:12 MT and 4QBarkhi Nafshi^e (4Q438) 3 3 in grammatical number and word sequence classify Barkhi Nafshi's employment of Jer 27:12 MT as an implicit allusion.

Most of the textual difference between Jer 27:12 MT and 4QBarkhi Nafshi^e (4Q438) 3 3 go back to changes Barkhi Nafshi made in its posterior text. 4QBarkhi Nafshi^e (4Q438) 3 3 reads וצוארי ("my neck") instead of צַוְּארֵיכֶם ("your necks"), בעולך ("under your yoke") instead of בְּעֹ֣ל ("under the yoke of"), and הביא֯תי ("I will bring") instead of הָבִיאוּ ("bring") because a praying person makes a promise to God in Barkhi Nafshi, while the prophet Jeremiah reprimands the Judeans to serve the king of Babylon. Barkhi Nafshi uses the service demanded for the king of Babylon in Jer 27:12 as a more general metaphor to promise service to God. Therefore, 4QBarkhi Nafshi^e (4Q438) 3 3 uses the first-person suf-

14. For the use of Jer 27:12 MT in Sir 51:26, see Armin Lange, "The Book of Jeremiah in the Hebrew and Greek Texts of Ben Sira," in *Making the Biblical Text: Textual Studies in the Hebrew and Greek Bible*, ed. Innocent Himbaza, OBO 273 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 147–49.

fixes and affixes as well as a singular noun and a *hiphil* perfect form in וצוארי and הביאֺתי instead of a second-person plural suffix and a *hiphil* imperative.[15] Furthermore, as the praying person promises his servitude to God, 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 speaks of "your yoke" (בעולך) and not of the yoke of the king of Babylon. Why 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 reads an additional *vav copulativum* (וצוארי instead of צַוְּארֵיכֶם)—different from both Jer 27:12 MT and Jer 34:10 LXX—is difficult to say, because most of the immediate context of 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 is lost to manuscript deterioration. That צוארי הביאֺתי בעולך ("and my neck I will bring under your yoke") is followed by ומֺוסֺר ("and discipline") makes it likely, though, that וצוארי הביאֺתי בעולך was only one promise in a chain of further assurances.

The spelling בעולך is peculiar. In its immediate context, 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 2–3 uses the characteristic morphology and plene spellings of the so-called Qumran orthography.[16] While the use of the mater lectionis *vav* certainly agrees with the plene spellings of the so-called Qumran orthography, the morphology of בעולך does not, because it spells the suffix of the second-person singular masculine not as כה- but as ך-. It is hence interesting to note that MT[Kenn2, 72, 89, 112, 115, 150, 154, 158, 246, 253, 258, 260, 264] read בעול as well. It seems possible, though far from certain, that the author of Barkhi Nafshi copied the orthography of its anterior text when employing Jer 27:12 MT. Alternatively, a copyist of Barkhi Nafshi might have recognized the implicit allusion to Jer 27:12 (34:10) and adjusted בעולך to its spelling in Jeremiah MT.

In two further cases, Barkhi Nafshi reads in Jer 27:12 with Jeremiah MT, or at least with a part of the masoretic textual tradition.

(1) 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 knows the word בעולך, which corresponds with בְּעֹל in Jer 27:12 MT but has no equivalent in Jer 34:10 LXX.

(2) As Sir 51:26 (see above), 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 does not know the object marker את as compared to Jer 27:12 MT (אֶת־צַוְּארֵיכֶם). Hence in Jer 27:12, 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 and Sir 51:26 agree with MT[Kenn30]. The lack of this object marker is all the more significant because the same phenomenon was observed in the implicit quotation of Jer 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 and because Abegg, Bowley, and Cook

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15. That Jer 34:10 LXX has the singular form *τράχηλον* should thus be regarded as a coincidence.

16. נדיביכה, ובבחיריכה, לוא, and הביאֺתי. For the הביאֺתי, see Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), §316.6.

list twelve attestations to the object marker את in the Barkhi Nafshi manuscripts from Qumran.[17] Hence it seems likely, though not certain, that Jer 27:12 MT$^{\text{Kenn30}}$ preserves an ancient reading that is now confirmed by 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 and Sir 51:26, that is, צוארים instead of MT's אֶת־צַוְּארֵיכֶם. This ancient reading could very well be more original than MT's אֶת־צַוְּארֵיכֶם because the use of the object marker in Jer 27:12 MT can easily be explained as a later harmonization with the אֶת־צַוָּארוֹ in Jer 27:11 MT.

3. The Rule of Benedictions (1QSb)

The Rule of Benedictions is only attested as the last part of the collective manuscript 1Q28. As part of this collective manuscript, it is designated as 1QSb. Its Essene origin is reflected in its employment of the typical rhetoric and terminology of this group, such as יחד ("community").[18] Also pointing to an Essene origin is evidence that the Rule of Benedictions seems to adhere to the idea of two messiahs, that is, a priestly and a Davidic one.[19] The paleographic date of 1Q28 (100–75 BCE) sets the *terminus ante quem* around 100 BCE, while the *terminus post quem* is the founding of the Essene movement by the Teacher of Righteousness in the middle of the second century BCE.[20] "The entire Rule of Benedictions is a set of hymns to be recited as part of the mustering ceremony held in the end of days."[21]

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17. For the citation of Jer 20:13 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434), see above, at 2.1. For the object marker את in the Barkhi Nafshi manuscripts, see Abegg, Bowley, and Cook, *Non-Biblical Texts*, 114.

18. For the Essene origin of 1QSb, see, e.g., James H. Charlesworth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Blessings (1QSb)," in *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 121; Casey D. Elledge, "The Prince of the Congregation: Qumran 'Messianism' in the Context of Milḥāmâ," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael T. Davis and Brent A. Strawn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 185.

19. For the two Messiah teaching of the Rule of Benediction, see first Józef T. Milik, "Recueil des Bénédictions (1QSb)," in *Qumran Cave 1*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 121–22, 128–29.

20. For the paleographic date of 1Q28, see Frank M. Cross, introduction to *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll; the Order of the Community; the Pesher to Habakkuk*, ed. Frank M. Cross, David N. Freedman, and James A. Sanders (Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, 1972), 1–5.

21. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls:*

3.1. Jer 31(38):31 in 1QSb (1Q28b) 3:26 and 5:21?

יברככה אדוני מ[מעון קו]דשו וישימכה מכלול הדר בתוך 26 קדושים
וברית כהונתֿ [עולם יח]דש לכה ויתנכה מקומֿכהֿ [במעון] 27 קודש
May the Lord bless you from[the dwelling of] his holiness. May he set you splendidly and in the middle 26 of the holy ones. And [may he re]new the covenant of [eternal] priesthood for you and may he put your place [in a dwelling] 27 of holiness. (1Q28b [1QSb] 3:26)[22]

[גבור]תו ובריתֿ הֿ[י]חֿד יחדש לו להקים מלכות עמו לעול[ם
his [migh]t. And the covenant of the community he will renew for him to establish the kingdom of his people forever. (1QSb [1Q28b] 5:21)

הִנֵּ֛ה יָמִ֥ים בָּאִ֖ים נְאֻם־יְהוָ֑ה וְכָרַתִּ֗י אֶת־בֵּ֧ית יִשְׂרָאֵ֛ל וְאֶת־בֵּ֥ית יְהוּדָ֖ה בְּרִ֥ית חֲדָשָֽׁה׃
Behold, days will come, utterance of the Lord, when I will make with the house of Israel and the house of Judah a new covenant. (Jer 31:31 MT)

Ἰδοὺ ἡμέραι ἔρχονται, φησὶ κύριος, καὶ διαθήσομαι τῷ οἴκῳ Ισραηλ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ Ιουδα διαθήκην καινήν.
Behold, days will come, says the Lord, and I will make with the house of Israel and the house of Judah a new covenant. (Jer 38:31 LXX)

וְהָ֤יְתָה לּוֹ֙ וּלְזַרְע֣וֹ אַחֲרָ֔יו בְּרִ֖ית כְּהֻנַּ֣ת עוֹלָ֑ם תַּ֗חַת אֲשֶׁ֤ר קִנֵּא֙ לֵֽאלֹהָ֔יו וַיְכַפֵּ֖ר עַל־בְּנֵ֥י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל׃
And it shall be for him and for his offspring after him a covenant of eternal priesthood because he was zealous for his God and made atonement for the sons of Israel. (Num 25:13 MT)

καὶ ἔσται αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ μετ’ αὐτὸν διαθήκη ἱερατείας αἰωνία, ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐζήλωσεν τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξιλάσατο περὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ.
It shall be for him and for his offspring after him a covenant of eternal priesthood because he was zealous for his God and made atonement for the sons of Israel. (Num 25:13 LXX)

ותֿ[תנ]ם להבדל לך לקודש מכול העמים ותחדש בריתך להם במראת
כבֿ[ו]ד ודברי

A Study of the Rule of the Congregation, SBLMS 38 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 76.

22. Parallels with 1QLit Prayer$^{a–b}$ (1Q34 + 34bis) 3 ii 6 // 4QpapPrFêtes^{c} (4Q509) 97–98 i 8 are highlighted in gray. Parallels with Num 25:13 are underlined.

> And you [established] them in setting them apart for yourself as holy from all the nations. And you renewed your covenant for them in a vision of gl[o]ry and words of … (1QLit Prayer$^{a–b}$ [1Q34 + 34bis] 3 ii 6 // 4QpapPrFêtes^{c} [4Q509] 97–98 i 7–8)[23]

Lange and Weigold regard the mention of a renewing of a covenant in 1QSb 5:21 as an employment of the "New Covenant" in Jer 31(38):31. A similar mention can also be found—albeit partly reconstructed—in 1QSb (1Q28b) 3:26. Given that the self-designation of the Essene predecessor movement as "The New Covenant" developed in the Damascus Document in reminiscence of Jer 31(38):31, such a reminiscence of Jer 31(38):31 cannot be excluded for 1QSb 5:21 either. Another argument for such a reminiscence is that 1QSb 5:20–29 represents a pastiche of intertextual references to various Jewish scriptures and because 1QSb 3:26 employs also Num 25:13.[24]

	1QSb (1Q28b)
Isa 11:4	5:22
Gen 17:1	5:22
Prov 18:10–11	5:23–24
Isa 11:4, 2, 5	5:24–26
Mic 4:13	5:26
2 Sam 22:43 // Ps 18:43	5:27
Mic 7:10	5:27
Zech 9:3	5:27
Zech 10:5	5:27
Num 24:17	5:27

While 1QSb 3:26 and 5:20–29 are thus clearly characterized by the employment of intertextual references, there are also arguments against an employment of Jer 31(38):31 in 1QSb 3:26, 5:21. Although the three

23. Overlaps with 4QpapPrFêtes^{c} (4Q509) 97–98 i 8 are underlined in the transcription.

24. For the following list, see Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 331. In the list below, the possible reminiscence of Jer 31(38):31 in 1QSb 5:21 is not included. For the intertextuality of 1QSb 5:20–29, see also Florentino García Martínez, "Messianische Erwartungen in den Qumranhandschriften," *JBT* 8 (1993): 179.

texts share the idea of a covenant renewal, they express this idea in different ways. Where Jer 31(38):31 employs the adjective חֲדָשָׁה, 1QSb 3:26 and 5:21 use the verbal form יחדש. The same combination of the verb חדש with the noun ברית together with the preposition ל can be found in prerabbinic Hebrew literature only in one other text, that is, the non-Essene liturgical collection called Festival Prayers: ותחדש בריתך, “you renewed your covenant” (1QLitPr$^{a–b}$ [1Q34 + 34bis] 3 ii 6 // 4QpapPrFêtes^{c} [4Q509] 97–98 i 8). Because the Festival Prayers from Qumran and the Rule of Benedictions are the only two preserved prerabbinic texts which use the phrase חדש ברית, it is likely that the Rule of Blessing borrowed this phrase in 1QSb 3:26 and 5:21 from the non-Essene liturgical collection Festival Prayers.[25] This is all the more probable as four copies of Festival Prayers (1Q34 + 34bis; 4Q507–509) have survived until today in the Qumran library. That Festival Prayers alluded vice versa to the Rule of Benedictions is less likely, because there is no evidence for the reception of Essene literature in non-Essene texts. The reminiscence of Jer 31(38):31 in 1QSb 3:26 and 5:21 is thus communicated through an implicit allusion to a liturgical text in the Festival Prayers collection. In Festival Prayers, the phrase ותחדש בריתך, “you renewed your covenant” (1QLitPr$^{a–b}$ [1Q34 + 34bis] 3 ii 6 par 4QpapPrFêtes^{c} [4Q509] 97–98 i 8), is part of a liturgy for the Feast of Weeks describing the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai as a covenant renewal. The Rule of Benedictions understands this covenant renewal on Mount Sinai typologically, and employs the rhetoric of 1QLitPr$^{a–b}$ (1Q34 + 34bis) 3 ii 6 // 4QpapPrFêtes^{c} (4Q509) 97–98 i 8 to describe the eschatological renewal of the priestly covenant with Phineas in 1QSb 3:26, on the one hand, and the eschatological renewal of the Davidic covenant with the messianic prince of the congregation in 1QSb 5:21, on the other hand.[26] For the description of the eschatological renewal of the priestly covenant with Phineas, 1QSb 3:26 blends its implicit allusion to 1QLitPr$^{a–b}$ (1Q34

25. For the non-Essene origin of Festival Prayers, see Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 156–57; James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, ECDSS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 17.

26. For this Messianic title and the Messianic message of 1QSb 5:20–29, see e.g., García Martínez, “Messianische Erwartungen,” 179–80; Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran*, WUNT 2/104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 53–59; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 68–71.

+ 34bis) 3 ii 6 // 4QpapPrFêtes[c] (4Q509) 97–98 i 8 even with an implicit allusion to Num 25:13. The double eschatological typology of the Rule of Benedictions could have very well been inspired by the mention of the eschatological new covenant in Jer 31(38):31.

Given that 1QSb 3:26 and 5:21 employ Jer 31(38):31 only indirectly, this indirect reminiscence is of no text-critical value.

4. Conclusion

While the indirect reminiscence of Jer 31(38):31 in 1QSb 3:26 and 5:21 is of no text-critical use and do not allow for any conclusion as to which Jeremiah text is underlying them, the three employments of Jeremiah in Barki Nafshi are of some importance for the textual history of Jeremiah. The textual affiliation of the Jeremiah text used in Barkhi Nafshi leans toward Jeremiah MT. The variant list on pages 291–92 demonstrates that Barkhi Nafshi reads two times with Jeremiah MT against Jeremiah LXX and two further times with a part of the Masoretic Text tradition against the majority of the Jeremiah MT manuscripts. Although not enough evidence is preserved for any statistically valid conclusions, it can be summarized that no reading against the whole of the masoretic textual tradition of Jeremiah is preserved in Barkhi Nafshi. 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 and 4QBarkhi Nafshi[b] (4Q434) 1 i 9 read in Jer 27:12 and 33:6 with Jeremiah MT against Jeremiah LXX. Especially interesting is that 4QBarkhi Nafshi[a] (4Q434) 1 i 1 and 4QBarkhi Nafshi[e] (4Q438) 3 3 agree in Jer 20:13 and 27:12 with MT[Kenn30] against MT in lacking the object marker אֶת. This observation is all the more important as Sir 51:26 attests to the same reading with its allusion to Jer 27:12. Further investigation of MT[Kenn30] should ask how far this medieval manuscript preserves an ancient Jeremiah text within the wider proto- and semi-Masoretic Text tradition. Barkhi Nafshi tends to read with Jeremiah MT against Jeremiah LXX, which reflects the employments of proto-Masoretic Texts of Jeremiah in other Essene texts.[27]

27. See the literature quoted above in nn. 1 and 2.

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A Text-Critical Study of *Hapax Legomena* in Isaiah MT and the Qumran Isaiah Scrolls

Donald W. Parry

1. Introduction

Biblical Hebrew scholars in the modern era utilize the Greek expression *hapax legomenon* ("once said") to identify unique words in the Hebrew Bible. Of the approximately 1,200–1,500 *hapax legomena* in the Hebrew Bible (the number varies according to scholarly approaches),[1] about nine hundred are decipherable because they possess known and established roots. Approximately four hundred, however, are difficult to interpret. In this paper I will focus on the so-called "absolute" *hapax legomena* in the Masoretic Text of Isaiah and the various Qumran Isaiah scrolls that attest these rare forms (i.e., 1QIsa$^{a–b}$, 4QIsa$^{a–d,\ f–g}$).[2] In the final part of the study, I will examine any text-critical variants that exist among these Hebrew witnesses for Isaiah. A methodical examination of *hapax legomena* in Isaiah's text, which includes an analysis of the Qumran Isaiah Scrolls, has never been conducted.

In memory of Peter W. Flint—a true friend and distinguished scholar; his impact on Dead Sea Scrolls studies will continue for generations!

1. The numbers are difficult to determine. Greenspahn, for instance, calculates: "The Hebrew Bible contains about 300 absolute *hapax legomena* and over 1,200 nonabsolute *hapax legomena*, the present number depending on how you define the term." See Frederick E. Greenspahn, "Words That Occur in the Bible Only Once—How Hard Are They to Translate?," *BRev* 1 (1985): 30.

2. For the definitions of "absolute" and "nonabsolute" *hapax legomena*, see n. 13 below.

2. Masoretic or Rabbinic Expressions That Indicate *hapax legomena*

Medieval rabbinic scholars, including Rashi, Abraham ibn Ezra, Isaiah of Trani, David Qimhi, and Samuel ben Meir, utilized various Hebrew expressions to indicate *hapax legomena*: אין לו, אין לו אח, אין לו חבר, אין לו דמיון, אחות, or אין לו אב ואם.[3] The most common identifier of *hapax legomena* in the masoretic textual tradition is the symbol ל, which is an abbreviation of the Aramaic לית, a particle of nonexistence.[4] Additionally, five medieval Hebrew grammarians examined biblical *hapax legomena*: four of the grammarians followed rabbinical interpretations—Saadiah Gaon, Judah ibn Quraysh, a scholar with an unknown name (שאלו עתיקות), and Judah ben Hayyuj; the fifth was a Karaite grammarian named Menahem ibn Saruq. These grammarians defined *hapax*es rather loosely and often chose words and topics for polemical purposes.[5]

3. Defining *Hapax Legomena*

Defining *hapax legomena* is freighted with various challenges, making it a difficult task. The task is sufficiently laborious that H. R. Cohen dedicated a total of eighteen pages (including endnotes) both to examine previous understandings and then to set forth his own definition.[6] So, too, Frederick Greenspahn committed twelve pages (including footnotes) to the effort of clarifying what a *hapax legomenon* is in terms of the Hebrew Bible.[7]

When determining whether or not an expression is a *hapax legomenon*, there are multiple factors to consider, such as: What are its root letters? Does one consider affixes, for example, prefixes, infixes, and suffixes? What if the *hapax legomenon* appears in a parallel scriptural unit, passage, or pericope? For instance, Ps 18 parallels 2 Sam 22; passages from Chronicles correspond to 1 and 2 Kings; selections from Exod 25–31 are

3. Frederick E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984), 4.

4. For a discussion of the Masoretic symbol ל, see Harold R. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 2, 10, no. 17, and Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena*, 1–4.

5. See Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena*, 3–4.

6. Ibid., 1–18.

7. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena*, 17–29.

akin Exod 35–39, and so forth. In cases where a *hapax legomenon* exists in parallel scriptural units, should one utilize the words *dislegomena*, *trislegomena*, and so forth? What about a rare form that appears twice in the same passage or immediate context, such as צו לצר and קו לקו in Isa 28:10, and again three verses later (28:13)? And what about proper nouns—places and people? But with regard to proper nouns, the chief challenge pertains to the correct identification of certain terms and whether they are proper or common nouns. On occasion there is ambiguity and uncertainty. Greenspahn listed several *hapax legomena* that may be either a proper or common noun: ההרמונה ("Harmon"; Amos 4:3); האזל ("Ezel"; 1 Sam 20:19); סכות and כיון ("Sikkuth" and "Chiun"; Amos 5:26); אחי ("Ehi"; Gen 46:21); האתרים ("Atharim"; Num 21:1); plus there are others.[8]

The challenge of properly identifying *hapax legomena* exists for texts other than the Bible. Three Greek classicists—J. Friedlander, A. Fossum, and M. Petrusevski—defined *hapax legomena* with regard to the writings of Homer, but their definitions are vague, contradictory, and imprecise.[9] Mardaga examined their definitions and then set forth five difficulties involved in defining *hapax legomena* with regard to the Homeric literature. "First, there is the problem of *terminology*.… Second is the problem of delineating the text in which a certain word occurs.… Third, there is a difficulty with *grammatical peculiarities*.… Fourth, should unique meanings of a given word be listed as *hapax legomena*?… Fifth, should we include or omit names from a list of *hapax legomena*?"[10] All five of these difficulties pertain to the identification of *hapax legomena* in the Bible.

With these difficulties in mind, we will now examine modern scholarly attempts to defining *hapax legomena* in the Hebrew Bible. In 1904, Casanowicz defined *hapax legomena* as "words or forms of words that occur once only."[11] He then fine-tuned his definition by dividing *hapax legomena* into two categories: (1) "strictly, '*hapax legomena*,'" meaning "absolutely new coinages or roots, or [terms] which cannot be derived in their formation or in their specific meaning from other occurring stems"; and (2) unique forms that appear "once only as a form, [and]

8. For a brief list of *hapax legomena* of possible proper nouns, see ibid., 21.

9. See the discussion in Hellen Mardaga, "*Hapax Legomena*: A Neglected Field in Biblical Studies," *CurBR* 10 (2012): 265–66.

10. Ibid., 266.

11. I. M. Casanowicz, "*Hapax Legomena*: Biblical Data," *JE* 6:226.

can easily be connected with other existing words."[12] Greenspahn, too, differentiated between absolute and nonabsolute *hapax legomena*.[13] Casanowicz cataloged the absolute *hapax legomena* (but not the total numbers of *hapax legomena*) in the Hebrew Bible, and determined that of the approximately 1,400 *hapax legomena* in the Hebrew Bible, some 400 are absolute *hapax legomena*.[14]

Using Casanowicz as a point of reference, subsequent scholars have fine-tuned the definition of *hapax legomena*. The two most significant studies, in terms of completeness and fine-tuned methodologies, belong to Cohen and Greenspahn. In 1978, Cohen published *Biblical Hapax Legomena in the Light of Akkadian and Ugaritic*, a polished version of his dissertation. He first examined various publications that investigated *hapax legomena* in the Hebrew Bible and then defined a *hapax legomenon* as "any biblical word whose root occurs in but one context." Cohen's definition excludes Casanowicz's "'unique forms' since the roots of such words each occur in more than one context" and "proper names of all kinds since these are philologically independent of their context."[15] Cohen's definition does include Casanowicz's concept of "absolute or strict *hapax legomena*," but Cohen fine-tunes this concept by including: "Words which occur more than once in parallel verses. Words which occur more than once in the same single context. [And] bona fide homonyms whose homonymic root occurs in but one context."[16] Cohen's definition of *hapax legomena* focuses on etymological approaches and is more inclusive than other scholars (see table 1 below).

Greenspahn's *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew*, published in 1984, was also a recast dissertation. Greenspahn articulated his definition as follows: "An absolute *hapax legomenon* will be any word other than a proper noun which is the only exemplification of its root within the Hebrew sections of the received text as represented in BHK. The possibilities of corruption

12. Ibid.

13. He wrote that "absolute *hapax legomena*" are "those words which occur only once and are not related to any other forms" and "non-absolute *hapax legomena*" are "words which occur once but are related to other attested forms." See Frederick E. Greenspahn, "The Number and Distribution of *Hapax Legomena* in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 30 (1980): 10.

14. Casanowicz, "*Hapax Legomena*," 226.

15. Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena*, 7.

16. Ibid., 7; Cohen follows L. G. Zelson's work of 1924.

and homographs will be ignored."[17] Greenspahn counts 289 absolute *hapax legomena* and lists them in appendix 1 in his work. All three definitions, those belonging to Casanowicz, Cohen, and Greenspahn, divide between general and absolute *hapax legomena*. Defining *hapax legomena* continues to prove to be a difficult task, even in recent years with the ability to search electronic, tagged texts with the power of the computer.

Correctly defining and identifying *hapax legomena* is a problem particular to the modern world. Presumably, what we define as *hapax legomena* in our day were (for the most part) common words for the authors in oral contexts but rare in texts. As Casanowicz explained, *hapax legomena* "are ordinary words, and their non-recurrence is merely an accident, there having been no need of using them again."[18] The Bible contains a number of rare or difficult words, not because the prophets, poets, and writers deliberately chose rare words, but because the Bible "represents only a fraction of the literature produced in ancient Israel. From a linguistic perspective this implies that we have available only a small sample of the ancient Hebrew language. Many words and phenomena which are rare in the extant corpus may have been widespread in antiquity while there were no doubt others in use which are simply unknown to modern scholarship."[19]

4. How Many *Hapax Legomena* Exist in Isaiah?[20]

The three chief approaches for determining the number of *hapax legomena* (both absolute and nonabsolute) in the text of Isaiah are:

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17. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena*, 29. Note that Muraoka accepts Greenspahn's definition of absolute *hapax legomena*; see Takamitsu Muraoka, "Hebrew *Hapax Legomena* and Septuagint Lexicography," *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (Leuven 1989)*, ed. Claude E. Cox, SCS 31 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 206.

18. Casanowicz, "*Hapax Legomena*," 226.

19. Greenspahn, "Number and Distribution," 8.

20. Biblical Hebrew poetic works, such as the text of Isaiah, contain more *hapax legomena* (when calculated as per the average) than do historical narrative and prosaic passages. "Books with a large concentration of *hapax legomena* are in order Job, Song of Songs, Isaiah, Proverbs, Nahum, Lamentations, and Habakkuk; those with a significant lack of absolute *hapax legomena* are, again in order, Chronicles, Kings, Joshua, Exodus, and Samuel 22. The governing factor is readily apparent: books with a large

(1) A physical count of the masoretic symbol ל in masoretic texts. Regrettably, neither the rabbis nor the Masoretes left a handbook that set forth a methodology that allows an accurate count of the number of *hapax legomena* in the Bible. Furthermore, various masoretic texts (e.g., Aleppo, Leningrad, etc.) display different occurrences of *hapax*es.[21]

(2) Modern scholarly counts of *hapax legomena* using lexicons, concordances, and other scholarly tools. Although modern scholars do indeed set forth methodologies, and manually counting *hapax legomena* would appear to be uncomplicated and undemanding, the use of diverse methodologies produces different results. As Greenspahn wrote, "It would seem simple to enumerate the *hapax legomena* in a particular text such as the Hebrew Bible; in fact, the seeming clarity of this definition is illusory and any enumeration necessarily arbitrary."[22] Thus, Allony, Casanowicz, Cohen, Greenspahn, Rabin, and Zelson have produced different counts or lists of *hapax legomena*.[23]

(3) A computerized list of *hapax legomena* created by searching tagged words. According to Accordance 11.0.5, searching by lemma (but excluding proper nouns), there are 276 *hapax legomena* in Isaiah.[24] According to the Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library,[25] there are 264 hits in the same scriptural text.

Table 1. "Absolute" Hapax Legomena in Isaiah

(FG = F. Greenspahn; IC = I. M. Casanowicz; HC = Harold R. Cohen)

Isaiah	Scholars	MT	Qumran Isaiah Scrolls
1:6	IC	זרו	= 1QIsa[a]
1:17	IC	חמוץ	= 1QIsa[a]
1:22	IC, HC, FG	מהול	= 1QIsa[a]

surplus of *hapax legomena* are poetic; those with a deficiency are narrative prose." See Greenspahn, "Number and Distribution," 13–14.

21. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena*, 2, deals with differing numbers of *hapax legomena* in the masoretic texts.

22. Ibid., 17.

23. See ibid., 17 n. 2.

24. Accordance 11.0.5; BHS tagged, version 1.4; Westminster Hebrew Morphology, version 4.14. The search did not count proper nouns.

25. WordCruncher, version 7.1, build 73, Hebrew Scripture (Brill, 2006); Westminster Hebrew Morphology, version 4.2. The search did not count proper nouns.

1:23	HC	שלמנים	= 1QIsa[a]
2:16	HC	שכיות	= 1QIsa[a]
2:20	HC	לחפר פרות	1QIsa[a]לפרפרים
3:16	IC, FG	ומשקרות	= 1QIsa[a]; 4QIsa[b]
3:16	IC, HC	וטפף	1QIsa[a] וטופפ
3:18	IC, HC, FG	והשביסים	1QIsa[a] והשבישים 4QIsa[b] והשבשים
3:19	IC, HC	והרעלות	= 1QIsa[a]
3:24	IC, HC, FG	פתיגיל	= 1QIsa[a]
5:2	IC, HC, FG	ויעזקהו	= 1QIsa[a]
5:6	IC, FG	בתה	= 1QIsa[a]
5:7	HC	משפח	1QIsa[a] למשפת
5:13	FG	צחה	lacuna in 1QIsa[a]
5:25	FG	כסוחה	= 1QIsa[a]
7:19	IC, HC, FG	הבתות	= 1QIsa[a]
8:16, 20	HC	תעודה	= 1QIsa[a]
9:4	HC	סאון סאן	= 1QIsa[a]
9:17	IC, HC, FG	ויתאבכו	= 1QIsa[a]
9:18	FG	נעתם	= 1QIsa[a]
10:13	FG	שושתי	= 1QIsa[a]
10:15	FG	המשור	= 1QIsa[a]
11:8	HC, FG	הדה	= 1QIsa[a]
11:15	IC, HC, FG	בעים	= 1QIsa[a]
13:21	IC, HC	אחים	= 1QIsa[a]
14:4	FG	מדהבה	1QIsa[a] מרהבה
14:19	HC	מטעני	= 1QIsa[a]
14:23	HC	וטאטאתיה	1QIsa[a] וטאטאתי
15:5	FG	יעערו	1QIsa[a] ערו
17:1	IC	מעי	= 1QIsa[a]
17:6	IC, HC	גרגרים	1QIsa[a] = גֹּדגרים
18:2	HC	בזאו	1QIsa[a] = בזאי
18:5	IC, HC	הזלזלים	= 1QIsa[a]
18:5	IC, HC, FG	התז	= 1QIsa[a]; 4QIsa[b]

18:7	HC	בזאו	בזאי 1QIsa^{a}; בזאו 4QIsa^{b}
19:3	HC	האטים	= 1QIsa^{a}; 4QIsa^{b}
19:4	HC	וסכרתי	= 1QIsa^{a}
19:7	HC	ערות	= 1QIsa^{a}; 4QIsa^{b}
19:9	IC, HC	שריקות	= 1QIsa^{a}
19:10	IC	אגמי	= 1QIsa^{a}
19:14	FG	עועים	= 1QIsa^{a}
19:17	HC, FG	לחגא	= 1QIsa^{a} (לחוגה)
22:5	HC	מקרקר	= 1QIsa^{a}
22:18	IC, HC	כדור	= 1QIsa^{a}; 4QIsa^{a}; 4QIsa^{f}
22:24	IC, HC	והצפעות	= 1QIsa^{a}; 4QIsa^{a}
24:6	HC	חרו	= 1QIsa^{a} 4QIsa^{c}
27:4	FG	אציתנה	= 1QIsa^{a}
27:8	HC, FG	בסאסאה	= 1QIsa^{a}
27:9	IC, HC, FG	גר	= 1QIsa^{a}; 4QIsa^{f}
28:10, 13	HC	צו לצו	צי לצי 1QIsa^{a}
28:10, 13	HC	קו לקו	= 1QIsa^{a}
28:25	IC, HC, FG	נסמן	= 1QIsa^{a}
28:28	FG	אדוש	הדש 1QIsa^{a}
29:21	FG	יקשון	= 1QIsa^{a}
30:6	IC, HC	דבשת	= 1QIsa^{a}
30:24	IC	חמיץ	= 1QIsa^{a}
30:30	IC	נפץ	= 1QIsa^{a}
32:4	IC, FG	עלגים	= 1QIsa^{a}
33:1	IC, FG	כנלתך	ככלותך 1QIsa^{a}
33:19	IC, FG	נועז	= 1QIsa^{a}
33:20	IC, HC, FG	יצען	= 1QIsa^{a}
34:14	IC, HC	לילית	ליליות 1QIsa^{a}
34:15	IC, HC, FG	קפוז	קופד 1QIsa^{a}
36:12	IC	שיניהם MT^{k} = 2 Kgs 18:27 MT^{k}; מימי רגליהם MT^{q} = 2 Kgs 18:27 MT^{q}	= 1QIsa^{a} (שיניהמה)
37:30	HC, FG	שחיס; סחיש = 2 Kgs	שעיס 1QIsa^{a}

38:12	HC	קפדתי	ספרתי 1QIsa^{a}
38:21	HC	וימרחו	= 1QIsa^{a}; 1QIsa^{b}
39:2	HC	נכתה = 2 Kgs 20:13	נכתיו 1QIsa^{a}
40:4	IC	והרכסים	= 1QIsa^{a}
40:15	IC, HC	כמר	= 1QIsa^{a}
40:20	HC	המסכן	= 1QIsa^{a}
41:3	HC	ארח	= 1QIsa^{a}; 1QIsa^{b}
41:10	HC	תשתע	= 1QIsa^{a}; 1QIsa^{b}
41:23	HC	ונשתעה	ונשמעה 1QIsa^{a}
41:24	IC, HC, FG	מאפע	> 1QIsa^{a}
42:14	HC	אפעה	= 1QIsa^{a}
42:14	IC	אשם	אשמה 1QIsa^{a}; אשם 4QIsa^{g}
42:22	IC	הפח	= 1QIsa^{a}
44:8	IC, FG	תרהו	= 1QIsa^{a}
44:13	IC, HC	בשרד	= 1QIsa^{a}
44:14	IC, HC, FG	תרזה	= 1QIsa^{a}
44:14	IC, HC	ארן	= 1QIsa^{a}
44:18	FG	טח	= 1QIsa^{a}
44:19	HC	לבול	לבלוי 1QIsa^{a}
46:1, 2	HC	קרס; קרסו	= 1QIsa^{a}
46:8	IC, HC	והתאששו	= 1QIsa^{a}
47:2	IC	שבל	שוליך 1QIsa^{a}; שבֹל 1QIsa^{b}; 4QIsa^{d}
47:13	IC, HC, FG	הברי MT^{q}; הברו MT^{k}	חוברי = 1QIsa^{a}
48:9	IC, HC, FG	אחטם	= 1QIsa^{a}; 4QIsa^{d}
48:19	HC	כמעתיו	= 1QIsa^{a}
50:4	IC, FG	לעות	= 1QIsa^{a}
51:8	IC, HC, FG	סס	= 1QIsa^{a}
51:17, 22	HC	קבעת	= 1QIsa^{a}
54:8	IC, FG	בשצף	= 1QIsa^{a}
54:12	IC, HC	אקדח	= 1QIsa^{a} (איקדח)
55:13	IC, HC, FG	הסרפד	= 1QIsa^{a}; הסרפד 1QIsa^{b}
56:10	IC, HC, FG	לנבח	= 1QIsa^{a}; לנבח 1QIsa^{b}

56:10	IC, HC, FG	הזים	חוזים 1QIsa^{a}; הזים 1QIsa^{b}
57:20	IC, HC, FG	רפש	= 1QIsa^{a}; 1QIsa^{b}
59:10	HC	נגששה[1]	נגשש 1QIsa^{a}
59:10	IC	באשמנים	= 1QIsa^{a}
61:10	IC, FG	יעטני	= 1QIsa^{a}
63:1	HC	חמוץ	= 1QIsa^{a}; 1QIsa^{b}
64:1	IC, HC, FG	המסים	עמוסים 1QIsa^{a}; המ]סׄים 1QIsa^{b}
64:5	IC, FG	עדים	= 1QIsa^{a}
66:11	HC	תמצו	= 1QIsa^{a}
66:11	HC	מזיז	ממזוז 1QIsa^{a}; מזיז 1QIsa^{b}
66:20	IC, HC	ובכרכרות	= 1QIsa^{b}; ובכורכובות 1QIsa^{a}

The table is inclusive, setting forth absolute *hapax legomena* as determined by three scholars: Casanowicz, Cohen, and Greenspahn. There are a total of 108 absolute *hapax legomena*; IC (Casanowicz) = 60, HC (Cohen) = 73, FG (Greenspahn) = 48. Of the 108, there are 22 instances where all three scholars agree.

The readings of the table are summarized as follows:

(1) Qumran Isaiah scrolls versus MT. There are eight Qumran Isaiah scrolls—1QIsa$^{a–b}$ and 4QIsa$^{a–d, f–g}$—represented in the table. 1QIsa^{a} will be dealt with in the next paragraph. The *hapax legomena* readings of the other seven scrolls, with only a single exception (see Isa 3:18), are aligned with MT. However, inasmuch as these seven scrolls are substantially fragmented and do not attest the entire Isaianic text, they present a distorted view (more or less) for an analysis of *hapax legomena* in the entire text of Isaiah.

(2) 1QIsa^{a} versus MT. The completeness of 1QIsa^{a} presents a straightforward opportunity to evaluate its *hapax legomena* versus the readings of MT. Of the 108 instances of absolute *hapax legomena*, 1QIsa^{a} is aligned with MT on 80 occasions (textual variants, not orthographic variants); 1QIsa^{a} is nonaligned with MT on 32 occasions, and there is one lacuna in the scroll at one point where MT has a *hapax legomenon* (see 5:13). The 32 textual variants have significance to the understanding of the textual history of Isaiah's writings.

5. The Textual Variants: "Absolute" *Hapax Legomena* in Isaiah

The textual variants—MT and the Qumran Isaiah scrolls[26]—will now be briefly examined.

2:20 לחפר פרות MT V S | לחפרפרים 1QIsaª | *τοῖς ματαίοις* G | *φαρφαρωθ* θʹ

לחפר פרות. The obscure reading לחפר פרות possibly means "mole." לחפר פרות evidently originates via √חפר ("to dig"), an appropriate name for a mole, which is a small burrowing mammal. 1QIsaª deviates from MT's reading with לחפרפרים, presented as a single word with a masculine ending. Perhaps the scroll's scribe harmonized the ending of לחפרפרים with the following word, ולעטלפים. The reading *φαρφαρωθ* is a transliteration that supports MT; *ματαίοις* has the sense of "worthless" or "vain ones" (see also Zech 11:17).[27]

3:16 וטפף MT | וטופפ 1QIsaª

וטפף. MT reads two *qal* infinitive absolutes in an idiomatic expression: הלוך וטפף תלכנה ("walking along with mincing steps"); 1QIsaª errs by presenting √טפף as a *qal* participle (= וטופפ), perhaps a metathetic slipup.

3:18 והשביסים MT | והשבישים 1QIsaª 4QIsaᵇ (והשבשים)

והשביסים. Two Qumran scrolls (1QIsaª = והשבישים; and 4QIsaᵇ = והשבשים) present והשבישים (with a *shin*), in contrast with MT, which attests a *samek* (MT = והשביסים). The interchange of sibilants in Hebrew texts, including the Hebrew Bible, nonbiblical Qumran texts, Bar Kokhba letters, Ben Sira, and other writings, is both multifaceted and complicated. For a brief treatment of the subject, see Elisha Qimron;[28] see also the sibi-

26. For the most complete and systematic catalog of textual variants of the text of Isaiah, see Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint, eds., *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls, Part 1; Plates and Transcriptions*; *Part 2; Introductions, Commentary, and Textual Variants*, DJD 32 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

27. For a list of transliterations in G and θʹ, see Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 507–12.

28. Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS 29 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 28–30.

lant deviations at Isa 2:6 (ישפיקו MT 1QIsa[a] | יספקו 4QIsa[b]); Isa 30:14 (ולחשף MT | ולחסופ 1QIsa[a]); Isa 37:30 (שחיס MT | שעיס 1QIsa[a] | סחיש 2 Kgs 19:29); Isa 44:25 (ישכל MT | יסכל 1QIsa[a] 1QIsa[b] 4QIsa[b]); and Isa 57:5 (סעפי MT | שעפי 1QIsa[a]).

5:7 משפח MT | למשפח 1QIsa[a]

משפח. Paulson Pulikottil views the attached *lamed* of 1QIsa[a] (למשפח) as possessing an emphatic function: "Emphatic lamedh stands before a noun in a verbless clause (as in this case). The emphatic use of the lamedh is confirmed here by the function of והנה."[29] There is another possible explanation for the attached *lamed*. Isaiah 5:7b features a well known wordplay with alliteration: ויקו למשפט והנה משפח לצדקה והנה צעקה. 1QIsa[a] inadvertently added the superfluous preposition *lamed* to משפח, likely an assimilation from the two prepositions in the wordplay.

5:13 צחה MT | lacuna in 1QIsa[a]

14:4 מדהבה MT | מרהבה 1QIsa[a] G S T

מדהבה. Critics have sought several solutions to מדהבה, a ghost word that finds no support in the versions.[30] Solutions include: (1) מדהבה is a substantive derived from the Aramaic √דהב (*zayin*/*dalet* interchange) meaning "gold" or "golden thing"; that is, "golden city," a reference to Babylon's wealth and affluence. This understanding is followed by some of the rabbis (see, for example, Ibn Ezra). Also, 1QH[a] attests מדהבה in 11:26 and 20:21, but both places seem to interpret מדהבה as "oppression."[31] (2) Read a *hiphil* מרהיב or *piel* מרהב ("tyrant, stormer"), thus paralleling נגש

29. Paulson Pulikottil, *Transmission of Biblical Texts in Qumran: The Case of the Large Isaiah Scroll 1QIsa[a]*, JSPSup 34 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 100.

30. On the ghost word, see Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena*, 107. On the lack of versional support, see, for example, Otto Procksch, *Jesaia I*, Kommentar zum Alten Testament 9/1 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1930), 193; Bernard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 5th ed., HKAT 3.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968), 93; D. Karl Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1900), 123; George B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah (I–XXXIX)*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), 253; John F. Stenning, The Targum of Isaiah (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949), xviii, plus others.

31. See also the discussion of מדהבה in Qumran literature by Noam Mizrahi, "The Linguistic History of מדהבה: From Textual Corruption to Lexical Innovation," *RevQ* 26 (2013): 91–114. See also Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen M. Schuller, eds., *1QHodayot[a], with Incorporation of 1QHodayot[b] and 4QHodayot[a–f]*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 145, 155, 251, 260.

(“oppressor”). This approach requires an alteration of the verb שבתה (3 f. s.) to read שבת (3 m. s.).[32] (3) A copyist of MT erred and copied *dalet* instead of *resh*, and the original reading was מרהבה. This conjecture, first proposed by J. D. Michaelis (1779), but followed by Ottley and others, suggests that G’s *Vorlage* read מרהבה (or, at the very least, G’s translator developed its reading contextually).[33] This conjecture gained support from 1QIsa[a], with its reading of מרהבה (via the √רהב; see also Isa 3:5, which presents a parallel of נגש and רהב). Skehan prefers the reading of the scroll, stating that “the reading as DSIa [1QIsa[a]] gives it has long been looked for, on the basis of the context and the LXX rendering; and in view of the seeming meaninglessness of the MT form, *mrhbh* in a Hebrew witness is most satisfying.”[34] E. Y. Kutscher writes that “the Scr[oll]’s reading is thus superior.”[35] In perhaps the most complete study of מדהבה in view of MT, 1QIsa[a], and nonbiblical Qumran texts, Mizrahi concludes that מדהבה signifies “an inadvertent error that crept into the biblical text during its transmission.”[36] For other possible instances of the *dalet*/*resh* interchange in MT and 1QIsa[a], see also 16:14; 17:6, 12; 22:5; 23:10; 27:2; 33:8; 40:20; 41:19; 42:13; 45:2; 47:8; 47:10; and so on.

14:23 וטאטאתיה MT | וטאטאתי 1QIsa[a]

ושמתיה ... וטאטאתיה. MT includes a third person feminine singular suffix on two verbs, reading “I will make her/it … and I will sweep her/it” (וטאטאתיה). The antecedent of “her”/“it” is Lady Babylon, which is explicitly identified in 14:22. The other possible antecedents—name (שם), remnant (ושאר), offspring (ונין), and posterity (ונכד)—are masculine singular nouns. For an unknown reason, 1QIsa[a] omits the third person feminine singular suffixes on both nouns: “I will make [ושמתי] … I will

32. Hans Wildberger, *Isaiah 13–27*, CC (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1997), 43, prefers the reading of שָׁבַת.

33. Richard R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904–1906), 2:176. On the contextual reading, see Harry M. Orlinski, “Studies in the St. Mark’s Isaiah Scroll, IV,” *JQR* 43 (1953): 334–36.

34. Patrick W. Skehan, “The Text of Isaias at Qumran,” *CBQ* 17 (1955): 158–63, here .

35. E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1Qsaa)*, STDJ 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 261.

36. Mizrahi, “Linguistic History,” 114.

sweep [וטאטאתי].” It may be that the scribe failed to comprehend that Babylon served as the antecedent.

With regard to ושמתיה, G is expansive with *καὶ θήσω τὴν* Βαβυλωνίαν *ἔρημον*. Note that G omitted Babylon in 14:22. It is possible that in 14:22–23, G switched the proper noun with the pronoun *αὐτῶν* … Βαβυλωνίαν.[37]

15:5 יעערו MT | יערו 1QIsa[a] (1QIsa[a] first read ערו, then corrected to יערו) | *καὶ σεισμός* G

יעערו. The meaning of verb יעערו of MT is uncertain; Greenspahn calls √ערע a ghost root and writes that ערע “is phonologically dubious and has no known cognates. Emendations are to read יעררו or יערערו although the present text may be construed as having developed from either of these.”[38] According to David Clines, יעערו is a *pilpel* imperfect third person masculine plural (√עור, “arouse, i.e. raise cry”).[39] With regard to 1QIsa[a], “Originally שברו ערו stood here; it was corrected to שבר יערו by changing the ו into a י, and putting separating dots before it.”[40] The form יערו is a *qal* imperfect third person masculine plural.

17:6 גרגרים MT | גדׄגרים 1QIsa[a]

גרגרים. The word גרגרים is a biblical *hapax legomenon*, but compare גרגרׄים (“berry”) in the nonbiblical phrase [ ]עד עׄשרה גרגרׄים העוללת (4Q267 6 2). The *dalet* of גדׄגרים (= 1QIsa[a]) is an error, a result of *dalet*/*resh* confusion.

18:2 בזאו MT | בזאי 1QIsa[a] | *νῦν* G (via √(ב)אז?)

בזאו. The √בזא occurs twice in the Bible (a *dislegomenon*), both times in Isaiah 18 (18:2, 7). On both occasions, MT reads בזאו, a *qal* perfect third person common plural verb. The text of 4QIsa[b], which is not extant for 18:2, has the same reading as MT in 18:7. But 1QIsa[a] deviates with בזאי, which is apparently a *qal* masculine plural participle in construct. Although the scroll’s scribe generally wrote the *vav* when writing *qal* masculine plural participles, occasionally he did not (e.g., משכי [5:18]; פרשי [19:8]; note the superscripted *vav* in יֹשבי [23:2], plus more). It is also

37. See Ottley, *Book of Isaiah*, 180.

38. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena*, 178; quotation on 147.

39. *CDCH*, 316.

40. Donald W. Parry and Elisha Qimron, eds., *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]): A New Edition*, STDJ 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 27 n. 12a-a.

possible that בזאי is the result of a *yod*/*vav* confusion, but it is doubtful that such an error would have occurred twice with the same word. In any case, MT's reading is preferred. Apparently, the G translator did not comprehend the meaning of √בזא and translated νῦν, via (ב)אז?

18:7 בזאו MT 4QIsa[b] | בזאי 1QIsa[a] | G ἐστιν ἐν μέρει | ובזיזא T

בזאו. For a discussion of this reading, see 18:2 above.

28:10 צו לצו צו לצו MT | צי לצי צי לצי 1QIsa[a] | θλῖψιν ἐπὶ θλῖψιν G (via √צר)

צו לצו צו לצו. In this reading the 1QIsa[a] scribe misread the *vav*s for *yod*s (צי לצי צי לצי). The term צי, meaning either "ship" or "desert dweller," makes no sense in the context. Kutscher provides another possible explanation for 1QIsa[a]'s צי לצי צי לצי: "The exegesis צו from צואה ('command') has been suggested; does צי then = צאי (Qere צי) in Syr.?"[41] MT's reading is correct, basing צו on √צוה, that is, "to command." G misread צו for צר (θλῖψιν ἐπὶ θλῖψιν); G also misinterpreted קו לקו and read ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι via √קוה ("hope").

28:13 צו לצו צו לצו MT | צי לצי צי לצי 1QIsa[a] | θλῖψις ἐπὶ θλῖψιν G (via √צר)

צו לצו צו לצו. For the variants of צו לצו צו לצו (= MT) and צי לצי צי לצי (= 1QIsa[a]), see commentary at 28:10 above.

28:28 אדוש MT | הדש 1QIsa[a]

אדוש. Based on the context, most scholars maintain that the root letters of אדוש are דוש ("to thresh, trample"), although Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles Briggs also leave open the possibility that the root letters are אדש.[42] The prefixed *aleph* does not indicate an imperfect but rather, as Ibn Ezra has explained, the *aleph* is prosthetic, similar to אזרוע in Jer 32:21.

33:1 כנלתך MT | ככלותך 1QIsa[a] | ὅταν κοπιάσῃς σʹ (= כנלאותך) V T | καὶ ὡς σὴς (via √כתולעת) G

כנלתך. The reading of MT (= כנלתך, a ghost word) poses a challenge.[43] Kyle McCarter asserts that a copyist of the MT tradition misread the *kaph*

41. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 278.

42. BDB, 190.

43. See Cohen, *Biblical Hapax Legomena*, 107.

for a *nun,* making MT unintelligible in the verse's context.[44] G (*καὶ ὡς σὴς*) likely read כתולעת ("like a worm"), especially in light of the reading of MT 1QIsa[a], לִבְגֹּד, where G apparently misread לִבְגֹּד and translated *ἐπὶ ἱματίου* = לבֶּגֶד (thus reading "and like a moth on a garment"). The reading of 1QIsa[a] (ככלותך, via √כלה) is acceptable, and John Watts reminds us that this scroll's reading "supports the emendation suggested by Döderlein, Lowth, Knobel, and Wildberger."[45]

34:14 לילית MT | ליליות 1QIsa[a] G

34:14 הרגיעה לילית ומצאה לה. MT presents an expression with singular forms (הרגיעה לילית ומצאה לה, "the night creature will settle, and it will find itself") versus 1QIsa[a]'s expression with plurals (ירגיעו ליליות ומצאו להמה, "the night creatures will settle, and they will find themselves"). The readings of both MT and 1QIsa[a] are possible, even though the scroll's reading may be an assimilation of the plurals in verse 14a. Multiple textual variants in MT versus 1QIsa[a] consist of plural versus singular nouns (e.g., 1:18, 23; 3:9, 25; 5:3, 7; 7:24; 8:18; 11:8; 14:12; 15:2; plus several others).

34:15 קפוז MT | קופד 1QIsa[a]

קפוז. The variants are confusing, in part because at 14:23 MT reads קפד and 1QIsa[a] has קפז, the opposite of what is attested here in 34:15. A simple approach is that a scribe of either the MT or 1QIsa[a] tradition wrote the incorrect final character as the result of a *dalet*/*zayin* confusion. Another approach: the scribe of 1QIsa[a], having a knowledge of Aramaic, confused the writing by substituting *dalet* for *zayin* (see also the *dalet*/*zayin* interchange in 14:4, זהב/דהב; and 14:23).

36:12 שיניהם MT[k] 1QIsa[a] (שיניהמה) 2 Kgs 18:27 MT[k] G S | מימי רגליהם MT[q] 2 Kgs 18:27[q] *α′ σ′* V T

שיניהם. The word שיניהם (= MT[k] 1QIsa[a], "their urine") is another instance (see also 2 Kgs 18:27) of an indelicate expression (see Megilla 25b); מימי רגליהם (MT[q], "waters of their feet") is the euphemistic substitution.[46]

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44. P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible,* GBS (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 48.

45. John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, WBC 24 (Waco, TX: Word, 1985), 419.

46. For a discussion of textual criticism in light of euphemisms, see Donald W. Parry, "The 'Word' or the 'Enemies' of the Lord? Revisiting the Euphemism in 2 Sam

37:30 שחיס MT | שעיס 1QIsa[a] | סחיש 2 Kgs 19:29 | *pomis vescere* V

שחיס. According to Ibn Ezra, שחיס (= MT Isa) and סחיש (= MT 2 Kgs) have the same meaning.[47] The variant שעיס (= 1QIsa[a]), however, sets forth a different guttural and substitutes *ayin* for *khet*. For a discussion of deviations that pertain to sibilants, see 3:18 above.

38:12 קפדתי MT | ספרתי 1QIsa[a]

קפדתי. The meaning of קפדתי is uncertain; the corresponding word in the parallelism is √בצע ("to cut off"). 1QIsa[a] attests the similar appearing ספרתי, which recurrently in Aramaic terminology has the sense of "to cut one's hair" (ספר), "barber" (ספרא), and so forth.[48] Thus 1QIsa[a]'s ספרתי corresponds with √בצע ("to cut off"). Driver prefers the reading of the scroll, but corrects ספרתי ("I have cut off") to ספרת ("you have cut off").[49] Compare also the readings of V and S.

39:2 נכתה MT[k] 2 Kgs 20:13 | נכתו MT[q] | נכתיו 1QIsa[a] | νεχωθα G

נכתה. The difference between נכתה (= MT[k] 2 Kgs 20:13, נכתה is a *dislegomenon* found in a parallel passage, Isa and 2 Kgs) and נכתיו (= 1QIsa[a]) may be explained by a mechanical error, where a copyist belonging to either the MT or 1QIsa[a] tradition read ה for יו or vice versa. There is another possible explanation for the mechanical error; the Qumran scribe made נכתיו (בית נכתיו) into a plural based on the plural כליו (בית כליו). This possibility is further supported by the fact that on the leather, בית נכתיו את כול (col. 32:17) was copied exactly above ואת כול בית כליו (col. 32:18), and both of these phrases are located at the beginning of the right hand margin. With regard to the reading נכתה (= MT[k] 2 Kgs 20:13) versus נכתו (= MT[q]), the Qumran scroll supports MT[q].

41:23 ונשתעה MT G (καὶ θαυμασόμεθα) | ונשמעה 1QIsa[a]

ונשתעה. Both MT and 1QIsa[a] produce *qal* cohortatives, but with different root letters, √שתע (= MT) and √שמע (= 1QIsa[a]). Both roots are satisfactory in the context. MT's reading provides a synonymous word

12:14," in *Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, VTSup 94, ed. Shalom M. Paul et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 367–78.

47. See also BDB, 695, 1006.

48. *DJBA*, 828.

49. G. R. Driver, "Isaiah I–XXXIX: Textual and Linguistic Problems," *JSS* 13 (1968): 56.

pair, "that we may look anxiously and see it together." With its pairing of hearing and seeing, 1QIsa[a] supplies a recurring scriptural collocation, "that we may hear and see it together." The MT has the *lectio difficilior*: either the scroll's scribe misread the text and substituted *tav* for *mem*, or he simplified the reading (perhaps as an involuntary reflex to pair hearing and seeing together) and altered ונשתעה to ונשמעה.

41:24 מאפע MT | > 1QIsa[a] | *καὶ πόθεν* (via √מאיפה) *ἡ ἐργασία ὑμῶν* G

מאפע. Textual critics propose an emendation of אפס for אפע; so, too, אפס corresponds with מאין in the parallelistic structure: "Behold, you are nothing, and your work is worthless."[50] The scribe of 1QIsa[a] omitted מאפע, perhaps because the word was unknown to him. G does not omit מאפע, but apparently reads instead either מאיפה or מאין ("from where" or "whence").

42:14 אשם MT 4QIsa[g] | אשמה 1QIsa[a]

אשם. The lengthened imperfect on 1QIsa[a] (אשמה), with the attached *he* (pseudocohortative) that lacks a cohortative meaning, is a characteristic of both late- and postbiblical Hebrew. The scribe employed the attached *he* here and elsewhere in the scroll. For a discussion and statistics, see Martin Abegg in DJD 32.[51] See, for example, ואמר = MT; ואמרה = 1QIsa[a] (6:11); אפתח = MT; אפתחה = 1QIsa[a] (41:18); אשים = MT; אשימה = 1QIsa[a] (41:18); אתן = MT 1QIsa[b]; אתנה = 1QIsa[a] (41:19); אשים = MT; אשימה = 1QIsa[a] (41:19); אתאפק = MT; אתאפקה = 1QIsa[a] (42:14); אחריב = MT; אחריבה = 1QIsa[a] (42:15); אשים = MT; אשימה = 1QIsa[a] (42:16); אפעל = MT 4QIsa[b]; אפעולה = 1QIsa[a] (43:11); ויערכה = MT; ויעריכהה = 1QIsa[a] (44:7).

44:19 לבול MT | לבלוי 1QIsa[a] | > G

לבול. Note that 1QIsa[a] reads לבליו עצ in 44:17 (MT has לפסלו), which is evidently an assimilation of לבלוי עץ in 44:19 (MT has לבול עץ). The

50. On the proposed emendation, see James Kennedy, *An Aid to the Textual Amendment of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1928), 103; T. K. Cheyne, *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text Arranged in Chronological Order…*, SBOT 10 (Leipzig: Hinrichs; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1899), 130; Brevard S. Childs, *Isaiah*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2004), 315.

51. Martin G. Abegg Jr., "Linguistic Profile of the Isaiah Scrolls," in Ulrich and Flint, eds., *Qumran Cave 1.II*, pt. 2, 32.

deviation within 1QIsa[a] of לבליו (44:17) and לבלוי (44:19) is likely owing to a slip of the pen. With regard to 1QIsa[a]'s לבליו (versus MT's לבול), Qimron proposes that יו- signifies a contraction of the diphthong.[52]

47:2 שבל MT 1QIsa[b] 4QIsa[d] | שוליך 1QIsa[a] | τὰς πολιάς (via √השיבה?) G | *umerum* V | שלטונך T

שבל. In place of MT's (שבל), the scribe of 1QIsa[a] utilizes שוליך, a word that is more common in Biblical Hebrew (eleven occurrences; see also Jer 13:26, where שוליך is used in a related context) and Rabbinic Hebrew. For the reading under discussion, *lectio difficilior praeferenda*. Multiple examples of facilitation throughout 1QIsa[a] can be cited. The translator of G apparently did not know the meaning of שבל and read השיבה ("grey hair") (τὰς πολιάς).

47:13 הברו MT[k] | הברי MT[q] | חוברי 1QIsa[a]

הברו. The reading הברו of MT[k] has caused considerable debate because of its form (*qal* pf. third pl.) and root (הבר); MT[q] (הברי) eases the dispute somewhat by providing a comprehensible form within the context; as Greenspahn explains, "There is no question that הברי שמים means 'astrologers'; only its derivation has been uncertain."[53] During the transmission of the Proto-Masoretic Text, a copyist may have confused the letters of the root, writing √הבר in place of √חבר. But the same may be said of the variant attested in 1QIsa[a] (חוברי), which may also signify a confusion of letters (*he*/*khet*). There is as well another prospect, that the 1QIsa[a] copyist assimilated a reading from the previous verse (see בחבריך in 47:12) in order to avoid the difficult reading in MT.

54:12 אקדח MT | איקדח 1QIsa[a]

אקדח. Compare 1QIsa[a]'s אוקדח. For a discussion of the *qutl*, *qatl*, and *qitl* patterns, see Kutscher,[54] followed by Qimron[55] and Eric Reymond.[56]

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52. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 34.
53. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena*, 110.
54. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 458, 477–78.
55. Qimron, *Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 65.
56. Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, RBS 76 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 170–72.

56:10 הזים MT 1QIsa[b] | חוזים 1QIsa[a] G (ἐνυπνιαζόμενοι) V (*videntes vana*)
הזים. These two words from MT 1QIsa[b] are from √הזה (a *hapax legomenon* whose meaning is uncertain; perhaps a dog "panting in its sleep," "babbling," or "drowsing").[57] The verse may be translated: "His watchmen are all blind, they are all without knowledge, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, they are panting in their sleep, lying down, loving to slumber." 1QIsa[a] renders the word under discussion similarly—חוזים ("seers"). The difference between the variants may be explained by *he*/*khet* (הזים/חוזים) confusion. Kutscher holds MT's reading of √הזה to be primary:[58] the reading of the scroll is probably a simplication, reading a popular word for a difficult term.

59:10 נגששה[1] MT | נגשש 1QIsa[a] | ψηλαφήσουσιν G
נגששה[1]. Twice in this verse MT has נגששה (a *dislegomenon*, cohortative form); 1QIsa[a] first has נגשש, followed by נגששה.

64:1[2] המסים MT 1QIsa[b] המ[סֺים | עמוסים 1QIsa[a] | κηρὸς (=√מסס) G
המסים. For MT's המסים, 1QIsa[a] attests עמוסים, which features a guttural exchange, substituting the *ayin* for the *he* of המסים. This exchange pertains to phonology and may not represent a true variant. Or, according to Guillaume, a "reading which is indubitably right is עמסים for the meaningless המסים in MT. Whoever first thought of giving the meaning 'brushwood' to the word is now justified, for this is precisely what the Arabic *ghamīs* means."[59] G read κηρὸς "wax," from the root מסס?

66:11 מזיז MT 1QIsa[b] | ממזוז 1QIsa[a] | ἀπὸ εἰσόδου G
מזיז. Versus מזיז, which belongs to MT 1QIsa[b], 1QIsa[a] has the double preposition מן, in all probability a dittogram.

66:20 ובכרכרות MT 1QIsa[b] | ובכורכובות 1QIsa[a] | μετὰ σκιαδίων G
ובכרכרות. The consonantal framework of ובכרכרות (= MT 1QIsa[b], from כרכרה, meaning "dromedary") and ובכורכובות (= 1QIsa[a]) are simi-

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57. Dog panting in sleep: *HALOT*, s.v. "הזה"; "babbling" or "drowsing": Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66: Translation and Commentary*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 459.

58. Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background*, 235.

59. A. Guillaume, "Some Readings in the Dead Sea Scrolls of Isaiah," *JBL* 76 (1957): 42.

lar; the chief difference is that 1QIsaª's form features a second *bet* in place of the second *resh* of MT. The consonantal deviation may be explained by (1) the *bet* and *resh* are visually similar (the chief difference pertains to the lower horizontal stroke of the *bet*), that is, the scribe wrote the *bet* in place of the *resh*; or (2) the scribe had וברכב in mind (located three words earlier) and wrote ובכורכובות.[60] For 1QIsaª's double *vav mater* in ובכורכובות, note Reymond's discussion regarding the "assimilation to consonants," where he states that "the development of an /o/ or /u/ vowel might have been triggered by surrounding consonants."[61]

6. Conclusion

Collectively, Casanowicz, Cohen, and Greenspahn have identified a total of 108 absolute *hapax legomena* in the text of Isaiah. Of the 108, there are 22 instances where all three scholars agree. Table 1 serves to catalog the 108 absolute *hapax legomena*, along with readings from eight Qumran Isaiah texts. Seven Qumran Isaiah texts essentially agree with MT in the readings, although the seven are substantially fragmented and any type of analysis produces distorted results. The eighth Qumran Isaiah text, 1QIsaª, is aligned with MT for 75 of the readings and nonaligned for 32; there is one lacuna in the scroll (see 5:13).

Of the thirty-two nonalignments, there exist two possible instances of a *dalet*/*resh* confusion (14:4; 17:6), four occurrences of a possible *yod*/*vav* confusion (18:2; 18:7; 28:10, 13), a possible *kaph*/*nun* confusion (33:1), a possible *daleth*/*zayin* confusion (34:15), a possible *bet*/*resh* confusion (66:20), and a possible *he*/*khet* confusion (47:13). Furthermore, there are four occurrences of a guttural interchange (28:28; 37:30; 56:10; and 64:1; specifically, 1QIsaª reads a *he* for MT's *aleph*, an *ayin* for MT's *khet*, a *khet* for MT's *he*, and an *ayin* for MT's *he*), one example of a sibilant interchange (3:18), a plural versus a singular noun (34:14), a plus of the preposition *lamed* (5:7), two examples of a plus or a minus of a *he* on a word (42:14; 59:10), a dittography of a single letter (66:11), the difference of a *samek* versus *qoph* (38:12), the difference between a *mem* and *tav* (41:23), the plus or minus of an *ayin* (15:5), a masculine plural versus a feminine plural noun (2:20), a plus of a third person feminine singular suffix (14:23), a mechanical error (39:2), and a different order of *vav mater*

60. See also Kutscher, *Language and Linguistic Background,* 249.
61. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew*, 174–77.

(3:16). Plus, there are two instances of euphemistic variants (36:12); there is one occasion where 1QIsa[a] has a minus of one word (41:24); there is a single instance where the scroll facilitates the text (47:2), and an occasion where presumably a Qumran copyist miswrote לבלוי for לבול (44:19).

In part 4 of this paper, I make the claim that the thirty-two textual variants have significance to the understanding of the textual history of Isaiah's writings. I will now make two observations, in a summary manner, regarding MT Isaiah and 1QIsa[a], two important Hebrew witnesses that constitute segments of Isaiah's textual history. First, the great majority of the textual variants that exist between MT and 1QIsa[a], with regard to *hapax legomena* (see table 1), are represented by a single consonant (not counting the *matre lectionis*). To be precise, twenty-eight of the thirty-two nonalignments (MT versus 1QIsa[a]) have a similar consonantal framework, except for the difference of one letter. The paragraph immediately above delineates these one-letter differences: for example, *daleth* versus *resh, daleth* versus *zayin*, *he* versus *khet*, *samek* versus *qoph*, *yod* versus *vav*, *he* versus *aleph*; a dittography of a single letter, a plus of a third person feminine singular suffix, and so forth. The deviation of a single consonant for twenty-eight of thirty-two readings is of consequence because this demonstrates that most of the textual variants are not major deviations consisting of large pluses or large minuses (e.g., the plus or minus of several words, a phrase, an entire verse, and so forth). Rather, for the most part, the deviation of a single consonant constitutes a minor textual variant.

My second observation: in my judgment, based on a careful study of all thirty-two nonaligned readings, the majority of the deviations are mishaps that belong to 1QIsa[a] or its *Vorlage* (or one of its antecedent texts) rather than the MT tradition. These mishaps, for the most part, were of an unintentional nature, caused in part because many or most of the *hapax legomena* were uncommon and perhaps unfamiliar to the scribe(s) of 1QIsa[a] (or its *Vorlage*) by the time that they copied the scroll around 100 BCE.

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A Commentary on Greek Leviticus 19:1–10

Dirk Büchner

1. Introduction

Serious students of the LXX Pentateuch have for some time had the benefit of a collection of reading helps in the form of John W. Wevers's *Notes*, the volume of amplifying remarks to *Septuaginta Deutsch*, and comments appearing immediately below the translation in the volumes of *La Bible d'Alexandrie*.[1] Now two major commentary projects in English are underway. The Septuagint Commentary Series published by Brill contains an English translation of a Greek Codex, followed by commentary.[2] The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS) is based on the Old Greek as far as it has been reconstructed and contains the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) with

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It is a pleasure to dedicate this paper to the memory of my friend and colleague, Peter Flint.

1. For the Wevers's *Notes* volumes, see *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, SCS 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993); *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, SCS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990); *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*, SCS 44 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997); *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, SCS 46 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998); and *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SCS 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995). See also Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Altes Testament* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011); Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, *Le Pentateuque d'Alexandrie: Text grec et traduction* (Paris: Cerf, 2001).

2. The first volume to appear was Graeme Auld's *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, SCSer (Leiden: Brill, 2005). In addition, Susan Brayford, *Genesis*, SCSer (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

verse-by-verse commentary.[3] This article will present a portion of what is intended to appear in the Leuitikon volume of the SBLCS.

Writers of notes do not have to provide too much of a rationale for them, as notes arise along the way of larger tasks, such as the production of a critical edition or translating a text into a modern language. But the production of a commentary does require a rationale, and a rationale depends on where one stands. Emanuel Tov, for one, suggests that writing a commentary means excluding, as he puts it, "issues of translation technique and inner-Septuagintal problems." Instead, and not unexpectedly, his goals in commenting on the LXX are to bring out its exegetical and text-critical value.[4] For its part, the Brill series situates its activity outside the realm of the relationship that exists between the translated text and its original, regarding the LXX as primary text, as interpretation of the Old Testament and source for New Testament study.[5] The SBLCS, in contrast, insists that the Septuagint as translated work is by its very nature two dimensional. On the horizontal dimension it operates according to the rules of Hellenistic Greek. But on the vertical dimension it displays a great deal of structural influence from the Semitic source text. Regardless of how closely this text resembles MT, it is a fact no one denies that a Semitic base text is the source of the Greek, exerting a significant influence on its design so that the LXX exhibits variable degrees of fluency. Since this two-dimensionality is the defining characteristic of the Septuagint, the SBLCS endeavors to work within a theoretical model that articulates clearly the ways in which phenomena relating to the linguistic makeup of the source text are transferred onto the target text. This is in recognition of the considerable amount of progress made in translation theory since the 1980s. Noticeable developments are the shift away from source-text oriented theories to target-text oriented theories and the inclusion into translation models of cultural factors in addition to linguistic elements.[6]

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3. A volume of facsimile chapters is in the process of appearing, edited by the author, as *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming).

4. Emanuel Tov, "A Textual and Exegetical Commentary on Three Chapters in the Septuagint," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJ Sup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 275–290.

5. See Brill, "Septuagint Commentary Series," http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546e.

6. For a historical overview, see Edwin Genzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 2nd ed., TT 21 (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 2001), 44–144.

So if one is to comment on the Septuagint, produced for the needs of a culture as determined by the norms of that culture, it means to comment on the text's verbal makeup as conceptualized by those who produced it.[7] This is quite different from the way one would proceed in commenting on a translated text as read by communities who had no access to the original or knowledge of its language. Though the Septuagint's words would have made a great deal of sense to later communities, those readers would have been oblivious, as Albert Pietersma put it, of their text's ancillary role in service of the Hebrew original.[8]

Cameron Boyd-Taylor has produced several important studies on the matter of the cultural norms at play in the production of the Septuagint and how they may be discerned and exploited by those commenting on its text.[9] Only by a descriptive analysis of the translated language in relation to its original does he believe it possible to discern these norms.[10] Two points based on this premise appear in the guidelines for commentators: "The translation is to be viewed as a fact of the culture that produced it inasmuch as it is a specimen of discourse within that culture"; and, "The verbal makeup of the translation should be understood in relation to the cultural system in which it was produced, that is to say, the sort of text it is as a Greek document." In this essay, ten verses of Lev 19 LXX will be analyzed in terms of what sort of text Greek Leviticus is, with care taken to describe the relationship between parent and target for a culture that knew both.

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7. Albert Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *A Question of Methodology: Collected Essays on the Septuagint by Albert Pietersma*, ed. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, BTS 14 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 144.

8. Albert Pietersma, "LXX and DTS: A New Archimedian Point for Septuagint Studies?," *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 1.

9. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot," *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 27–47; Boyd-Taylor, "In a Mirror, Dimly: Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 15–32; and especially Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, BTS 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011).

10. Boyd-Taylor, "Toward the Analysis," 32.

2. The Nature of Septuagint Leviticus

One might say that overall, the Leviticus translator's chief intention is to be as faithful as possible to his Hebrew parent text, which he regarded as being of high prestige. To achieve this intention of fidelity, he transposes Hebrew phrases into comprehensible Greek ones, taking great care to maintain quantitative equivalence and word order. In other words, his translation as transposition or representation evinces as little adjustment as possible from the shape of the original. Practically, he may be seen to work with short bits of text at a time and will not revise or smoothen uneven effects that result from this practice.[11]

3. Commentary on Lev 19:1–10

This pericope showcases many of the strategies employed by the Pentateuch translators as they went along. Its subject matter is the command to be holy, the eschewing of following idols, the correct way to present a sacrifice of deliverance, and the command to reap selectively during harvest time for the benefit of vulnerable individuals.

Leviticus 19:1

וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמר

Καὶ ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων
NRSV: The Lord spoke to Moses, saying:
NETS: And the Lord spoke to Moyses, saying,

κύριος. As the standard rendering and replacement for the Tetragrammaton, *κύριος* in the nominative never takes the article.[12] But in oblique cases it does. There is something to be said for the idea that *κύριος* func-

11. Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax. Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 4. Juni 1987*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Raija Sollamo, AASF Ser. B 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 88.

12. See Martin Rösel, "The Reading and Translation of the Divine Name in the Masoretic Tradition and the Greek Pentateuch," *JSOT* 31 (2007): 411–28; and Albert Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original Septuagint," in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Claude E. Cox (Mississauga, ON: Benben, 1984), 85–101.

tions as a name and should perhaps be translated into English as Kyrios or Lord rather than the title "The Lord."[13]

Leviticus 19:2

דבר אל כל עדת בני ישראל ואמרת אלהם קדשים תהיו כי קדוש אני יהוה אלהיכם

Λάλησον τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ *καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτούς Ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιος, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.*

NRSV: Speak to all the congregation of the people of Israel and say to them: You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.

NETS: Speak to the congregation of the sons of Israel, and you shall say to them, "You shall be holy, for I am holy, the Lord your God."

λάλησον … καὶ ἐρεῖς. In normal Greek usage an imperative followed by a future indicative occurs where a result is intended, and typically the person changes; as, for example, in Jas 4:7: *ἀντίστητε δὲ τῷ διαβόλῳ καὶ φεύξεται ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν.*[14] Alternatively, the imperative may serve as a protasis, as in the sentence *δειξάτω κἀγὼ στέρξω*, "let him set it forth and I will be content" (Demosthenes, *Speeches* 18.112).[15] Here, however, the Leviticus translator (G from now on), simply maps the formal shape of the Hebrew onto Greek; in other words, he renders the imperative followed by *we-qatal* by means of an imperative and future indicative. Drawing our attention to this, NETS's "you shall say" and BA's "tu leur diras"[16] reflect a future verb, but contrast SD's imperatival "sage zu ihnen,"[17] which in my opinion mistakenly leads the reader to assume that this is conventional Greek syntax.

τῇ συναγωγῇ. The OG is supported by 4Q367 and 11QpaleoLev[a] against the כל עדת of MT.[18]

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13. So rendered by Auld, *Joshua*; and for his rationale, see xvii.

14. See Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Friedrich Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 14th ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), §422.2.

15. This example cited in Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), §1839.

16. Paul Harlé and Didier Pralon, *Le Lévitique: Traduction du texte grec de la Septante; Introduction et notes*, vol. 3 of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 164.

17. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft), 120.

18. I am grateful to Andrew Perrin for pointing me to the Qumran evidence.

ἅγιοι. Outside the LXX, this adjective, meaning "pure, sacred," most commonly modifies inanimate objects. One significant exception is its appearance in Aristophanes's *Av.* 520, which tells how men who were once regarded as sacred, like the gods and divine birds, are now helpless, caught as slaves and fools. In the LXX it is frequently found to refer to persons, as default rendering of קדוש/קדש, a convention established by Greek Exodus, whereas adjectives such as ὅσιος or ἱερός would have been more fitting modifiers of humans endowed with divine characteristics. Of interest is that ὅσιος is not a preferred adjective of the Greek Pentateuch; in fact, it only occurs three times at the end of Deuteronomy (Deut 29, 32, and 33), and ἱερός only once outside of the compositional works of the LXX (Josh 6:8). This is of some value in helping us decide what the Septuagint is, if we are to comment on it. Faithful—in other words, consistent—renderings of leading terminology seem to be important to the translators. Speaking theoretically, this may count as a case in which adequacy is the norm, rather than acceptability.[19] The same is apparent in the next example.

ὅτι. Being holy as a consequence of God's being holy would count as a case in which the factor causing or giving rise to the intended act is distant from it. When this is the case, the conjunction normally expected is γάρ, while ὅτι is reserved for more immediate causation, such as "he feels glad because she loves him." There is no such distinction in the Hebrew causal conjunction כי, which performs the tasks of both distant and near causation. Aejmelaeus observes that while Genesis and Exodus employ γάρ as a more frequent rendering in cases of distant causation, by Leviticus the blanket use of ὅτι as mechanical stand-in for כי is becoming more frequent.[20] It suggests that Leviticus was translated later than Genesis or Exodus, and that literalism is becoming gradually accepted as the convention for faithful translation.

ἐγὼ ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν. Wevers's punctuation follows the logical sense as determined by the Hebrew. Without any punctuation the Greek sentence could be understood as "I, your God, am a holy master." Wevers notices that G changes the word order to produce a chiasm, which is readjusted by the Hexaplaric tradition.[21]

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19. For the use of this terminology, see Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "Toward the Analysis," 27–47.

20. Anneli Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 14.

21. Wevers, *Greek Text of Leviticus*, 290.

Leviticus 19:3

איש אמו ואביו תיראו ואת שבתתי תשמרו אני יהוה אלהיכם

ἕκαστος πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ μητέρα αὐτοῦ φοβείσθω, καὶ τὰ σάββατά μου φυλάξεσθε· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.

NRSV: You shall each revere your mother and father, and you shall keep my sabbaths: I am the Lord your God.

NETS: Let each fear his father and his mother, and you shall keep my sabbaths: I am the Lord your God.

This verse displays many of the typical options open to G and the choices he permitted himself to make. His concern for serial and quantitative fidelity is qualified by a clear decision against overly literalistic translation. He will not always follow the Hebrew in a slavish fashion, but will employ Greek idiom as far as possible.

ἕκαστος. Here, as in 7:10 and 10:1, G renders the Hebrew distributive idiomatically, in contrast with 15:2, in which he uses *ἀνήρ* twice. Such variation is typical of the early stages of the translation process, in which the Pentateuch translators were experimenting with various ways of representing their original. They had not yet made a conscious decision towards literal or free translation as a working method. Though such unevenness seems unusual to the modern eye, it provides the important evidence that strict literalism was not the accepted cultural norm in third-century Alexandria, as it would become by the time that some of the later books of the LXX were translated, some of which surpass Aquila in wooden renderings.[22] By using *ἕκαστος*, G is able to represent faithfully the third person pronoun found in the next phrase of the Hebrew.

πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ μητέρα αὐτοῦ. Here G, Syr, and V have the inverse order to MT. MT's reading is supported by 4Q367 Reworked Pentateuch[e].[23] Twice more in Leviticus, MT will have mother appearing before father,

22. James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism*, MSU 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979). See also Sebastian Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint" in *The Witness of Tradition: Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference Held at Woudschoten, 1970*, ed. M. A. Beek (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 11–36; and Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *GRBS* 20 (1979): 69–87.

23. Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White Crawford, "4QReworked Pentateuch[e]," in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, ed. Harold W. Attridge et al., DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 348; *pace* Martin Vahrenhorst's note in Karrer and Kraus, *Septuaginta Deutsch*: *Erläuterungen*, 391.

in 20:19 and 21:2, and each time one or more witnesses will agree with G in reversing the order. It may be that since Lev 19's content is so closely related to the Decalogue, G and the other versions followed a tradition that was harmonized to Exod 20.[24]

φοβείσθω. Here G faces a dilemma, because the subject of the Hebrew verb is the second person, in spite of the third person suffixes resuming that subject (*you* shall each fear *his* mother). The decision he makes is to maintain the third person by way of a volitional form. A lexical question is whether φοβέομαι may carry the same connotation as ירא in the sense of "revere," and indeed it is so attested with an accusative of the person in the meaning to "stand in awe of" someone.[25]

τὰ σάββατά. Wevers explains this form as originally a transliteration of the Aramaic determined singular form שַׁבתא, which then became regarded through homophony as a neuter plural in Greek, and the final stage was the creation of a singular *σάββατον*.[26]

φυλάξεσθε. By now G is no longer bound to maintain the third person, since he is beginning work on a new phrase without keeping in memory the segments of translated text that provide prior context. Like Hebrew שׁמר, φυλάσσω conveys the metaphorical idea of "preserving, maintaining, cherishing."[27]

Leviticus 19:4

> אל תפנו אל האלילים ואלהי מסכה לא תעשו לכם אני יהוה אלהיכם
> *οὐκ ἐπακολουθήσετε εἰδώλοις καὶ θεοὺς χωνευτοὺς οὐ ποιήσετε ὑμῖν· ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.*
> NRSV: Do not turn to idols or make cast images for yourselves: I am the Lord your God.
> NETS: You shall not follow after idols, and you shall not make gods of cast metal for yourselves; I am the Lord your God.

οὐκ. Throughout the book, G does not settle on a single formula with which to render the Hebrew negative with אל and a *yiqtol* form. Here and another four times, he will use οὐ + future indicative in order to transpose the formal shape of the original. But he does employ more idiomatic forms

24. Wevers, *Greek Text of Leviticus*, 291.
25. LSJ, s.v. "φοβέω," BII5.
26. Wevers, *Greek Text of Leviticus*, 291.
27. LSJ, s.v. "φυλάσσω," B3.

of the Greek negative command elsewhere: in 11:43, *οὐ μή* + subjunctive; in 16:2 and five other instances, *μή* + imperative.

ἐπακολουθήσετε. The verb פנה in the meaning of "turn towards someone" is a metaphor for allegiance. Its matching by *ἐπακολουθέω* is an innovation of G (here at 19:4, 31; and 20:6). Though frequently doing so elsewhere, he might have followed again here the precedent set by Genesis and Exodus to use compounds of *στρέφω*. But he is not always bound by prior practice and acts independently, as will be seen a number of times more in this chapter. The Greek verb *ἐπακολουθέω* taking its object in the dative, as it does here, can denote something similar—"attend to, follow, i.e. obey or comply with" as well as "follow someone as an authority."[28]

εἰδώλοις. In the Pentateuch *εἴδωλον* is the rendering for a variety of Hebrew words denoting objects that are worshiped, and the first time it is found for אליל occurs in this verse. In nonbiblical Greek *εἴδωλον* means "unsubstantial form, image in the mind, likeness." Such meanings function well as pejorative terms for objects worshiped, but do not connote in the Greek of this time the idea of a divine representation. A field-specific term such as *ξόανον* is the kind of word that would have communicated carved image more directly, and so NETS might more accurately have rendered "image" rather than "idol." The target culture appears to have favored a consistent rendering for Hebrew words of this class, above an exact semantic match.

θεοὺς χωνευτοὺς. Translating the Hebrew attributive genitive "gods of casting or molten metal," with the adjectival phrase "cast gods" is an innovation of Greek Exodus (the Greek and Hebrew expressions of Exod 34:17 and Lev 19:5 are virtually identical). The adjective *χωνευτός* is a neologism of the LXX and is formed from a contracted form of *χοανεύω*, to "cast in a mold."

ποιήσετε ὑμῖν. But now, by employing the personal pronoun, he ignores Greek Exodus, who renders עשה ל , "make for oneself," by *ποιέω* and the reflexive pronoun, especially in contexts relating to the manufacture of idols (e.g., Exod 30:32; 32:8, 31; 34:17). G hardly ever makes use of the reflexive pronoun in such expressions, and perhaps NETS should better have translated "for you." This adds to the picture that rendering Scripture more literally was becoming a cultural ideal over time, and one to which G conformed.

28. LSJ, s.v. "ἐπακολουθέω," I4.

Leviticus 19:5

וכי תזבחו זבח שלמים ליהוה לרצנכם תזבחהו

καὶ ἐὰν θύσητε θυσίαν σωτηρίου τῷ κυρίῳ, δεκτὴν ὑμῶν θύσετε.

NRSV: When you offer a sacrifice of well-being to the Lord, offer it in such a way that it is acceptable on your behalf.

NETS: And if you offer a sacrifice of deliverance to the Lord, offer it acceptable on your behalf.

θύσητε. The Hebrew verb for slaughter, זבח, is not in frequent use in this part of the Pentateuch. When זבח occurs it is met with a variety of responses by G. He ignores it in 9:4, and in 17:5 renders it by *σφάζω* (usually reserved for שׁחט), in 17:16 by *θυσιάζω* (a verb in common use around the time of the Greek Pentateuch's inception), and here by θύω. Surprisingly, this is in contrast to Genesis and Exodus, which employ θύω throughout. Once again, it shows that G is innovative and independent in his selection of vocabulary.

θυσίαν σωτηρίου. This formula is a creation of G Exodus (24:5) in response to the Hebrew formula זבח שׁלמים. The precise meaning of the Hebrew has escaped interpreters both ancient and modern, and later LXX translators did not always find the Pentateuchal formula quite acceptable. G consistently follows the example of his fellow translator. A complete treatment on this language is given at Lev 3.[29]

δεκτὴν ὑμῶν θύσετε. A neologism of the Greek Pentateuch first appearing in Exod 28:38, *δεκτός* is a verbal adjective of the type that can connote the same as a perfect passive or convey possibility. It may thus be taken as "acceptable to…," or "bringing acceptance, benefit to."[30] Here it appears in the feminine in concord with θυσία. The adjectival function may be understood in two ways. It either resides in the subject of the verbal action or in the object of the verbal action. As for the first possibility, the adjective in the predicate position can stand in apposition to the verbal action, to express "you shall sacrifice it in such a way that it brings benefit in your behalf" (compare the NRSV). Alternatively, the predicate adjective can be viewed as a substantive in the predicate position as an appositive to its referent, the sacrifice. That is to say, "you shall sacrifice it as some-

29. See, most recently, Dirk Büchner, "Leuitikon 3:1–17: The Sacrifice of Deliverance," in Büchner, *SBL Commentary on the Septuagint*.

30. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §472. I thank Larry Perkins for these insights, provided in personal correspondence.

thing acceptable in your behalf." The former alternative lies closer to the adverbial sense found in לרצון. That the objective suffix on the Hebrew verb תזבחהו is left untranslated is a mark of good Greek, which omits an objective pronoun when the object's referent is obvious. The genitive of advantage ὑμῶν makes good sense of the Hebrew suffix.

Leviticus 19:6

> ביום זבחכם יאכל וממחרת והנותר עד יום השלישי באש ישרף
> *ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ θύσητε, βρωθήσεται καὶ τῇ αὔριον· καὶ ἐὰν καταλειφθῇ ἕως ἡμέρας τρίτης, ἐν πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται.*
> NRSV: It shall be eaten on the same day you offer it, or on the next day; and anything left over until the third day shall be consumed in fire.
> NETS: It shall be eaten on the day you offer it and on the next day, and if it is left over until the third day, it shall be burned up by fire.

ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ θύσητε. The fairly common Hebrew temporal expression ביום + infinitive of the main verb offered the Pentateuch's translators the opportunity to find equivalents for a preposition, a nominal element, and a verbal element. Greek Genesis, on first encountering it, rendered the preposition not by ἐν but produced a more idiomatic rendering through the use of the dative (as we see it here). When it next appeared (Gen 3:5), he experimented with the literal option and used ἐν, but as if righting himself, decided against it in all subsequent treatments. In Exodus, only the dative appears. G, in addition to employing the dative, revives the literalistic use of ἐν in 6:13 and 23:12. Though there are grounds for suggesting that he is not fully committed to literalism, we do notice that it is becoming an option, one Exodus did fully subscribe to. As for the nominal element of the prepositional phrase, none of the Pentateuch translators went as far as collapsing ביום into an adverb such as ὅτε or ἡνίκα. Consequently, ἡμέρα woodenly occurs every time it is present in the parent text. The cultural norm permitted the elision of prepositions but not the loss of a nominal element.

ἐὰν καταλειφθῇ. As in other recollections of this sacrifice in Lev 3 and 7, the independent relative clause הנותר has the function of indicating a definite possibility, that is, "that which remains." Up until now, G has rendered the clause by the article and a perfect participle. But here he expresses it as

a conditional, perhaps representing a more reasonable situation:[31] "if anything remains." However, Zipor points out that it mirrors the rendering made of אם יותר found at Exod 29:34, so it is most probably a harmonization.[32] It is impossible to know whether G had before him a harmonized Vorlage, or whether he harmonized his rendering to the Exodus passage, from Hebrew to Greek or Greek to Greek.

Leviticus 19:7

ואם האכל יאכל ביום השלישי פגול הוא לא ירצה

ἐὰν δὲ βρώσει βρωθῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, ἄθυτόν ἐστιν, οὐ δεχθήσεται·

NRSV: If it is eaten at all on the third day, it is an abomination; it will not be acceptable.

NETS: But if in eating it is eaten on the third day, it is not fit to be offered; it will not be accepted.

βρώσει βρωθῇ. Injunctions relating to the important business of eating/not eating in Leviticus are commonly expressed by the Hebrew cognate infinitive + main verb. G employs an array of strategies for representing the infinitive: by participle, *φαγὼν φάγῃ* (7:18); by prepositional phrase, *εἰς βρῶσιν οὐ βρωθήσεται* (7:24); and here by a noun in the dative, conveying the sense "in the eating." In 10:18 only the main action *φάγεσθε* is rendered. An interesting net effect presents itself to the modern interpreter of LXX Leviticus. When an array of alternatives is offered for the same Hebrew phenomenon, it is likely that the translator wants his reader to ask what lies behind each one, and as others have recognized, a didactic result may be intended.[33] The audience for whom this translation was produced was familiar with the Hebrew expression.

ἄθυτόν. In 7:8 [MT 7:18] G rendered the same Hebrew term by *μίασμα* ("pollution, defilement"). Here he employs a word meaning "unsuitable

31. So Vahrenhorst, in Karrer and Kraus, *Septuaginta Deutsch*: *Erläuterungen*, 392; and note also the *ψυχή ἥτις ἐὰν φάγῃ* of 7:18.

32. Moshe Zipor, "Notes sur les chapitres XIX à XXII du Lévitique dans la Bible d'Alexandrie," *ETL* 67 (1991): 329.

33. Graeme Auld also notices this in Greek Joshua, from which he suspects that the translator deliberately juxtaposed literal and free renderings (Auld, *Joshua*, 121, 147). By acknowledging this, Auld is inadvertently working with assumptions operative during the translation's production and not those of concern to the readers of Codex B.

for sacrifice." There is enough evidence to suggest that in the course of the Pentateuch's translation, equivalents once employed successfully tended to remain in memory and in use. But this is only one example of many that points in the opposite direction: translators did not always feel compelled to stick to established pairings. We notice that G now employs the neuter (the adjective in this instance is a predicate nominative), ignoring the fact that he used the feminine two verses previously.[34] As Wevers pointed out on a number of occasions, G is fond of using neuters in a general way, not referring to specific antecedents.[35]

δεχθήσεται. This was G's choice also in 7:18. The formal shape of the Hebrew (*niphal* passive imperfect) is transferred over to the Greek as a future passive, resulting in a different emphasis, whether so intended or not. The Hebrew verb expresses the general notion of positive estimation, making it fruitful for use in the cultic domain. As found in the *niphal*, it takes on the theological dimension of divine acceptance. This divine estimation may be impersonally stated as a technical state of being rather than an action, and hence most English translations have the sense "be acceptable," as a quality residing in the subject, rather than the passive "be accepted," as an act of will by the agent.[36] The Greek verb carries the notion of accepting with the hand, and in the cultic realm it is found with the negative for prayers and sacrifices the gods no longer accept, that is, reject (Sophocles, *Ant.* 1018). A difference in nuance is then to be felt between the Hebrew and G, but only as an indirect consequence of the faithful transferal of the grammatical form.

Leviticus 19:8

ואכליו עונו ישא כי את קדש יהוה חלל ונכרתה הנפש ההוא מעמיה

ὁ δὲ ἔσθων αὐτὸ ἁμαρτίαν λήμψεται, ὅτι τὰ ἅγια κυρίου ἐβεβήλωσεν· καὶ ἐξολεθρευθήσονται αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ ἔσθουσαι ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῶν.

34. Adjectives derived from verbs have three endings, noticeable in the feminine δεκτήν above, but when compounded with εὐ- or alpha privative, they take only two endings, masc./fem. and neut.

35. Wevers, *Greek Text of Leviticus*, 357.

36. See Giles Gerleman, "רצה," *THAT* 2:813–14; also Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 3A (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1621; and *HALOT*, s.v. "רצה I," *qal* 2, for the active meaning.

> NRSV: All who eat it shall be subject to punishment, because they have profaned what is holy to the Lord; and any such person shall be cut off from the people.
> NETS: And he who eats it shall assume guilt because he has profaned what are holy to the Lord, and the souls who eat it shall be exterminated from their people.

The MT begins the verse with a distributive plural and continues in the singular for the rest of the actions.[37] G starts off in the singular (his *Vorlage* likely shares the singular with SP, Pesh, and Tg) and ends with the plural against all the versions.

ὁ δὲ ἔσθων αὐτὸ. The determined participle אכליו must be read as an independent relative functioning as the pendant subject of the verbal clause; that is to say, "as for whoever eats it, they shall be subject to punishment." As such, it has the function of a generic. G responds here with scrupulous item-for-item fidelity, down to employing a participle with the article rather than indicating the indefinite person by way of ὅστις with the indicative or ὃς ἂν with the subjunctive (although he did so in 7:8 [MT 7:18]).[38] The article with participle may indicate either a generic or particular person, although the generic is typically expressed by an indefinite participle in the plural.[39] "He who eats it" in NETS suggests a particular person. Whatever his motivation for choosing the singular, G is now able to continue in the singular for the entire first clause, whereas the Hebrew only reverts to the singular by the predicate part of the sentence.

αὐτὸ. G again uses the neuter for the object of eating, that is, the sacrifice (feminine). In Hebrew the gender is masculine throughout.

ἁμαρτίαν λήμψεται. This expression, found in Greek Leviticus and Numbers is nonnative—the two words are simply not associated with one another in Greek literature. Because the Hebrew is being faithfully rendered, the result is a Greek word combination made to function like a Hebrew expression. A proper native Greek expression for culpability is ἄγος γενήσεται, "there will be guilt."[40] Nevertheless, it may be possible

37. So Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1622.

38. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2506.

39. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §§2050–52.

40. Compare Herodotus, *Hist*. 6.91; and see Robert Parker, *Miasma: Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 191: "Agos is here a spontaneous and automatic product of transgression."

to suppose a legal meaning for *λάμβανω*, for example, as it appears with the object *δίκη* in the sense of "receive punishment."[41] Used in this way it implies that sin, which always has the built-in requirement of requital, has been taken on, received, or assumed by the guilty party.[42]

τὰ ἅγια κυρίου. Holy things are plural against the Hebrew. Wevers regards this as generalizing.[43] However, there appears to be prior precedent. Throughout Exodus, קדשׁ in the meaning "holy thing" is frequently rendered by the neuter plural *ἅγια*. The practice continues virtually without exception in Leviticus, and on the few occasions when the Hebrew noun is plural, the Greek neuter plural takes the article (21:22; 22:15; and 23:3). Special cases are Exod 29:33, in which the Hebrew noun appearing in the singular takes a plural pronoun (rendered cleverly by *ἔστιν γὰρ ἅγια*), and Lev 23:20, in which it takes a plural verb (rendered less cleverly by *ἅγια ἔσονται*). G Exodus and Leviticus must have had the idea in their minds that the holy (קדשׁ) refers to all or any things sacred to the Deity. There is then no special generalizing to be identified here.

ἐβεβήλωσεν. The adjective βέβηλος occurs in older Greek literature, but the verbal derivation is an innovation of the LXX (first appearing in Exod 31:14), from which it is taken up also by the New Testament. The adjective has the idea of any place not sacred, where one may tread with a profane sole. Applied to persons it means "profane, impure, uninitiated."[44] Hence the verb expresses the notion of desecrating something pure.

ὁ δὲ ἔσθων … αἱ ψυχαὶ αἱ ἔσθουσαι. In the Hebrew, the eaters at the beginning of the verse are plural, but by the end of the verse they are referred to in the singular. In Greek it is the other way around, now *ψυχαὶ* with the possessive also plural, while the Syriac is singular throughout. How does one account for G's clarificatory *αἱ ἔσθουσαι* instead of a literal rendering of the demonstrative הנפשׁ ההוא? In 7:8 [MT 7:18] the person who eats (הנפשׁ האכלת) is present in the Hebrew, although in the singular. Perhaps this is a case in which the Hebrew formula occurring earlier remained in the memory of the translator. When a variation of it appears

41. LSJ, s.v. "λάμβανω," II1e.

42. See Dirk Büchner, "A Cultic Term (*hamartia*) in the Septuagint: Its Meaning and Use from the Third Century BCE until the New Testament." *BIOSCS* 41 (2009), 1–25.

43. Wevers, *Greek Text of Leviticus*, 294.

44. Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1972), 172; see also LSJ, s.v. "βέβηλος."

that he regards to be truncated, he harmonizes. That his mental process takes place in Hebrew is suggested by the fact that his rendition here is not identical with his translation of the fuller formula in 7:8.

ἐξολεθρευθήσονται. The noun ὄλεθρος is a derivative of ὄλλυμι, and means "destruction, death."[45] Verbal derivatives in the simple form ὀλεθρεύω, "destroy," as well as its compound ἐξολεθρεύω, "utterly destroy," are neologisms of the LXX. This Greek verb is the most common rendering of the Hebrew capital offense formula first found in Gen 17:14; thereafter twice in Exodus and another 80 times after that.

Leviticus 19:9

ובקצרכם את קציר ארצכם לא תכלה פאת שדך לקצר ולקט קצירך לא תלקט

Καὶ ἐκθεριζόντων ὑμῶν τὸν θερισμὸν τῆς γῆς ὑμῶν οὐ συντελέσετε τὸν θερισμὸν ὑμῶν τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐκθερίσαι καὶ τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα τοῦ θερισμοῦ σου οὐ συλλέξεις.

NRSV: When you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not reap to the very edges of your field, or gather the gleanings of your harvest.

NETS: And when you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not make a thorough job of your harvest to harvest your field altogether, and you shall not gather what falls down of your harvest.

καὶ ἐκθεριζόντων ὑμῶν. As we noticed in the case of the cognate infinitive above, Hebrew syntagms that occur with a high degree of regularity will not always be rendered in identical fashion by G, since he prefers through variation to draw attention to the original. His treatment of the temporal construction ב + infinitive construct + subjective suffix creates a similar impression. In 11:32 it is rendered by means of the genitive absolute, in 10:9 by ἡνίκα ἂν + subjunctive, and in 23:22 by ὅταν + subjunctive. Within this tendency of variation, it also appears that he picks Greek grammatical constructions from a kind of grab bag. The formations he selects in 19:9 and in 16:17 appear to be genitive absolutes, but in actual fact they are not, since in proper usage the subject of a genitive absolute is different from

45. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 792; see also LSJ, s.v. "ὄλεθρος"; and John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SCS 14 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 42.

that of the main verb.[46] One must mark such an irregularity as a peculiar phenomenon of translational syntax. He is content to let temporal construction *x* in the original generate construction *y* in the target language (subject and verbal participle in the genitive), typically a component of temporal sentences. As noticed before, G demonstrates a fairly atomistic approach to the source text. That is, the grammatical context immediately surrounding a phrase appears not to have influenced G's selection of it. How then does one translate such Greek into English? All three modern translations, BA, NETS, and SD, indicate the sense "when," thereby suggesting to their readership that there is no grammatical anomaly here. Wevers makes the suggestion, "you must not … during your reaping," although this still feels too much like a bona fide temporal construction.[47] I would offer that one express the problem through problematic English, for example, "of your reaping, you must not." It is worth pointing out that Philo, when needing to make an allegorical point from the business of incomplete harvesting, cites not this passage but its twin in 23:22, in which the Hebrew temporal idea is expressed by *ὅταν* (*Somn.* 2.23).

οὐ συντελέσετε. Broadly speaking, the Hebrew suggests "you shall not harvest all the way to the very edges of your field," with פאת שדך serving as an accusative of place. Up to this point in the Pentateuch, *συντελέω*, meaning "bring to an end, complete, accomplish," is the expected equivalent for כלה. This is indeed the word G defaults to here, as a natural and faithful rendering of its counterpart, although he employs the plural for consistency's sake. But some difficulty now results, since the Hebrew verb functions with an accompanying infinitive, לקצר, used in adverbial fashion to express the idea of "harvest completely"; that is, including the edges of the fields. In contrast, the Greek verb, which under normal circumstances takes an accusative of the thing, cannot function in that way; for which see the next entry.

τὸν θερισμὸν. Having selected *συντελέω*, G now faced some difficulty in finding a suitable object for it, corresponding to the noun פאה. He responds with a second *θερισμός*, as if reading קציר instead of פאה. In the twin passage in 23:22, he translates פאה by *λοιπόν*, again not conveying the idea of fields' edges. So did he understand the meaning of פאה? It is hardly an uncommon word, existing also in Aramaic with the corresponding meaning of "edge, side," applicable to a number of objects,

46. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2058.
47. Wevers, *Greek Text of Leviticus*, 294.

including the hairline and the beard.[48] In 13:41, the Hebrew word is found prefixed by a preposition to indicate orientation (as it is in a number of places in Exodus)—"on the front side of the head." There G translates appropriately, using a preposition, as did the Exodus translator. Moshe Zipor is of the opinion that despite this singular instance, G was unable to make a judgement of the word as a noun by itself. Zipor comes to this conclusion because of the two glosses just mentioned and the two different renderings found for פאה in verse 27 of this chapter (ὄψις and the enigmatic *σισόη*), and suggests that in the present context G resorts to a contextual circumlocution.[49] If, on the other hand, one supposes that he did in fact know that the Hebrew word meant "border" or "edge," it may be that, having set down the word "complete," he found it too discordant to enter "edge" as its direct object without adding some clarifying preposition or phrase. It is well known from his procedure elsewhere that he does not allow himself such additions, but maintains a fairly strict procedure of quantitative fidelity without being overly literal. And so here and in chapter 23 he supplies the nouns "harvest" and "remainder," respectively, as more natural direct objects to the verb, which capture as well as broaden the Hebrew injunction.

ὑμῶν τοῦ ἀγροῦ. The Hebrew begins the verse by indicating the plural recipients of the message by means of plural suffixes, but now reverts to the collective singular. G allows the plural to persist in this prepositive pronoun.

ἐκθερίσαι. The compound ἐκθερίζω as infinitive is another case in which the Hebrew verbal form is faithfully rendered into a matching Greek form, but one that is unable to do the work of its Hebrew counterpart. The price G pays for quantitative equivalence is less than adequate Greek.

τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα τοῦ θερισμοῦ σου οὐ συλλέξεις. After his use of cognates ἐκθερίζω and θερισμός in response to קציר/קצר, one might have expected him to follow suit in the case of לקט to use a word such as *σύλλεγμα* ("gleaning") to complement *συλλέγω*, but G preferred the more expressive *ἀποπίπτοντα*, which happens also to be the explanation of this case provided by Mishnah Pe'ah 4:10: "What is לקט? That which falls off [הנושר] in the hour of harvesting."[50]

48. See Jastrow, s.v. "פֵּאָה."

49. Zipor, "Notes," 330.

50. Jastrow, s.v. "נָשַׁר"; also Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1626.

It might be of some value to display the words of this verse in bilingual parallel for us to notice how G went to work within a clear purpose of item-for-item fidelity.

ו	Καὶ	match
בקצר	ἐκθεριζόντων	might have used more literalistic device such as ἐν with articular inf. in the dative but made use of genitive construction instead
כם	ὑμῶν	match
את קציר	τὸν θερισμὸν	match
ארצ	τῆς γῆς	match
כם	ὑμῶν	match
לא	οὐ	match
תכלה	Συντελέσετε	standard equivalent, but Gk. plural for Heb. singular
פאת	τὸν θερισμὸν	sense overrides the need for identical rendering; injunction more universally applicable?
שד	τοῦ ἀγροῦ	match
ך	ὑμῶν	match
לקצר	ἐκθερίσαι	match, except for compound verb expressing a thorough action
ו	καὶ	match
לקט	τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα	Gk. concretizes a more abstract Heb. idea
קציר	τοῦ θερισμοῦ	match
ך	Σου	match
לא	οὐ	match
תלקט	Συλλέξεις	match

Leviticus 19:10

וכרמך לא תעולל ופרט כרמך לא תלקט לעני ולגר תעזב אתם אני יהוה אלהיכם

καὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνά σου οὐκ ἐπανατρυγήσεις οὐδὲ τοὺς ῥῶγας τοῦ ἀμπελῶνός σου συλλέξεις· τῷ πτωχῷ καὶ τῷ προσηλύτῳ καταλείψεις αὐτά· ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν.

NRSV: You shall not strip your vineyard bare, or gather the fallen grapes of your vineyard; you shall leave them for the poor and the alien: I am the Lord your God.
NETS: And you shall not harvest your vineyard over again, or gather the grapes of your vineyard; you shall leave them for the poor and the guest; it is I who am the Lord your God.

ἐπανατρυγήσεις. The Hebrew means "glean" or, according to Milgrom, "strip bare."[51] G expresses not an ordinary harvesting activity but an exceptional activity of reharvesting.[52]

ῥῶγας. פרט refers to broken, fallen grapes. G responds with *ῥώξ*, a rare word derived from *ῥήγνυμι*. One may assume it to refer to something broken off.[53] There is also the possibility that this is a later form of *ῥάξ*, meaning "grape" or simply "berry."[54] Either way, the intention is that individual grapes beyond the usual clusters are to be left alone.

αὐτά. Once again a neuter pronoun occurs for an antecedent of a different gender (LSJ designates *ῥώξ*/*ῥάξ* as feminine, but the article here is masculine). Perhaps the pronoun may be regarded as qualifying everything, including *τὰ ἀποπίπτοντα* of 19:9.

πτωχῷ. The matching of עני with *πτωχός* is an innovation of G's, and afterward it becomes the standard equivalent for עני. Originally meaning "beggar," *πτωχός* in later Greek came to mean "poor."[55]

προσηλύτῳ. The earliest attested usage of this word outside the LXX is in a papyrus text dating to the third century BCE, and there it refers to a group of newcomers.[56] Within the LXX, the first time we come across *προσέρχομαι* and its cognate *προσήλυτος* occurring for גור/גר is in Exod 12:48, where both the noun and the verb are found. Prior to that, Genesis and Exodus employ *πάροικος* and the transliteration *γειώρα*. But in due course *προσήλυτος* becomes established as the standard equivalent for the Hebrew word. Matthew Thiessen provides the most detailed presentation

51. See Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1627.

52. Vahrenhorst's comments in Karrer and Kraus, *Septuaginta Deutsch*: *Erläuterungen*, 392.

53. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 972.

54. LSJ, s.v. "*ῥάξ*."

55. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, 949.

56. The translation "newcomer" is taken from C. Jacob Butera and David M. Moffitt, "P.Duk. inv. 727: A Dispute with 'Proselytes' in Egypt," *ZPE* 177 (2011): 201–6.

of the word's distribution throughout the LXX and includes a critique of recent scholarship. He concludes that the best way to understand the Greek word is as "alien."[57] Comparable renderings are SD's "Hinzugekommene" and BA's "immigré," the latter two more specifically encapsulating the idea of a newcomer, rather than simply "alien." In NETS we have chosen to remain close to the word's natural meaning, that is, referring to one who arrives, hence "guest."

ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος. In the Pentateuch, there is no special significance to be accorded to this fuller formula to render אנכי. In other words, it cannot count as evidence for revisional activity, as it does in the case of the so-called *kaige* portions of Reigns.

4. Conclusion

G's mode of work satisfies expectations of a target audience who valued their source text and were most probably cognizant of its language, if not always the full meaning of that language. The way that he brings his audience towards that source text shows creativity and spontaneity. That source text shows only minor variations from MT. On the lexical level, he follows expected patterns of rendering, with the intention of ensuring that leading terms of the Torah are consistently represented, as in the case of *συντελέω* for כלה. A parallel tendency is to provide alternative renderings and to break with established patterns, even within his own translational activity. An example is the rendering of פגול by both *μίασμα* and *ἄθυτος*. He clarifies by providing vocabulary that expands or shifts emphases, as we notice in the translating away of "edge" or in agricultural words such as *ἐκθερίζω* and *ἀποπίπτοντα*. On the syntactical level, one sees the most variability, but it is because here Greek syntax and Hebrew syntax are fairly easily transferred; and even if anacolouthа result, they are not incomprehensible, as in the case of the genitive construction *ἐκθεριζόντων ὑμῶν*. His Greek may be said to bear the mark of adequacy rather than acceptability.

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Part 2
Recontextualizing Scripture in Early Jewish and Christian Writings

Section 2.1
Dead Sea Scrolls

Torah as Narrative and Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls

John J. Collins

1. Torah beyond Halakah

The centrality of the Torah in the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially in the sectarian texts, is beyond dispute. The Damascus Document (CD) expresses this in an interpretation of Num 21:18: "'A well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved with the staff.' The well is the law. And those who dug it are the converts of Israel … and the staff is the interpreter of the law, of whom Isaiah said, 'he produces a tool for his labor'" (CD 6:3–8).[1] Isaiah 40:2 (3), "in the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord," is interpreted in 1QS 8:15 as referring to "the study of the Torah, which he commanded through the hand of Moses." It is apparent from 4QMMT that the sect had its origins in disputes about the minutiae of legal interpretation, especially in matters of purity.[2]

In part because of the importance of 4QMMT in discussions of the sectarian movement, the impression is widespread that the study of the Torah was primarily a matter of halakic exegesis. Indeed, in the case of the sectarian scrolls, this impression is justified to a great degree.[3] It is important to remember, however, that Torah was never just "law." The word תּוֹרָה means simply "instruction." It is used in the Priestly tradition for

1. Unless noted otherwise, translations of Dead Sea Scrolls texts are from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000). Translations of the Hebrew Bible throughout are from the NRSV.

2. Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah*, DJD 10 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 123–77.

3. See, for example, Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 245–312.

specific instructions, such as "the *torah* of the burnt offering" (Lev 6:9 [2]) or "the *torah* of the Nazirite" (Num 6:13, 21).[4] It is also used for sapiential instruction.[5] Besides, the traditional Torah of Moses includes the narratives of Genesis and Exodus *as well as* the laws. This material lends itself to other ways of appropriation than halakic exegesis.

It is now generally acknowledged that the canon of Jewish Scriptures as we know it did not take shape until the late first century CE, at the earliest.[6] The Torah, however, was regarded as authoritative from the Persian period onward. It was, to be sure, authoritative in legal matters, but we may also think of it as canonical in a literary sense. "A canon," writes Robert Alter, "is above all a transhistorical textual community. Knowledge of the received texts and recourse to them constitute the community, but the texts do not have a single authoritative meaning."[7] This looser sense of authority, which treats the received texts as resources for a literary imagination, is very widely attested in ancient Judaism, including the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In this essay I wish to draw attention to two bodies of material that draw on older scriptures, or at least on the traditions contained therein, but are notably lacking in halakic interest. The first is the corpus of Aramaic texts found in the region of Qumran. The second is the corpus of Hebrew wisdom texts found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. None of this material is likely to have originated within the sect. It is rather part of the common heritage, which the sectarians shared with their Jewish contemporaries, but which they also evidently cherished.

2. The Aramaic Corpus

Fragments of 129 Aramaic manuscripts are attested in the Qumran collection, of which approximately 87 are preserved well enough to be studied.[8]

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4. Gunnar Östborn, *Tōrā in the Old Testament: A Semantic Study* (Lund: Ohlsson, 1945), 89–111; Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11*, AB 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 17–18.

5. Östborn, *Tōrā in the Old Testament*, 112–26.

6. See Timothy H. Lim, *The Formation of the Jewish Canon*, AYBRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

7. Robert Alter, *Canon and Authority: Modern Writing and the Authority of Scripture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 5.

8. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, introduction to *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-*

These are in various genres, including targums, narrative compositions, and visionary texts, to name a few.[9] A number of them draw on material we know from the Torah, especially the stories about the primeval history and the patriarchs. Katell Berthelot claims that "nearly half of the compositions in Aramaic from Qumran refer to the book of Genesis."[10] I will consider three of these compositions: the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 1–36), the Genesis Apocryphon, and the Aramaic Levi Document.

2.1. The Book of the Watchers

The Book of the Watchers takes its name from the "watchers," or fallen angels, whose story is told in 1 En. 6–11. Fragments of these chapters are preserved in three Aramaic manuscripts (4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q204), of which the earliest has been dated to the first half of the second century BCE, on the basis of paleography.[11] It is generally assumed that this story is extrapolated from the brief account of the "sons of God" in Gen 6.[12] J. T. Milik famously argued that the watchers story in 1 Enoch was older than "the definitive version of the first chapters of Genesis," but he has found few followers.[13] In Genesis, the episode of the sons of God is narrated as an

en-Provence, 30 June–2 July 2008, ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, STDJ 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–12.

9. Ibid. On the visionary texts, see Andrew B. Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*, JAJSup 19 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015).

10. Katell Berthelot, "References to Biblical Texts in the Aramaic Texts from Qumran," in Berthelot and Stökl Ben Ezra, *Aramaica Qumranica*, 183. Her article is devoted to the allusions in other books.

11. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 9–10.

12. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 166–68; James C. VanderKam, "Genesis 6:1–4 and the Angel Stories in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36)," in *The Fallen Angels Traditions: Second Temple Developments and Reception History*, ed. Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblentz Bautch, and John C. Endres, CBQMS 53 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2014), 1–7. On the original story, see Ronald S. Hendel, "The Nephilim Were on the Earth: Genesis 6:1–4 and Its Ancient Near Eastern Context," in *The Fallen Angels*, ed. Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, TBN (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 11–34.

13. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 31. Note the ingenious argument of Helge Kvanvig (*Primeval History: Babylonian, Biblical, and Enochic; An Intertextual Reading*, JSJSup 149 [Leiden:

oddity, a story to explain why there were legendary heroes, the Nephilim, on the earth in those days.[14] It is followed immediately by the report that the Lord saw that the wickedness of humankind was great, and so was moved to destroy the earth by the flood, but the two stories are not linked explicitly. James VanderKam has suggested that the author of the Book of the Watchers "perceived a deficiency in the text of Genesis" since it had not recounted evils of sufficient magnitude to warrant the flood as a punishment.[15] In any case, the link between the story of the watchers and the flood is made explicit in the resultant Aramaic composition, whereas it was not explicit in Genesis.

The story of the watchers blends two traditions. In one, the leader of the watchers is Shemihazah, and the main sin is their marriage with humans and begetting of giants. In the other, the leader is Asael, and the main concern is with improper revelation. These strands, however, are carefully intertwined. Neither Shemihazah nor Asael has any basis in biblical tradition. The professional skills of Asael and the manner of his punishment have been explained from Mesopotamian traditions, but there are also numerous Hellenistic traditions about the supernatural origins of metallurgy and magic, notably those about Prometheus.[16] Annette Yoshiko Reed is probably correct to caution against taking any specific parallels to explain the origin of the instruction motif in the Book of the Watchers.[17]

Brill, 2011], 373–95), that one strand of the Book of the Watchers, the Shemihazah story, is prior to Genesis.

14. See John J. Collins, "The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men," in *Sacred Marriages: The Divine-Human Sexual Metaphor from Sumer to Early Christianity*, ed. Martti Nissinen and Risto Uro (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 259–74.

15. James C. VanderKam, "The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch," in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. Peter W. Flint, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 139. See also the reflections of James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 179.

16. Henryk Drawnel, "Professional Skills of Asael (1 Enoch 8:1) and Their Mesopotamian Background," *RB* 119 (2012): 518–42; Drawnel, "The Punishment of Asael (1 En. 10:4–8) and Mesopotamian Anti-Witchcraft Literature," *RevQ* 25 (2012): 369–94; Fritz Graf, "Mythical Production: Aspects of Myth and Technology in Antiquity," in *From Myth to Reason? Studies in the Development of Greek Thought*, ed. Richard Buzton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 317–28.

17. Annette Yoshiko Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 39.

The story of the watchers explains the spread of evil, if not necessarily its origin. (There is a reference to the story of Adam in 1 En. 32.6, but it seems much less consequential). It is often taken as an allegory, either for the spread of Greek culture or for the defilement of the priesthood in the Hellenistic period.[18] Our present concern is with the way it uses the material now found in the Torah. First, it should be clear that the Torah is one of several sources on which the author drew, although in this case it provides the main frame for the story. The story itself is a moral tale, illustrating the pitfalls of fornication and of illicit knowledge. The understanding of the sin of the watchers as improper revelation provides an obvious counterpart to the proper revelation of Enoch in the rest of the book. The contrast between the watchers and Enoch is spelled out a little later, when Enoch has his audience with God in 1 En. 15. The watchers are reproached for having left the high and holy heaven and lain with human women. The mystery they revealed was worthless. In contrast, Enoch is a human being who ascends to heaven and lives like the holy ones.

Of course, the career of Enoch, which takes up the greater part of the Book of the Watchers, is itself only loosely based on Genesis. Enoch was famously said to have "walked with God" (Gen 5:22). While the biblical phrase may have meant only that Enoch lived a righteous life, it inspired the story that he had ascended to heaven, even before "God took him" (Gen 5:24). It is widely agreed that he was modeled to some degree on Enmeduranki, king of Sippar, who is said to have been taken up to heaven and shown the techniques of divination and the tablet of the gods.[19] The Book of the Watchers spins a story that he ascended to heaven to intercede for the watchers, and that subsequently he was given a tour of the ends of the earth, guided by an angel. In all of this, motifs that echo the Hebrew Scriptures are freely mixed with Hellenistic and Babylonian traditions.

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18. Spread of Greek culture: Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 170. Defilement of the priesthood: David W. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35.

19. James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS 16 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 33–51; VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, SPOT (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 6–8; Pierre Grelot, "La légende d'Hénoch dans les apocryphes et dans la Bible: Son origine et signification," *RSR* 46 (1958): 5–26, 181–210; Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man*, WMANT 61 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 160–213.

It is difficult to say whether or in what sense the author of the Book of the Watchers regarded Genesis as authoritative. He mainly treated it as fodder for imagination. This is the way "canonical" texts work in literature: they nourish the imagination of later writers, and constrain it only to a limited degree. The Book of the Watchers has a clear moral message, but it is not a halakic text in the manner of 4QMMT. It is not concerned to formulate rules for conduct. What it offers may reasonably be described as a kind of wisdom, although a very different kind from what we find in Proverbs or Qoheleth. It aims to guide the imaginations of its readers and thereby to shape their conduct. Torah is not only legal determinations (i.e., מִשְׁפָּטִים), but also embraces narrative as an important means of formation.

2.2. The Genesis Apocryphon

Our second text, the Genesis Apocryphon, hews much more closely to the text of Genesis than the Book of the Watchers. Fragments of twenty-two columns were found in Qumran Cave 1, but the scroll was originally longer.[20] It is usually taken as an example of "rewritten Bible," a quasi-genre of texts from the Hellenistic and Roman periods that paraphrase biblical texts. The label was introduced by Geza Vermes to describe such works as Jubilees, the Genesis Apocryphon, the Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo, and the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus.[21] The designation is problematic, since that which is rewritten was not yet "Bible," and so scholars increasingly prefer the nomenclature "rewritten scriptures."[22] The

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20. See Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*, STDJ 79 (Leiden: Boston, 2009).

21. Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, 2nd ed., SPB 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 67–126. For more recent treatments, see Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 1–15; and Molly M. Zahn, "Rewritten Scripture," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 323–36. Daniel Falk (*The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls*, LSTS 63, CQS 8 [London: T&T Clark, 2007], 26–106), includes the Genesis Apocryphon among the "parabiblical" texts.

22. See, for example, Anders Klostergaard Petersen, "Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon—Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?," in *Flores*

purpose of such rewritings varies. The book of Jubilees imposes on Genesis a very distinctive ideology with a high concern for purity. Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* is a work of history. In the case of the Genesis Apocryphon, the rewriting seems in large part to add to the entertainment value of the story, but it also aims to edify. The surviving columns and fragments of the Genesis Apocryphon correspond to Gen 5:18 to 15:8. They can be divided into three cycles, dealing with Enoch, Noah, and Abram.[23]

The Enoch cycle is very fragmentary, and much of the surviving text deals with the birth of Noah. Lamech suspects that "the conception was from the Watchers, and the seed from Holy Ones" (1Q20 2:1).[24] His wife, Batenosh, indignantly reminds him of the pleasure of their intercourse, and swears that the seed is his own (1Q20 20:9–11, 13–16). Lamech appeals to his father Methuselah, who in turn appeals to his father, Enoch. Enoch tells him to assure Lamech that the child is his own (1Q20 20:19–25).

The Noah cycle is introduced in 1Q20 5:29 with the title, "a copy of the words of Noah." Noah speaks in the first-person and testifies that the Holy One had instructed him in the ways of truth, and he held fast to righteousness. While this feature may be regarded as an expansion of the brief statement in Gen 6:9 ("Noah was a righteous man, blameless in his generation"), much of the story is paralleled neither in the Hebrew Bible nor in other books such as 1 Enoch and Jubilees that touch on the career of Noah. The text is enlivened by dreams, both nonsymbolic and symbolic. No mention is made of Noah's drunkenness and nakedness (Gen 9:21–23).

Florentino: *Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–306; Moshe J. Bernstein, "'Rewritten Bible': A Generic Category Which Has Outlived Its Usefulness?," *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–96. Jonathan G. Campbell ("'Rewritten Bible' and 'Parabiblical Texts:' A Terminological and Ideological Critique," in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003*, ed. Jonathan G. Campbell, William John Lyons, and Lloyd K. Pietersen, LSTS 52 [London: T&T Clark, 2005], 43–68), also objects to "rewritten scriptures," suggesting terminology along the lines of "scripture" and "parascripture." For the most recent conversation on the theoretical background and case studies on this literature, see József Zsengellér, ed., *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*, JSJSup 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

23. Esther Eshel, "Genesis Apocryphon," *EDEJ*, 664–67.

24. Translations of the Genesis Apocryphon are from Machiela, *Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon.*

The highlight of the Abram cycle is the sojourn in Egypt (1Q20 19–20). The biblical text mentions that the Egyptians saw that Sarah was very beautiful (Gen 12:14). The apocryphon describes her beauty in detail, in the style of a *waṣf*, commenting on the various parts of her body: "How graceful are her eyes, and how precious her nose … how lovely is her breast, and how beautiful her white complexion!" (1Q20 20:3–4). Abram is warned in a dream of the danger that could arise from Sarah's beauty, so his deception in passing her off as his sister is justified.

Moshe Bernstein pointed out that the classification "rewritten Bible" fits the Abram cycle much better than the earlier columns.[25] He regards the Enoch and Noah cycles as "parabiblical" in the sense that they have a jumping off point in the biblical text but do not follow it closely.[26] While the apocryphon exhibits some points of similarity with targum and midrash in the way it treats the text of Genesis, it cannot be assigned to either genre.[27] Daniel Machiela argued that the Genesis Apocryphon is an exegetical work and "was meant to be read *alongside* the authoritative text, and not instead of it."[28] He is certainly right that it was not intended to replace Genesis. The question is rather what kind of authority the author ascribed to it. It is not apparent that it is an exegetical work, written to explicate a text that is regarded as sacred scripture. Rather, it is a literary work in its own right, which views Genesis as a fount of literary tradition that nourishes the imagination but allows the later writer considerable freedom.

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25. Moshe J. Bernstein, "The Genre(s) of the Genesis Apocryphon," in Berthelot and Stökl Ben Ezra, *Aramaica Qumranica*, 317–43.

26. He borrows the term *parabiblical* from White Crawford (*Rewriting Scripture*, 14). She does not place the Genesis Apocryphon in this category, but rather regards it as peripherally within the bounds of "rewritten scripture."

27. Bernstein, "Genre(s)," 329. For an attempt to relate the techniques of the Genesis Apocryphon to those of the targumim, see Thierry Legrand, "Exégèses targumiques et techniques de réécriture dans l'Apocryphe de la Genèse (1QapGen ar)," in Berthelot and Stökl Ben Ezra, *Aramaica Qumranica*, 225–52. Compare Moshe J. Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57. On the use of the Torah in the Genesis Apocryphon, see also Akio Moriya, "The Pentateuch Reflected in the Aramaic Documents of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Pentateuchal Traditions in the Late Second Temple Period: Proceedings of the International Workshop in Tokyo, August 28–31, 2007*, ed. Akiyo Moriya and Gohei Hata, JSJSup 158 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 201–12.

28. Machiela, *Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon*, 134. Emphasis in original.

2.3. The Aramaic Levi Document

Our final example of an Aramaic text that is based in some way on the Torah is the Aramaic Levi Document.[29] Two leaves pertaining to this text were found in the Cairo Genizah, one of which is now in Oxford, in the Bodleian Library, while the other is in Cambridge.[30] The Qumran fragments were originally related to three manuscripts (1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q214), but the Cave 4 manuscripts were each divided into three in the official edition, so that now seven manuscripts are distinguished.[31] Moreover, a manuscript of the Greek Testament of Levi from Mount Athos has two long additions after T. Levi 2.3 and 18.2, parts of which correspond to the Cairo Genizah material and to the Qumran fragments. The transmission history of this text is obviously fluid, and all the witnesses do not necessarily constitute a single text. While it is related to the Greek Testament of Levi and may have been one of its sources, it is now agreed that this document is not a testament.[32]

The story is narrated by Levi in the first-person, in autobiographical form. In part, it is based on Gen 34 and 37. As in the Genesis Apocryphon, there is a concern for edification. Levi and Simeon are absent when Joseph is sold into slavery. Henryk Drawnel claims that the killing of the Shechemites (Gen 34) is presented as a positive action.[33] This, however, is not clear in the fragmentary text of the Cambridge manuscript. All that is preserved is that Levi, Jacob, and Reuben spoke to the Canaanites with

29. The official publication of the Qumran fragments is by Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts*, *Part 3*, ed. George J. Brooke et al., DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1–72. See now also the edition with commentary by Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); and Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

30. Note also the fragments in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester. See Gideon Bohak, "A New Genizah Fragment of the Aramaic Levi Document," in *From Cairo to Manchester: Studies in the Rylands Genizah Fragments*, ed. Renate Smithuis and Philip S. Alexander, JSSSup 31 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 101–14.

31.Gideon Bohak, "A New Genizah Fragment of the *Aramaic Levi Document*," 1–6.

32. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 87; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 27–28.

33. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 88.

wisdom and understanding that they should become circumcised so that they would all be like brothers. Whether the killing was reported, as in Gen 34, or how it was justified, is not preserved.

Aramaic Levi contains several passages that have no parallel in the text of Genesis. These include a prayer, at least one vision of the heavens, an account of Levi's ordination, a long wisdom instruction delivered by Isaac, a wisdom poem recited by Levi, and predictions of the future. Because of the lengthy wisdom passages, Drawnel calls the composition as a whole a wisdom text.

The instruction of Isaac is largely concerned with "the law of the priesthood."[34] This is concerned with the types of wood suitable for offering and the correct way to sacrifice animals. These instructions are being passed down from one generation to another. Isaac says he learned from Abraham what he is now passing on. As befits a priestly instruction, it is concerned with impurity and proper marriage. Levi is reminded that his seed is holy. There is then a greater concern for detailed halakah than what we find in 1 Enoch or the Genesis Apocryphon, but it is specifically *priestly* halakah.[35] This lore is passed on within priestly families. It is not an exposition of the Torah. The events narrated and their dates are paralleled in Jubilees, yet the direction of influence between the two works is disputed.[36] It does not, however, follow the text of Genesis nearly as closely as does Jubilees. While both works derive from a priestly tradition, the Aramaic Levi Document is more directly concerned with the priesthood and with technical aspects of priestly lore.

The Aramaic Levi Document is also more directly didactic than the Book of the Watchers or the Genesis Apocryphon. Drawnel tentatively

34. Ibid., 118–21; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 75.

35. Robert Kugler ("Whose Scripture? Whose Community? Reflections on the Dead Sea Scrolls Then and Now, by Way of Aramaic Levi," *DSD* 15 [2008]: 5–23), suggests that the Aramaic Levi Document underwent a sectarian redaction. I am not convinced that this was necessarily so.

36. James Kugel ("Which Is Older, Jubilees or the Genesis Apocryphon? An Exegetical Approach," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref, STDJ 93 [Leiden: Brill, 2011], 257–94) argues for the priority of Jubilees. Most scholars regard the Aramaic Levi Document as older (Michael E. Stone, "Aramaic Levi Document," *EDEJ*, 362–64). Like Jubilees and 1 Enoch, the Aramaic Levi Document presupposes a 364-day calendar.

classifies it as "a pseudepigraphic autobiography with a didactic poem and prophetic speech at its end,"[37] although, as noted above, he also emphasizes the work's sapiential character. He argues that it grew in "the Levitical milieu in which priestly education, metro-arithmetical training, and scribal ideals were transmitted," and infers that "the proper context for the education is the Levitical priestly family."[38] Its distinctively priestly character sets it apart from other wisdom literature. It is concerned with the transmission of tradition rather than with the exegesis of scripture. No doubt the author knew the text of Genesis, more or less as we know it, but he regarded it as part of his tradition rather than as a text to be explicated.

3. Wisdom Texts in the Qumran Hebrew Scrolls

The sapiential character of the Aramaic Levi Document provides a segue to the second category of nonhalakic literature on which I wish to comment here. This is the corpus of Hebrew wisdom texts preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls that had not been previously known.[39] These texts are also not necessarily sectarian. 4QInstruction (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 4Q423) has much in common with the Hodayot and with the Instruction on the Two Spirits, but it may have been a source on which the sectarian authors drew rather than a sectarian composition.[40] The other wisdom texts that are most immediately relevant to our subject, 4QBeatitudes (4Q525) and 4QSapiential Work (4Q185), also lack clear indication of sectarian origin, although they are not incompatible with sectarian provenance either.[41]

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37. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 89.

38. Ibid., 94.

39. The fullest and best introduction to the wisdom literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls is that of Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, VTSup 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

40. Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, STDJ 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 121–70; 195–32. Angela Kim Harkins ("The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation," *DSD* 15 [2008]: 121–54), suggests that the community hymns among the Hodayot may come from a nonsectarian context. For publication of these texts, see John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2; 4QInstruction (Musar le Mevin)*, DJD 34 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999); and Matthew J. Goff, *4QInstruction*, WLAW 2 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013).

41. For publication and commentary on 4QBeatitudes, see Émile Puech, *Qumrân*

The wisdom tradition in ancient Israel, however, was quite distinct from the Torah. In the words of James Crenshaw:

> Within Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes one looks in vain for the dominant themes of Yahwistic thought: the exodus from Egypt, election of Israel, the Davidic covenant, the Mosaic legislation, the patriarchal narratives, the divine control of history, and movement toward a glorious moment when right will triumph. Instead, one encounters in these three books a different world of thought, one that stands apart so impressively that some scholars have described that literary corpus as an alien body within the Bible.[42]

By the Hellenistic age, however, the Torah was increasingly acknowledged as a source of wisdom. Most famously, Ben Sira concludes his great poem on Wisdom by declaring: "All this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law that Moses commanded us as an inheritance for the congregations of Jacob" (Sir 24:23 NRSV). Yet Ben Sira never explicitly cites material from the Torah, and Torah is only one of several sources of wisdom.[43] He alludes clearly to the Genesis creation story in Sir 17:1–24. But he also declares blithely that God filled the first humans with knowledge and understanding (Sir 17:7) and ignores the prohibition against eating from the tree of knowledge. He adapts the story for his own purpose.[44]

The Qumran discoveries provide new texts in which to gauge the interplay between Torah and wisdom. 4QInstruction draws on the Torah implicitly at various points, but nowhere acknowledges it explicitly.[45] The

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Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579), DJD 25 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 115–78; and Elisa Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs towards Torah: An Analysis of 4Q525*, STDJ 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2016). On 4QSapiential Work, see John M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 85–87.

42. James L. Crenshaw, *Old Testament Wisdom: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 21.

43. Benjamin G. Wright, "Torah and Sapiential Pedagogy in the Book of Ben Sira," in *Wisdom and Torah: The Reception of Torah in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period*, ed. Bernd U. Schipper and D. Andrew Teeter, JSJSup 163 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 159.

44. See John J. Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, JSJSup 54 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 369–83.

45. See, for example, Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Halakhic Elements in the Sapien-

most striking example is found in 4Q417 1 i 16–18.[46] The passage speaks of an engraved law that is decreed by God for all the wickedness of the sons of Seth (or Sheth), and a book of remembrance that is written before him for those who keep his word. This is also called "the Vision of Hagu" or "Meditation" (חזון ה֯הגוֹ֯י; 4Q417 1 i 16). The passage continues:

> [A]nd he gave it as an inheritance to אנוש with a spiritual people, for according to the likeness of the holy ones is his inclination [or: "he formed him"]. Moreover, the Hagu [or: "Meditation"] was not given to the spirit of flesh, for it did not know the difference between good and evil according to the judgment of its spirit.[47]

The term אנוש can be read as a proper name, referring to the son of Seth, grandson of Adam, who is mentioned in Gen 4:26 and 5:6–7, 9–11.[48] But the word is also used in the context of creation in the Instruction on the Two Spirits in the Community Rule (1QS 3:17), which says that God created אנוש to rule the world.[49] If we take the word in the latter sense, then the following phrase, "for according to the likeness of the holy ones is his inclination" (or perhaps, "he formed him") can be seen as a paraphrase of Gen 1:27, which says that God created Adam (or humankind) "in the

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tial Texts from Qumran," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls; Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20–22 May 2001*, ed. John J. Collins, Gregory E. Sterling, and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 51 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 89–100.

46. For this material, see Strugnell and Harrington, *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV*, 151–66. For more detailed analysis, see John J. Collins, "In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 609–18; Collins, "The Interpretation of Genesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Moriya and Hata, *Pentateuchal Traditions*, 156–75; and Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, STDJ 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 83–126.

47. Translation of John J. Collins, *Scriptures and Sectarianism: Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, WUNT 332 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 79 (slightly modified).

48. So Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 87. See also Jörg Frey, "Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, BETL 159 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 367–404.

49. See also Gen 1:28.

image of God." The Qumran text understands this as in the image of the holy ones, or angels, rather than in the image of the Most High.

A second allusion to the creation story is provided by the statement that the spirit of flesh did not distinguish between good and evil. Here we have a clear nod to Gen 2–3. God did not forbid humanity to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, according to this text, but *some* human beings—those who had a "spirit of flesh" (רוח בשר)—failed to grasp the distinction (4Q417 1 i 17). The spirit of flesh, however, stands in contrast to a "spiritual people" (or: "people of spirit"; עם רוח), associated with אנוש, who were deemed worthy to receive the revelation, and who presumably recognized the difference between good and evil.

4QInstruction conflates the two accounts of creation in Genesis, since it uses the word יצר ("to fashion," from Gen 2:7) to describe the creation in the image of God. But it still distinguishes between two kinds of human beings who are created: the spiritual kind, whose creation is reported in Gen 1, and the fleshly kind, described in Gen 2–3. Only the fleshly kind fails to recognize the difference between good and evil, in accordance with the story in Gen 2–3. The author is clearly working with the Genesis story, but is also innovating by introducing an incipient dualism.

An even bolder reinterpretation of Genesis is found in the Instruction on the Two Spirits in the Community Rule. There the statement that God created אנוש to rule the world is followed by this claim:

> [God] has appointed for him two spirits in which to walk until the time of His visitation: the spirits of truth and injustice. Those born of truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of injustice spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light, and walk in the ways of light, but all the children of injustice are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness. (1QS 3:15–21)[50]

There is no precedent for warring spirits of light and darkness in the Jewish tradition. On the contrary, this concept has its closest parallel in Persian dualism, as has often been noted.[51] Yet the passage is also an interpretation

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50. Translation of Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 101.

51. John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 41–43; Collins, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 154–57. Marc Philonenko, "La doctrine qoumrânienne des deux

of Genesis, as we might expect in an account of the creation of humanity. Dependence on Genesis is signaled most clearly in the statement that God created man to rule the world. But even the doctrine of the two spirits should be understood in the context of the ongoing debate about the meaning of Gen 1–3 and the origin of evil in Ben Sira and in the wisdom texts from Qumran.

The most explicit acknowledgement of the Torah in the wisdom texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls is found in 4QBeatitudes.[52] This text echoes Ps 1, which praises those who meditate on the law of the Lord, but it correlates that with the pursuit of wisdom: "Blessed is the man who attains Wisdom, and walks in the law of the Most High" (4Q525 2 ii + 3 3–4). The passage that follows may apply equally to wisdom and Torah: "And directs his heart to her ways, and is constrained by her discipline and always takes pleasure in her punishments … or he always thinks of her and in his distress he meditates on her" (4Q525 2 ii + 3 4–5).[53] William Tooman construes this to mean that "the written Torah is the source of wisdom, and Torah piety is its sign and substance."[54] Similarly, George Brooke relates the language of "walking in her ways" to the concept of halakah: "The halakhah is based on practical advice for everyday living which is the application of various of the principles underlying the Torah, rather than the application of individual rulings (*mishpatim*) or statutes (*ḥuqim*)."[55] Brooke is certainly right that the text does not refer to individual rulings or statutes, but for that reason it is misleading to refer to it as "halakhic exegesis."[56] Rather, 4QBeatitudes uses Torah as an "ideological sign," as in the phrase of Carol

Esprits: Ses origines iraniennes et ses prolongements dans le judaïsme essénien et le christianisme antique," in *Apocalyptique iranienne et dualisme qoumrânien*, ed. Geo Widengren, Anders Hultgård, and Marc Philonenko, RI 2 (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1995), 163–211.

52. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 198–29.

53. William Tooman ("Wisdom and Torah at Qumran: Evidence from the Sapiential Texts," in Schipper and Teeter, *Wisdom and Torah*, 203–32) states that the Torah is the antecedent of these phrases, but in fact both wisdom and Torah are antecedents. See Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs towards Torah*, 246.

54. Tooman, "Wisdom and Torah," 212.

55. George J. Brooke, "Biblical Interpretation in the Wisdom Texts from Qumran," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought,* ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, BETL 159 (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 209.

56. Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs towards Torah*, 247.

Newsom, that is interchangeable with "wisdom."[57] The term "righteousness" is a similar "ideological sign" that signifies an approach to life that may be construed quite differently by different groups. As Hindy Najman has put it: "Torah was not limited to a particular corpus of texts but was inextricably linked to a broader tradition of extrabiblical law and narrative, interpretation, and cosmic wisdom."[58] The *idea* of Torah, like personified Wisdom, signifies an approach to life, but is not analyzed in detail. The language of 4QBeatitudes is much more heavily indebted to Proverbs than to the laws of the Pentateuch, but by identifying wisdom with Torah it claims for the wisdom tradition the authority of God's revelation to Moses on Mount Sinai.

Another wisdom text from Qumran, 4QSapiential Work, does not refer to Torah as such, but urges its readers to "draw wisdom from the [p]ower of our God, remember the miracles he performed in Egypt" (4Q185 1–2 i 14–15).[59] As Tooman puts it, "the excerpt is a complex conflation of locutions from scriptural poems that recite the history of Israel for pedagogic purposes, texts like Pss 78, 105, and 106."[60] It also refers to "[the way he commanded to J]acob and the path which he decreed to Isaac" (4Q185 1–2 ii 4). From this Tooman infers that "wisdom, in so far as this author is concerned, is the proper possession of Israel."[61] Here the reference is not specifically to the laws revealed at Sinai, but rather to the Pentateuchal narratives. It does not necessarily follow that "worldly wisdom of the international type is surely excluded," as Tooman assumes.[62] Nonetheless, in view of the fragments that have survived, the Torah appears to be the primary source of wisdom.

5. Conclusion

The texts we have been considering in this essay are not sectarian compositions, with the possible but debatable exception of the Instruction on the Two Spirits. The interpretation of the Torah in the rule books and in com-

57. Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 10–11.

58. Hindy Najman, "Torah and Tradition," *EDEJ*, 1316.

59. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom*, 122–45.

60. Tooman, "Wisdom and Torah," 216.

61. Ibid.

62. Ibid.

positions like 4QMMT is predominantly concerned with legal-halakic issues. However, the narrative and sapiential texts inherited from Second Temple Judaism were also part of the "transhistorical textual community," to use Alter's phrase, of which the Dead Sea Scrolls were part. While halakic issues may have predominated in the sectarian disputes around the turn of the era, the looser and more creative uses of scripture we have seen in these texts would continue to be a very large part of the reception of the Torah, down to modern times.

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Further Thoughts on Isaac in the Scrolls from the Qumran Caves

George J. Brooke

1. Introduction

Patriarchal traditions have recently come to the fore in discussions of some aspects of the ideologies reflected both in the sectarian and also especially in the nonsectarian compositions found in the eleven caves at and near Qumran.[1] The aim of this study as a contribution on reading the Bible in ancient traditions in memory of Peter Flint is to take forward the discussion about Isaac that was first brought into proper focus by Heinz-Josef Fabry.[2] Fabry started his survey by observing neatly that, by comparison with Abraham and Jacob, there was no separate article on Isaac in the *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (*EDSS*). More recently, reflecting on Isaac's apparent insignificance, Moshe Bernstein has commented that "it would appear then that, from the standpoint of the Qumran authors, Isaac is simply a link, on the whole, between the more significant patriarchs Abraham and Jacob. He is born; he is almost sacrificed, and he has a son Jacob."[3] So, where is Isaac in the scrolls from the Qumran caves, and did he have any significance?

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1. See, e.g., Devorah Dimant and Reinhard Kratz, eds., *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, BZAW 439 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013).

2. Heinz-Josef Fabry, "Isaak in den Handschriften von Qumran," in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 87–103.

3. Moshe J. Bernstein, "Where Are the Patriarchs in the Literature of Qumran?," in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of*

2. Authoritative Accounts of Isaac

Evidence for knowledge about Isaac amongst the copyists and collectors of the scrolls that come from the Qumran caves comes primarily from authoritative texts and traditions. The actual number of manuscript copies of Genesis to survive from the eleven caves at and near Qumran can be debated. In a recent survey of evidence, I have suggested that it is possible that as many as twenty-five copies of Genesis or parts of Genesis survived from the caves.[4] The number includes two copies of the so-called Reworked Pentateuch, now widely regarded as versions of an authoritative Torah, as well as fragments that are yet to be formally published (Green Genesis 32; Kando Genesis 33; Kando Genesis 37).[5] Some would include copies of the book of Jubilees, too, in such statistics about authoritative scriptural sources; that adds another fourteen (or fifteen) authoritative versions of Isaac traditions. Whatever the case about the number of copies, two things become clear.

The first is that the Isaac stories were known as part of Genesis itself. The following is a list of all the manuscripts that contain material from the Isaac cycle of stories: 8QGen (Gen 17:12–19); 1QGen (Gen 22:13–14; 24:22–24); 4QGen-Exod^{a} (Gen 22:14; 27:38–39, 42–43); 4QpaleoGen^{m} (Gen 26:21–28).[6] In 4Q364, fragments 1–3 cover small parts of Gen 25:18–28:6, with an expansion before Gen 28:6 that seems to rehearse what Rebecca says to a departing Jacob and how Isaac may have consoled her, perhaps on the basis of a divine or angelic revelation.[7] Assigned to

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the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard Kratz, BZAW 439 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 64.

4. It is likely that at least three manuscripts, commonly discussed as copies of Genesis, contained only part of the book: 4QGen$^{d, g, f}$ are written with eleven, fourteen, and seventeen lines, respectively. Tov has suggested that such short column lengths make it unlikely that those manuscripts were complete copies of the book: Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 98.

5. George J. Brooke, "Genesis 1–11 in the Light of Some Aspects of the Transmission of Genesis in Late Second Temple Times," *HBAI* 1 (2012): 468–74.

6. The texts of these Genesis fragments from Qumran are readily accessible in Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, VTSup 134 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 9–10.

7. Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, CQS 8, LSTS 63 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 116; supported by Bernstein, "Where Are the Patriarchs?," 64.

4Q365 is but one small fragment with text of Genesis on it: fragment 1 contains some words from Gen 21:9–10.

In addition to Genesis for the fourteen or fifteen copies of the book of Jubilees, seven have some few fragments that contain parts of the Isaac cycle of narratives, and others (e.g., 1Q17, 4Q176a) contain remnants of passages from nearby contexts and, if reconstructed as full manuscripts, are likely also to have contained some or all of the Isaac cycle.[8] 1Q18 has parts of Jub. 35.8–10, part of Rebecca's conversation with Isaac concerning Jacob and Esau. 2Q19 has parts of Jub. 23.7–8, the burial of Abraham by Isaac and Ishmael, a section of text also extant in 3Q5. 4Q219 (4QJubilees[d]) consists of sixteen small fragments that can be reconstructed to resemble the text of Jub. 21.1–2, 7–10, 12–16, and 18–22.1, those sections of Jubilees that contain Abraham's priestly testamentary instruction for Isaac. 4Q220 (4QJubilees[e]) is extant in a single large fragment, like 4Q219 containing text of Jub. 21.5–10. 4Q221 (4QJubilees[f]) has fragments containing Jub. 21.22–24 (Abraham's instruction to Isaac) as well as small parts of Jubilees 22, 23, 33, 37, 38, and 39, none of which mention Isaac. 4Q222 (4QJubilees[g]) has parts of Jub. 25.9–12 and 27:6–7, both of which are part of the Isaac cycle of narratives, though largely concerned with Rebecca and Jacob.[9] The most prominent feature of the portrayal of Isaac in the book of Jubilees that is not to be found in the text of Genesis concerns his priestly knowledge and the words of his blessing of Levi in the light of such knowledge. There are multiple small additional or alternative details as well, some of which might derive from other parts of Scripture.[10]

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8. A brief but comprehensive description of the manuscripts of Jubilees from the Qumran caves is James C. VanderKam, "Jubilees, Book of," *EDSS* 1:434–38.

9. On the interpretation of Gen 27:1–28:9 in Jub. 26.1–27.12, see Christopher T. Begg, "The Blessing of Isaac according to Josephus and Jubilees," *RCT* 35 (2010): 359–72.

10. Job lies behind the retelling of the Akedah: Leroy A. Huizenga, "The Battle for Isaac: Exploring the Composition and Function of the Aqedah in the Book of Jubilees," *JSP* 13 (2002): 33–59; J. van Ruiten, "Abraham, Job and the Book of Jubilees: The Intertextual Relationship of Genesis 22:1–19, Job 1:1–2:13 and Jubilees 17:15–18:19," in *The Sacrifice of Isaac: The Aqedah (Genesis 22) and Its Interpretations*, ed. Edward Noort and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, TBN 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 71–83; Devorah Dimant, "The Biblical Basis of Nonbiblical Additions: The Binding of Isaac in Jubilees in Light of the Story of Job," in *Connected Vessels: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Literature of the Second Temple Period* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2010), 348–68.

The second feature to note here is that it seems as if relatively little of the Isaac cycle of narratives survives. This is all the more surprising if it is thought that those very narratives would fall in the middle of any manuscript that contained Genesis alone or Genesis–Exod 15, thus enhancing the chances of survival, since damage tends to occur first on the outermost turns of a scroll and equally on the innermost turns, which are equally exposed to air and insects. Though it is unnecessary to speculate that there were numerous copies of Genesis circulating with little or no Isaac in them, equally it might be indicative of the importance (both explicit and implicit) that he was given by the Qumran group or the movement of which it was a part that, just as Isaac is not given any major role in the nonscriptural compositions in the library, so the cycle of narratives about him are not well represented in what survives of the authoritative copies and versions of the first book of the Torah.

3. Explicit Mentions of Isaac

The copies of Jubilees and related compositions have the most explicit references to Isaac in the scrolls found in the eleven caves at and near Qumran. I have mentioned these above and will not rehearse the contents of Jubilees directly again. The authority and role of Jubilees for the movement of which the Qumran community was a part is largely regarded as a matter beyond dispute.[11] There will be several references to the book of Jubilees in various paragraphs of the essay that follows. In the compositions closely related to the book of Jubilees, it is so-called Pseudo-Jubilees that has been at the center of comments about Isaac in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Many points of comparison have been discussed in the literature, but two concern Isaac in particular. First, the most widely discussed aspect of the presentation of Isaac in so-called Pseudo-Jubilees is the matter of

11. A defense of such authority and role is made by Ian C. Werrett, "Salvation through Emulation: Facets of Jubilean Soteriology at Qumran," in *This World and the World to Come: Soteriology in Early Judaism*, ed. Daniel M. Gurtner, LSTS 74 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 213–20. A challenge to the widespread view that CD 16:3–4 quotes the title of Jubilees has been made by Devorah Dimant, "Two 'Scientific' Fictions: The So-Called Book of Noah and the Alleged Quotation of Jubilees in CD 16:3–4," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich*, ed. Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam, VTSup 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 242–48; reprinted in Dimant, *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, FAT 90 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 363–68.

how his participation in the story of the Akedah is depicted.[12] The most salient point is that in the standard texts of Gen 22, Isaac seems to be an innocent passive player in the events concerning the testing of Abraham, his father. A few suggestions have been made to the effect that some minor aspects of both the Hebrew and Greek traditions could be taken otherwise, to indicate Isaac's knowledge of what was about to happen, but the plain reading of the traditions in both Hebrew and Greek would be to suppose his ignorance and passive involvement.[13] In the book of Jubilees, too, Isaac is portrayed as ignorant of what is about to happen to him. In addition, at the moment that Abraham binds him the dialogue between father and son ceases and there is third person narrative alone, in which Abraham simply binds his son Isaac and lays him on the wood on the altar.

However, in 4Q225 2 ii 4, Isaac speaks to his father as he is being bound. Only a single *kaph* of his speech is extant in the manuscript. In the light of the targumim (and the much later Gen. Rab. 56:8), which provide Isaac with a speech, it is possible to restore Isaac's words as something

12. On Pseudo-Jubilees: the most recent discussion of 4Q225, 4Q226 and 4Q227 is Atar Livneh, "The Composition Pseudo-Jubilees from Qumran (4Q225; 4Q226; 4Q227): A New Edition, Introduction, and Commentary" (PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2010) [Heb.; Eng. summary, 263–69]. Livneh demonstrates that 4Q225 and 4Q226 are copies of one composition, while 4Q227 represents a different composition. On the Akedah: Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Qumran Literature," *Bib* 83 (2002): 211, has insisted that the term Akedah should only be used of the later rabbinic developments of the account wherein various theological motifs are developed. He prefers to talk of the sacrifice of Isaac for pre-Christian sources. Fitzmyer is technically correct, and his point should be kept in mind, but it is equally important to keep in mind that Isaac was not sacrificed. Judith Maeting, "*Jiśḥāq*," *ThWQ* 2:240, speaks of "die Dominanz der Isaak-Gestalt in der Rezeptionsgeschichte von Gen 22." Maeting outlines the place of the Akedah in the reception of the Isaac traditions in cols. 241–44 of the same article.

13. See especially the work of Lukas Kundert, *Die Opferung/Bindung Isaaks*, 2 vols., WMANT 78–79 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1998), 1:66–68. Kundert argues that, for the Hebrew text, the phrase *šnyhm yḥdw* (Gen 22:6, 8), particularly when read in the light of the Greek translation, could be taken to indicate that Abraham and Isaac had a common purpose in what they were doing. He argues for the Greek that Abraham's answer to Isaac in Gen 22:8 can be translated as "God himself will provide the lamb for a burnt offering: (you) my son." In that way, Isaac would know what was to take place. It is these exegetical possibilities that might lie behind some of the subsequent developments of Jewish thinking about the narrative in which Isaac is an active and willing victim.

like *kpwt ʾt ydy* ("Bind my hands").[14] Some are more cautious, however, acknowledging that such an explicit command might be surprising. James Kugel has thus proposed: "Isaac said to his father, 'A[ll that the Lord has told you, so shall you do.']."[15] But even such a statement by Isaac is his implicit consent to what is taking place: he either agrees or asks to be bound.[16] There is nothing in the text of 4Q225 to imply that the binding of Isaac or Abraham's obedience has any expiatory significance, but 4Q225 seems to be a first step in the direction of an interpretation of the narrative that pays attention to the character of the sacrificial actions in the text. Florentino García Martínez has highlighted how, in the retelling in 4Q225, there seems to be an enhanced interest in the struggle between good and evil, as Mastema is seen as the source of the testing of Abraham, and as the angels weep while the demons rejoice at Isaac's impending doom.[17] Apart from such a struggle, as developed in the targumim, the motif of Isaac's consent concerns a desire for Isaac's offering to be without blemish.

Second, it has been widely noted that the principal function of the adaptation of the Akedah in the book of Jubilees is the author's interest in seeing the story as an etiology for the Passover festival.[18] Such a concern is

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14. Tg. Ps.-J. to Gen 22:10 reads: "And Isaac said to his father, 'Bind me well that I may not struggle in the agony of my soul and be pitched into the pit of destruction and a blemish be found in your offering'" (trans. of Fitzmyer, "Sacrifice of Isaac," 218). On the restoration, see Geza Vermes, "New Light on the Sacrifice of Isaac from 4Q225," *JJS* 47 (1996): 143.

15. James L. Kugel, "Exegetical Notes on 4Q225 'Pseudo-Jubilees,'" *DSD* 13 (2006): 90–91; Kugel restores *ʾlwhym* but translates it strangely as "the Lord." Livneh, "Composition Pseudo-Jubilees," 76–77, declines to restore after the *kaph*, but notes all the possibilities.

16. Vermes, "New Light," 146, has proposed that Isaac's consent is a separate element of the tradition of the sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225, but Fitzmyer, "Sacrifice of Isaac," has disputed this and sees the consent only as implied in Isaac's request to be bound. Likewise, whereas Vermes wonders whether there was a statement concerning the merit of Isaac in 4Q225, Fitzmyer dismisses that as without trace.

17. Florentino García Martínez, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in 4Q225," in Noort and Tigchelaar, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, 44–57; repr. in Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, ed., *Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2 of *Qumranica Minora*, STDJ 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 131–43.

18. See the summary comments by Huizenga, "Battle for Isaac," 33–36, who also recalls that the link between the Akedah and the cultic practices of Jerusalem is already discernible in 2 Chr 3:1. The Passover link is strongly implied in Jubilees, with events happening on 12 Nisan (Jub. 17.15) and after three days (Gen 22:4; Jub. 18:3),

discernible also in so-called Pseudo-Jubilees, in which the Akedah narrative is followed by a sequence of summary items concerning the Exodus, thus endorsing the significance of one narrative for reading the events of the other.[19] Of importance is the way in which in 4Q225 in particular it is evident that the rehearsal of the Akedah is one of several significant moments in what seems to be a historical summary of key incidents in Abraham's life, and after a genealogy from Abraham to Levi of some key events in the Exodus, wilderness wanderings, and entry into Canaan. This sequential context for the Akedah might indicate why the narrative was included in the composition. It is preceded immediately by reference to Isaac's birth, a topic that follows directly after the mention of the covenant between the pieces (4Q225 2 i 3–8; Gen 15:2–6); it is followed immediately by a version of the Exodus from Egypt (4Q225 2 ii 13–14; Exod 3–4, 11–15). For Atar Livneh, "the placement of the story of Isaac's birth immediately following the Covenant between the Pieces (4Q225 2 i 3–9) emphasizes the theme of promise and fulfilment, while the juxtaposition of Isaac's birth and sacrifice (4Q225 2 i 8–ii 10) highlights the converse concept—the threat posed to the fulfilment of a divine promise."[20]

For Livneh, the narratives of the Akedah and the Exodus share many features, not least their relative length compared with the composition's other much shorter pericopes. "The Akedah is retold as a story of the vicissitudes to which God's covenant pledging posterity to Abraham is exposed: the evil angel, Prince Mastemah, incites God to test Abraham in order to harm Isaac.… The Exodus is likewise adduced as an example of the attempt by the forces of evil to subvert the covenant."[21]

One feature of the composition in 4Q225 and 4Q226 is its periodization of history. In this the composition seems to show some similarities

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to give us 14 Nisan for the binding and 15 Nisan for the deliverance (see also Jub. 49.1–6), though Passover is not explicitly mentioned. There are, however, a number of other parallels between Jub. 18 and Jub. 48–49 to make the Passover association of the Akedah certain: see, e.g., Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 191–98; and Leroy A. Huizenga, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew*, NovTSup 131 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 85.

19. Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "A Note on Isaac as First-Born in Jubilees and Only Son in 4Q225," *DSD* 13 (2006): 127–33: "The Book of Jubilees and 4Q225 (4QPseudo-Jubilees) each develop a connection between the Aqedah and the exodus" (127).

20. Livneh, "Composition Pseudo-Jubilees," 264.

21. Ibid., 265.

with 4Q180 and 4Q181, in which periodization of history also features. In those two compositions one period seems to run from Shem to Abraham, until he sired Isaac. It seems that, as Noah completed one period of generations, so Abraham also does, with Shem and Isaac initiating new sequences of generations. However, there is nothing in the extant literature to indicate that Isaac's initial position in the third sequence of generations gives him any special status or role.

Though not entirely clear in its purpose, there is another explicit reference to the Akedah in Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252). The passage is truncated and seems to start at the very place in the narrative where Abraham's hand is restrained from executing the divine command by slaughtering his son. This might be a particular literary reading of the tradition, the moment when eternity acts with split-second accuracy. This brings to mind, among many other depictions, Rembrandt's depiction of the sacrifice of Isaac, now housed in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. In Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252) 3:6, there is allusion to Deut 20:14 in the interpretation of the Sodom and Gomorrah episode of Gen 18, by way of reading it with halakhic exegesis involving the laws for war. The end of the line and the following three lines read as follows:[22]

> 6 and its *little children* (Deut 20:14), and the rest … [ ] ever. *And Abraham*
> 7 *stretched forth his hand* [*and took* (Gen 22:10) *the hea*]*vens*
> 8 *and said* (Gen 22:11a) to him, '*No*[*w I know* (Gen 22:12b?)]
> 9 *your beloved fr*[*om me* (Gen 22:12b)]

There is certainly no space before the introduction of Abraham stretching forth his hand for any of the earlier part of the story. This might be important if the editor of Commentary on Genesis A was aware of the traditions of so-called Pseudo-Jubilees and the possibilities of telling the story so that Isaac took a consensual active part in his self-offering; perhaps the editor deliberately excluded such a possibility and focused solely on the moment of divine acknowledgement of Abraham's fidelity.[23] Or perhaps the editor

22. Translation and notes taken from George J. Brooke, "4QCommentary on Genesis A," *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. Brooke et al., DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 202.

23. This stress on the great fidelity of Abraham is present also in later Jewish and Christian tradition, in which Abraham becomes depicted as the forerunner of temple sacrifice (as in Rashi) or the sacrifice of Christ (as in the *Glossa Ordinaria*), not least as

of Commentary on Genesis A did not know Pseudo-Jubilees and simply had his own exegetical purposes in mind. As to the ensuing elements of the story and their interpretation, nothing survives.

The next fragment of Commentary on Genesis A that survives is assigned to the same column as 3:12–14. It is a small piece that seems to contain parts of Gen 28, Isaac's blessing of Jacob.

> 12 *El Shaddai will bl*[*ess* (Gen 28:3)]
> 13 *the blessing of your father*[24] [*Abraham* (Gen 28:4)]
> 14 [ ] … you will [ ]

The importance of considering the two small elements of the references to Isaac in Commentary on Genesis A is that both seem to concern blessings, one of the possible themes behind the editorial selection of passages from Genesis.[25] The story of the binding of Isaac concludes with Abraham's fidelity being recognized through the reiteration of the blessing of Gen 12:1–3:

> The angel of the Lord called to Abraham a second time from heaven, and said, "By myself I have sworn, says the Lord: Because you have done this, and have not withheld your son, your only son, I will indeed bless you, and I will make your offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven and as the sand that is on the seashore. And your offspring shall possess the gate of their enemies, and by your offspring shall all the nations of the earth gain blessing for themselves, because you have obeyed my voice." (Gen 22:15–19 NRSV)

Thus, overall, although narratives involving Isaac are indeed included, in one he is depicted as passive and in the other he is seemingly merely the

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it is represented in the Eucharist; see Devorah Schoenfeld, *Isaac on Jewish and Christian Altars: Polemic and Exegesis in Rashi and the Glossa Ordinaria*, FSMS (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 88–89.

24. The reading, "your father," is found in the Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX^{A} *31*; this is one of several places where Commentary on Genesis A agrees with versions other than MT. See further George J. Brooke, "Some Remarks on 4Q252 and the Text of Genesis," *Textus* 19 (1998): 1–25.

25. See, e.g., George J. Brooke, "The Thematic Content of 4Q252," *JQR* 85 (1994–1995): 33–59; disputed by Moshe J. Bernstein, "4Q252: Method and Context, Genre and Sources," *JQR* 85 (1994): 61–79; reprinted in Bernstein, *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*, STDJ 107 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), chap. 6.

conduit of the blessing of fruitfulness and the promise of the land that is Abraham's, as he passes it on to Jacob. Something of this prioritization of Jacob over Isaac is also discernible in the reference to Isaac in the sapiential work 4Q185. In 4Q185 1–2 ii 4, it seems as if there is advice to the one being instructed to walk in the way that was commanded "to J]acob and the path which he decreed to Isaac."[26] It is noticeable that the order of the pair is Jacob-Isaac, not the natural genealogical or historical order.

In Commentary on Genesis C, fragment 3 "is the most tantalizing and frustrating fragment assigned to the manuscript; only three words can be read with any certainty and the lack of context casts doubt on two of those."[27] Of the three words, two are found in Gen 22: "his ass" (*ḥmwrw*) (4Q252 3 4; Gen 22:5) and "your seed" (*zrʿkh*) (4Q252 3 6; Gen 22:17). Though this might be the wrong identification of the contents of the fragment, if correct, then it indicates that the whole story of Gen 22 could be referred to in some succinct and abbreviated fashion, not just the concluding part and the blessing.

In the Damascus Document (CD 3:3–4), Isaac is mentioned together with Jacob as those who kept God's precepts: they "were written up as friends of God and as members of the covenant for ever." Here Isaac is simply part of a list of those on God's side in a catalogue of postdiluvian people who have either kept the covenant or not. The idiomatic Deuteronomic phrase, "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," features, perhaps unsurprisingly, in a small fragment of the Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q379 17 4); the context is broken but refers to the Law, to Moses, and to Eleazar and Ithamar. "The covenant that I established with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob" is recalled in the parallel passages in 4Q388a 1 ii and 4Q389 1 ii.

The idiom reflecting the patriarchal triad, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, features in liturgical contexts, too: in 4Q393, a communal confession, as well as in 4Q505 124 6 and 4Q508 3 3, and possibly also in 4Q509 24 2, collections of festival prayers. In 6Q18 2 7, part of some kind of hymnic composition, there is mention of the "son of Isaac," which seems to imply

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26. Trans. from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 1:379. All translations of Dead Sea scrolls are those of García Martínez and Tigchelaar unless noted otherwise.

27. George J. Brooke, "4QCommentary on Genesis C," in Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII*, 222.

that the poet is more interested in Jacob than in his father. However, not enough context survives to be certain of anything.

In his monograph on Isaac, Leroy Huizenga has proposed that there are five features to the depiction of Isaac prior to the common era: "(1) an emphasis on Isaac's willing and active role; (2) an association with the Temple Mount in Jerusalem; (3) an association with Passover; (4) soteriological ramifications (e.g., blessing, election, expiation, exemplarism); and (5) the development of apocalyptic and theophanic elements."[28] Some of these elements are discernible in the handling of Isaac in the LXX and in 2 Chr 3:1. All are to be variously found in the compositions from the last two centuries BCE described above. But are there items in the development of the traditions about Isaac that lie beneath the surface of the traditions, or which are even present through being suppressed and made absent?

4. Possible Implicit Allusions to Isaac

Explicit references to Isaac are few. There may, however, be some few Hebrew terms that can be associated with Isaac; I mention here just two.

In my opinion the most likely association is in the use of the term *yaḥîd*. This occurs explicitly in Commentary on Genesis A 3:9 and refers to Isaac, but there are three possible, though contentious, uses in the Damascus Document where a Teacher, possibly the Teacher of Righteousness, is described attributively as *yaḥîd*. In CD 20:1 occurs the phrase *mwrh hyaḥîd* and in CD 20:14 the phrase *ywrh hyaḥîd*. Many scholars have opted for the notion that *yaḥîd*, in these cases and in CD 20:32 (*ʾnšy yaḥîd*), is a corruption of *yaḥad*; but *yaḥad* occurs nowhere else in the Damascus Document and, even more problematically, the idiom "teacher of the community" occurs nowhere else in the sectarian corpus.[29] It might be more secure to attempt to understand the spelling as it stands. If so, then the editor of the form of the Damascus Document that lies behind MS B might be trying to describe this Teacher as akin to Isaac.[30] One might speculate that perhaps it was the priestly character of the Teacher (as in Commentary on Psalms

28. Huizenga, *New Isaac*, 75.

29. An observation made by Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents: I. The Admonition; II. The Laws*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 37. The observation remains correct even after the publication of all the fragments.

30. Part of the inspiration for this phraseology might derive from such sapiential instruction as is found in 4Q416 2 ii 13–14: "He will take pity on you like a man on his

A [4Q171] 3:15) that encouraged an association with one whose priestly credentials were celebrated in some traditions, namely those in the book of Jubilees.[31] Of all the sectarian compositions, it is the Damascus Document that is closest to the book of Jubilees. There would also be a double entendre, since the idiom might not just recall the figure of Isaac but also assert the uniqueness of the Teacher himself.

However, a significant problem remains with the suggestion that *yaḥîd* in the Damascus Document might depend on an allusion to Isaac through Jubilees. It is often noted that Jub. 18.2 agrees with the LXX in describing Isaac not as "only" but as "beloved" (based on reading a *Vorlage* with *ydyd*), and Jub. 18.11 describes him as "firstborn."[32] Nevertheless, in 4Q225 2 i 11 Isaac is indeed referred to as *yaḥîd*, indicating that the version of the language of Genesis that was preserved in MT was also preserved in at least one of the rewritten forms of the text. Betsy Halpern-Amaru has argued that the presence of *yaḥîd* in 4Q225, in light of the absence of Ishmael in the composition, makes the term all the more powerful as a descriptor.[33]

A second term might have links to Isaac traditions. In the book of Jubilees, the presentation of the account of the wells dug by Isaac and Jacob (Jub. 24.14–26; see also Gen 26:12–33) ends with Isaac swearing an oath to the Philistines. Isaac immediately regrets this oath and utters a curse against the Philistines: "May the Lord make them as scorn and a curse and (the object of) wrath and anger at the hands of the *Kittim*. And whoever escapes from the sword of the enemy and from the *Kittim*, may the righteous people uproot them from beneath the sky with judgment, because they will be enemies and foes to my sons in their generations upon the

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only son [… for you are his servant and] his [chos]en one." Perhaps the combination of ideas is based on the figure of Isaac. See also 4Q417 2 i 6, Isa 45:4, and Mark 1:11.

31. Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 37, compares the phrase with T. Benj. 9:2: *monogenous prophētou*, for an alternative background. No sectarian teacher is ever described directly and explicitly as a prophet: see George J. Brooke, "Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to Be a Prophet?" in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-biblical Prophecy*, ed. Kristin De Troyer and Armin Lange, CBET 52 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 77–97.

32. Halpern-Amaru, "Note on Isaac," 129, proposes that the use of "firstborn" in Jubilees is a deliberate allusion to the firstborn sons of Israelites who are saved from the tenth plague, which is also one of "the machinations of Mastema" (Jub. 49.2).

33. Ibid.,133.

earth."[34] The pervasive references to the *Kittim*, whether as Seleucids or Romans, in some strictly sectarian compositions (e.g., 1QpHab) are most often discussed in relation to their mention in Gen 10:4, Num 24:24, and Dan 11:30,[35] but the presence of the *Kittim* in this curse of the Philistines by Isaac suggests that such a curse might also be in the minds of the authors of those sectarian texts that are concerned with the removal from the land of all gentiles and with the construction of a portrait of the Teacher of Righteousness in a context in which at some times the *Kittim* seem to act as agents of divine judgment.[36]

5. The Absence of Isaac

Remarkable is one feature of the traditions about Isaac. In the book of Jubilees, he is described in such a way that he could be construed as the founder of the Levitical priesthood. Although the book of Jubilees is generally considered to be authoritative for those who belonged to the parent group of the movement from which the Qumran community emerged, the role of Isaac as founder of the Levitical priesthood is not apparent in the sectarian compositions found in the Qumran collection. Nevertheless, in the book of Jubilees there are two parts to Isaac's role in the establishment of the priesthood. In the first part, in Jub. 21, Abraham utters a farewell testimony for Isaac in which he outlines in detail prohibitions against eating blood, together with a wide range of sacrificial practices largely derived from Lev 3; there is also lengthy discussion of the kinds of wood that can be used on the altar. In addition, Abraham informs Isaac that he has knowledge of such things because of what he has found in the books of his "forefathers and in the words of Enoch and in the words of Noah." Isaac is thus the transmitter rather than the originator of priestly lore, although

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34. Trans. of Orval Stewart Wintermute, "Jubilees," *OTP* 2:104. Unless otherwise noted, translations of Jubilees are those of Wintermute.

35. See Hanan Eshel, "The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29–44.

36. On the ambivalent portrayals of the *Kittim* in the sectarian compositions, see George J. Brooke, "The Kittim and Hints of Hybridity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *People under Power: Early Jewish and Christian Responses to the Roman Empire*, ed. Michael Labahn and Ouit Lehtipuu (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015), 17–32.

in Gen 26:25 he builds an altar as the result of a divine command rather than on the basis of received tradition.

The second aspect to Isaac's establishment of the priesthood is in Jub. 31, which recounts how Jacob brings Levi and Judah to his father Isaac for a blessing.[37] Jubilees 31:12 notes that a "spirit of prophecy" descended upon Isaac. He then takes Levi in his right hand and Judah in his left and blesses each in turn. To Levi he says:

> May the God of all, the Lord of all ages, bless you and your sons in all ages. May the Lord give you and your seed very great honor. May he draw you and your seed near to him from all flesh to serve in his sanctuary as the angels of the presence and the holy ones. May your sons' seed be like them with respect to honor and greatness and sanctification. And may he make them great in every age. And they will become judges and rulers and leaders for all of the seed of the sons of Jacob. (Jub. 31.13–15)

There follows a poetic passage with a further blessing that outlines the special rights and privileges of the tribe of Levi, particularly with regard to food. The term *priest* is not used in the text of Jubilees, but the kind of service described (akin to that of the angels of the presence), when taken together with all the sacrificial information that Isaac has learned from Abraham and his books, does indeed seem to be priestly. Indeed, for the author of Jubilees it seems that Isaac plays a pivotal role in the establishment of the Levitical priesthood, marking it as akin to the heavenly angelic priesthood.[38]

This quasi-testamentary role for Isaac is developed in a later composition that, in its various versions, is replete with Christian elements. The Testament of Abraham is well known; less often discussed are the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob.[39] In the Testament of Isaac, Isaac is por-

37. For details on the significance of Jub. 31 for the priesthood in early Judaism, see Volker Gäckle, *Allgemeines Priestertum: Zur Metaphorisierung des Priestertitels im Frühjudentum und Neuen Testament*, WUNT 331 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 212–14.

38. The angelic characteristics of this Levitical priesthood as initiated by Isaac are developed by Joseph L. Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 42–43.

39. See K. Martin Heide, *Die Testamente Isaaks und Jakobs: Edition und Übersetzungen der arabischen und äthiopischen Versionen*, AEF 56 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000); Heide, "The Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic Versions of the Testament of Abra-

trayed as an extreme ascetic, fasting and praying, abstaining from various rich foodstuffs, and sleeping on the ground.[40] The testament is especially intriguing because Isaac has much instruction to give, apparently to Jacob, on the nature of priesthood and priestly practice. Indeed, he seems to count himself as a priest. The concern with Isaac as a man of prayer can be discerned in compositions that are clearly Jewish, such as in the adaptations to some aspects of the narratives of Genesis in Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*.[41] The interest in the priestliness of Isaac seems to be a development from some of the elements of the tradition that are preserved in the book of Jubilees, but which have generally been otherwise surprisingly but perhaps significantly ignored in those traditions collected in the Qumran caves.

6. Conclusion

From this study, what overall conclusions can be drawn about the whereabouts of Isaac in the Dead Sea Scrolls? He is not entirely hidden, but where he is developed significantly beyond his appearances in Scripture, he is a figure mostly of the second century BCE, in Jubilees and the so-called Pseudo-Jubilees compositions. As others have observed, Isaac plays little or no explicit role in the strictly sectarian compositions found in the Qumran library. That means that as far as we can tell, Isaac is not significant for first-century BCE sectarian thinking on the character of the priesthood and the sectarian movement's attempt to reflect that in its own life. Nor is Isaac significant for sectarian developments in thinking about sacrifice or the application of sacrificial imagery to community self-understanding, even though the movement has a yearning to return to Jerusalem and an aspiration that God will establish his temple there for himself on the very Mount Moriah where Isaac's binding took place.

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ham and the Emergence of the Testaments of Isaac and Jacob," in *"Non-canonical" Religious Texts in Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Lee M. McDonald and James H. Charlesworth, JCT 14 (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 61–72.

40. See Karl Heinz Kuhn, "The Sahidic Version of the Testament of Isaac," *JTS* 8 (1957): 225–39; Kuhn, "An English Translation of the Sahidic Version of the Testament of Isaac," *JTS* 18 (1967): 325–36; William F. Stinespring, "Testament of Isaac," *OTP* 1:903–11.

41. See, e.g., Tessel M. Jonquière, *Prayer in Josephus*, AJEC 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 63–77.

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Self-Glorification Hymn(s) and the Usage of Scripture in the Context of War: A Study of ספר התהלים in 4QM[a] (4Q491), Fragment 17

Kipp Davis

1. Introduction

The appearance of the intriguing designation for a set of writings in 4QM[a] (4Q491), fragment 17, as ספר התהלים—often translated "the book of Psalms"—is the only such reference of its kind in the Qumran scrolls.[1] To my knowledge, little work has been done to attempt to understand and locate this reference within the larger composition. In this paper I will treat the designation according to the following three-fold plan: First, I will introduce the manuscript, 4Q491, and show in broad outlines how fragment 17 is best read and contextualized along with fragment 16 as part of a single manuscript written by two different scribes. This perspective builds on my own previous work on this manuscript, in which I have argued that 4Q491 does not consist of material surviving from two or

It is my pleasure to present this study in honor of my friend and former teacher Peter W. Flint, whose innovative work in the Dead Sea Scrolls Psalms and in the transmission and interpretation of authoritative texts in Jewish antiquity has in no small part inspired and influenced much of my own research.

1. See also 11QPs[a] 27:3–7, where תהלים appears with reference to the legacy of King David: ויתן לו יהוה רוח נבונה ואורה ויכתוב תהלים שלושת אלפים ושש מאות ושיר לשורר לפני המזבח על עולת התמיד לכול יום ויום לכול ימי השנה ארבעה וששים ושלוש מאות, "YHWH endowed him with a spirit of understanding and enlightenment. He composed 3,600 psalms, and songs to be sung before the altar for the regular daily sacrifice offered all the days of the year, 364." All translations are my own unless noted otherwise. In the translations, words printed in italics are not specifically present in the Hebrew but are supplied based on the context.

three separate scrolls, but rather that it should be read as a single text-object, comprised of all the fragments originally assigned to it by its first editors, Claus-Hunno Hunzinger and Maurice Baillet.[2] Second, I will present the fragments and argue in greater depth for their placement more closely to the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn contained in fragment 11 i and will suggest a possible interpretation of their contents relative to the activities portrayed in the War Scroll, in 1QM, column 12. Finally, I will address the referent of the designation ספר התהלים itself and its implications for the Self-Glorification Hymn—which is actually comprised of two or three separate hymns in 4Q491—and the multiple appearances of this interesting collection in copies of the Hodayot.[3] In addition, I will touch briefly on how this study also affects ongoing arguments about authority in antiquity, especially with regards to the use of specific terms to indicate the sacred status of texts in particular.

2. Locating Fragments 16 and 17 in 4QM[a] (4Q491)

In the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert publication of 4QM[a], the original editor, Maurice Baillet, set the fragments in sequential order according to their correspondences with 1QM. However, the detailed study of Martin Abegg in his doctoral dissertation revealed that this arrangement is incorrect in light of differences that appear between scribal hands. This observation prompted him to conclude that 4Q491 was actually comprised of three separate manuscripts.[4] Abegg's division of material into

2. Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982); Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, "Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milhamā," *ZAW* 69 (1957): 131–51.

3. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 26, distinguished between two hymns in 4Q491, frags. 11 i, *cantique de Michel* and *cantique des justes*: the songs of "Michael" and "the just." Michael O. Wise, "מי כמוני באלים: A Study of 4Q491c, 4Q471b, 4Q427 7, and 1QH[a] 25:35–26:10," *DSD* 7 (2005): 173–219, has argued convincingly for reading three separate hymns in 4Q491 11 i and frag. 12, which belongs to the same column (compare Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 29–30).

4. Martin G. Abegg Jr., "The War Scroll from Qumran Caves 1 and 4" (PhD diss., Hebrew Union College, 1992), 1–11. My thanks are extended to Prof. Jean Duhaime for kindly providing me with a copy of Abegg's unpublished dissertation for the purposes of this project. Abegg's observations were published in "4Q471: A Case of Mistaken Identity," in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday,* ed. John C. Reeves and John Kampen, JSOTSup

manuscripts A (4Q491 8–10 i–ii, 11 ii, 13–15, 18, 22, 24–28, 31–33, 35), B (frags. 1–3, 4, 5–6, 7, 16, 17, 19–21, 23), and C (frags. 11 i, 12) has been largely accepted by scholars.[5] However, in 2007 it was challenged by Florentino García Martínez, who correctly noted that his fine division of minute epigraphical differences in certain letters and the very small difference in line spacing between manuscripts B and C were not clear enough indicators to separate at least these two groups of fragments from one another.[6] According to García Martínez, "if this division has not been proved, it will be wiser to consider the fragments as coming from the same manuscript which contains a composition with materials related to the War Rule and is similar to other manuscripts from Cave 4 that contain similar compositions."[7] In 2010, Joseph Angel wrote that Abegg has now since accepted this revision of his viewpoint and agrees with García Martínez about the reduction of manuscripts in this fragment group from three (MSS A, B and C) to only two (MSS A and B/C).[8]

Most recently, I have argued for reconsidering Abegg's division of the fragments, based on a careful physical analysis of damage patterns in those assigned to fragment 11 i–ii.[9] According to my review of the shape

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184 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 136–47; Abegg, "Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. Martin G. Abegg Jr. and Peter W. Flint, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 61–73.

5. See, e.g., Esther Eshel, "4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 175–203; Wise, "מי כמוני באלים," 173–219; Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts*, CQS (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 24–26; John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 155–63; Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*, STDJ 76 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 17–20.

6. Florentino García Martínez, "Old Texts and Modern Mirages: The 'I' of Two Qumran Hymns," in *Qumran Origins and Apocalypticism*, vol. 1 of *Qumranica Minora*, ed. García-Martínez, STDJ 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 112–14.

7. García Martínez, "Old Texts and Modern Mirages," 114.

8. Joseph L. Angel, "The Liturgical-Eschatological Priest of the Self-Glorification Hymn," *RevQ* 96 (2010): 590 n. 23.

9. Kipp Davis, " 'There and Back Again': Reconstruction and Reconciliation in the War Texts of 4QMilḥama^{a} (4Q491^{a-c})," in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honour of Martin G. Abegg on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Kipp Davis et al., STDJ 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 125–46. I offered a presentation of these findings at a 2015 conference in Oslo, Norway, which is presently also being prepared for publication; see Davis, "The Dead

and appearance of the pieces combined by Baillet to form this composite fragment, fragment 11 i–ii shows that 4Q491 was a manuscript that contained various war texts and liturgies that were combined on the basis of their common reflection upon human and divine interaction in the last days. This scroll was penned either by two different scribes, or even by the same scribe in two distinctly separate settings. This in turn means that since MS A and MS B/C do not represent separate scrolls, they should be replaced by designations "4Q491 A" and "B." My revised arrangement of the fragments accounts for the largest composite fragments, beginning with fragments 1–3, then fragment 11 i, which constitute 4Q491 B. 4Q491 A comprises fragment 11 ii, then fragments 8–10 i–ii flanked on one side by fragments 22 and 18, and fragments 13 and 14 + 15 on the other.[10] This revised arrangement of the fragments produces a new and intriguing compositional structure that may be outlined as follows: fragments 1–3 are perhaps best regarded as belonging to the first column (= col. 1) of a small- or mid-sized scroll, comprising more than five columns but probably less than ten.[11] This first column contains a description of battle tactics and formations, with a focus on purity as a requisite for righteous men fighting in the eschatological war and in the company of God's angelic army. The second column (frags. 11 i + 12) forms a small collection of hymns that reflect on human-divine cooperation and are probably intended for

Sea Scrolls in Colour: Re-imag(in)ing the Shape and Contents of 4QM[a] (4Q491)" (paper presented at the Dead Sea Scrolls, Innovative Technologies, New Material conference, Oslo, Norway, 15 June 2015, http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546g).

10. The location of frags. 22 and 18 before frags. 8–10 i–ii and then frags. 13 and 14 + 15 after this group was convincingly argued by Rony Yshai, "The Books of War from Qumran: Manuscripts 4Q491–4Q496 (Edition and Commentary) and Comparison to the War Scroll (1QM)" [Hebrew] (PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2006), 303–305; see also the discussion in Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 305–17.

11. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 84, makes a distinction between "small-sized scrolls," containing 5–13 lines per column, and "medium-sized scrolls," containing 14–20 lines (= approx. 14–15 cm). This is based on the reasonable supposition that "long texts naturally required longer scrolls, recognizable by their length and column height" (ibid., 75). While I would posit that the scroll likely contained around 30 lines in a column, the exceptionally small size of both scripts in 4Q491 would suggest that this is not a large scroll, measuring between 11–13 cm in total height. I would further argue that the nature of its contents, which parallels sections in the last quarter of the War Scroll, suggests that there was likely not much material to follow the last preserved fragments in the sequence, frags. 13, 14 + 15.

performance of some kind in the late stages of battle, or as part of a celebration of victory. Column 3 (frag. 11 ii) is the first written by Scribe 2. It contains a description of the final engagement with Belial and the sons of darkness in the War of the *Kittim*, similar to how it appears in 1QM 16:3–17:14. Then this continues for a column or two (frags. 22, 18, 8–10 i = col[s]. 4/4–5; compare 1QM 14:4–18) and concludes with a series of prayers of blessing for victory in the final column(s) (frags. 10 ii, 13, 14 + 15 = col[s]. 5/6–end; compare 1QM, cols. 15–16, 17).[12]

Unfortunately, to this point there has not been enough information from which to locate more accurately the remaining fragments, apart from assigning them to one part or the other of this manuscript according to the script penned either by Scribe 1 (4Q491 B) or Scribe 2 (4Q491 A). Among the group of unassigned fragments are two that preserve a handful of words on multiple lines, fragments 16 and 17. Both fragments 16 and 17 belong unambiguously to Scribe 1. In a smaller manuscript like 4Q491, it is most probable that both of these fragments also belong to the same columns that are more extensively extant in the larger fragment groups, fragments 1–3 and fragments 11 i + 12. The most straightforward procedure of precisely locating each fragment is through physical comparisons between line spacing and their patterns of damage, and secondarily according to their content.

Fragment 16 is a tetragonal-shaped fragment that measures 2.7 x 1.5 centimeters and contains clearly visible words from four lines of text and a handful of ink traces from a fifth. The fragment is medium brown in color with vertical cracks and abrasions that reveal a lighter colored underlayer. There is a chalky film on the right side of the fragment, which could suggest that it has suffered some water damage. The line spacings from top to bottom are 3.8 millimeters, 3.9 millimeters, and 3.8 millimeters.

Fragment 17 is formed by a join between two pieces, and measures 1.9 x 2.8 centimeters. It contains words from seven lines of text, and a trace of a letter from an eighth line. Like fragment 16, this fragment is medium brown in color, with abrasions and cracks revealing a lighter brown underlayer. The color is progressively darker towards the bottom of the fragment, which corresponds to an increase of the same chalky film that is visible on fragment 16 (which I interpret as a product of water damage). Indeed, the moderate shift in the angle of the lower lines that is consistent

12. See Duhaime, *War Texts*, 26–28, for a concise summary of the contents of these fragments (= 4Q491 A), which are assigned to Scribe 2.

with the concentration of this substance would indicate as much. The hair follicles are also gradually more pronounced from top to bottom, and they very closely resemble the skin structure on fragment 16. The line spacings of fragment 17 are 4.0, 4.1, 3.7, 3.9, 3.7, and 3.7 millimeters, respectively.

The close correspondence in the color and condition of fragments 16 and 17 strongly suggests that they were located in close proximity to one another in the scroll during the process of deterioration. An inspection of the new, visible light color (VLC) images made available by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) online at the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (www.deadseascrolls.org.il) shows compatible patterns between them of hair follicle structure and distribution, as well as water damage.[13] There is an unmistakable similarity in the condition of the right portion of fragment 16 and the left lower part of fragment 17, and I would suggest that this could indicate a plausible horizontal alignment of the two on a horizontal axis between fragment 16 2–5 and fragment 17 3–6, or lines 4–7.

If we can fairly confidently locate fragments 16 and 17 in the same column together, then it follows that these fragments are also most likely situated in vertical alignment with one of the larger fragment groups that is assigned to Scribe 1. The first group, comprising fragments 1–3, would appear to be a less likely location for fragments 16 and 17, based on the darker color of fragment 1 and the hair follicle arrangement in fragment 2. While the color of both fragments 16 and 17 is generally darker than the bottom portions of fragment 11 i in the second group, there is a consistency with the hair follicle arrangement on this fragment. Furthermore, there are ± 1 millimeter correspondences between the vertical breaks on the two lowest parts of fragment 11 i and fragments 17 and 16, respectively, which strengthens the conclusion that these fragments are in the same column. However, the assignment of these two fragments to the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn in fragment 11 i is possibly hindered by their limited contents, which I will discuss in greater detail below.[14]

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13. Israel Antiquities Authority, Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, "Plate 457, Frag. 3: B-363820," http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546i; Israel Antiquities Authority, Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, "Plate 457, Frag. 4: B-363822," http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546j.

14. The designation of this composition as a Self-Glorification Hymn was first made in a comparative study of overlapping manuscripts 1QH^a 25:35–26:10, 4QH^a (4Q427) 7, and 4Q471B by Eshel, "4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn."

3. Reconstruction of 4QM[a], Fragments 16 and 17, Relative to the "Song of the Just"

My transcriptions of the text in 4Q491, fragments 16 and 17, are included below with translation and notes, and in conversation with the unpublished edition of Abegg (A) and the critical editions by Baillet (B), Jean Duhaime (D), and Elisha Qimron (Q).[15]

Fragment 16

1]○○[
2]וׄבין כול העדה איׄ[
3 ע]ם קודשו ממלכות כו[
4 יקב]צׄוׄ כול ישראל ירוש֯[לי]ם[
5]הׄ וׄרׄוממו את גבורותׄ[ו

1] … [
2]and among the entire congregation … [
3]his holy [peo]ple, a kingdom of … [
4] all of Israel[will be gathered toget]her *in* Jerus[ale]m[
5] … and they shall exalt[his] mighty deeds[

Notes on Readings

Line 1. B A D]ת֯○[. Q —. There are three small traces of the bottoms of two or three letters. Baillet read the first two traces as the parallel downstrokes of a *tav*.

Line 2.]איׄ. B A D Q]○א. Only part of a downstroke is preserved of the second letter just short of the baseline, but it is probably a *yod*, since all other letters commonly meet the baseline or extend beyond it. The absence of any trace of a descender following the *yod* precludes the possibility of reading אין here.

Line 3. = A. B D Q[16] ע]ם קודשו ממלכות כו[הנים. Baillet's reconstruction makes very good sense within the context of the surrounding

15. Abegg, "The War Scroll from Qumran," 52; Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 39–40; Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll (1QM; 1Q33; 4Q491–496 = 4QM 1–6; 4Q497)," in *Damascus Document, War Scrolls, and Related Documents*, vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 162; Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew Writings*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2010), 132–34.

16. Abegg does not offer a reconstruction of the traces at either end of the frag-

lines. Duhaime posits that the mention of holiness and the priesthood here would fit within a description of war plunder.[17] The *nomen* עם קודש appears twice in M, in 1QM 12:1–2, ובחירי עם קודש שמתה לכה בי֯[חד (see also 4Q491 5–6 2, below), and in 14:12, ואנו עם קודשכה במעשי אמתכה נהללה שמכה.[18]

Line 4. = B A D Q.[19] The reconstruction was suggested by Baillet, and he points to the mention of the return of the army to Jerusalem in 1QM 3:11.[20] The visible trace at the right edge of the fragment is most plausibly a *tsade*, as tentatively confirmed by Abegg, Duhaime, and Qimron. The entire clause from 1QM is worth citing in full, beginning in 3:10, ועל חצוצרות דרך המשוב ממלחמת האויב לבוא אל העדה ירושלים יכתובו גילות אל במשוב שלום, "on the trumpets for the way of withdrawal from the battle with the enemy to enter into the congregation of Jerusalem shall be written, 'Rejoicings of God in a peaceful return.'"

Line 5. גבורות֯[ו. B A D Q]גבורות֯. Despite the fact that the correction is only a single *vav*, which is very commonly difficult to differentiate between hands, it is almost certainly added by the same scribe, Scribe 1. The ductus of the letter is too fine to be ascribed to Scribe 2. The reconstructed pronominal suffix was suggested by Abegg in his revised translation.[21]

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ment; Qimron transcribes קודש וממלכות, but the slightly greater distance between the *vav* and *mem* (= 0.3 mm) than between *shin* and *vav* would indicate with a higher probability that the *vav* is a pronominal suffix, and not the conjunction.

17. Duhaime, "War Scroll," 162 n. 23. See also Exod 19:6, וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ־לִי מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים וְגוֹי קָדוֹשׁ; the term is unique in the Qumran scrolls, but the corresponding translation *βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα* occurs in the New Testament in 1 Pet 2:9; also Rev 1:6; 5:10; 20:6.

18. See also 4QpPs^{a} (4Q171) 1+3–4 iii 7 (cf. Ps 37:20); 4QMyst^{c}? (4Q301) 3 6; 4QpapPrQuot (4Q503) 1–6 iii 20; 11 3. Also in 𝔐, Deut 7:6; 26:19; Isa 63:18; Joel 2:16.

19. Abegg does not offer a reconstruction of the traces on the right edge.

20. Alternatively, the verb is a *vav* conjunctive with the perfect form, וקבצו. For occurrences of the phrase יקבצו כל ישראל; see also 1 Sam 25:1; 1 Chron 11:1; also 1 Esd 10:9; Jdt 16:11.

21. Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005). All translations from this volume are drawn from the electronic version published by Accordance as "Qumran Non-biblical Manuscripts: A New English Translation (QUMENG)," v. 2.7; copyright 2009 by Michael O. Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward M. Cook; used by permission of HarperCollins Publishers.

Fragment 17

1]ם̊[
2]מה ולכול צבא̇[ם
3]ם ?*vacat* ואח̇ר̇י̇[
4]ספר התהלים ואח̇[רי
5]וברכ̇ה ככה יעשו ש̇[פטים
6]לש̇רפת כ̇[לה
7]ו̇שאר[ית
8]ל̊[ ]מ̇ה כזו̇[את

1] … [
2] … and for [their]entire host[
3] … *vacat?* And after [
4]the book of praises, and af[ter
5] and blessing, as such they execute j[udgments
6]to burn co[mpletely
7]and the remain[ing
8] … as t[his

Notes on Readings

Fragment 17 was the first in a grouping of twenty-one diverse fragments assembled by Baillet and numbered fragments 17–37, and was also the first in a subgrouping he labeled "extraits de règlements."[22]

Line 1.]ם̊[Q. B A D]○[. Only a small trace of the base of a letter is preserved along the top edge of the fragment. The short distance in space between the letter and the line below it indicates that it is probably a final letter, most plausibly a final *mem*.

Line 2. B A D Q]מה לכול צבא̇[ות. My reconstruction is based on 1QM 12:1–2: ובחירי עם קודש שמתה לכה בי̇[חד ו]ס̊פר שמות כול צבאם אתכה במעון קודשכה ומ[נין קדוש]ים בזבול כבודכה, "and those chosen of your holy people you have set before yourself to[gether, and the]book (or, number) of names of their entire host is with you in your holy dwelling, along with the n[umber of holy on]es in your glorious, lofty abode." There are possible correspondences between this passage and extant text in 4Q491, fragments 5 and 6, which Baillet has reconstructed together as follows: [כיא רוב קדושים עלה בשמים ו]צ̊ב̇א [מ]ל[אכי]ם̊ ב̊ז̊ב̇ול קוד[שכה להודות אמ]תכה ובחירי [עם קודש שמתה לכה, "[for a multitude of holy ones is aloft in the heavens, along with] a host of [an]g[el]s in [your] hol[y,]lofty abode [to praise]your[tru]th, and those chosen of [your holy people

22. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 40.

you have set *there* with you."[23] While I am not convinced about the distant join between fragments 5 and 6, I do believe that fragment 5 possibly also belongs to the top of the same column as fragment 11 i.

Line 3. *vacat?* B A D Q. The space between the final *mem* and the next word measures 3.5 millimeters.

Line 3.]○[ ]○[ ]ואחׄרׄיׄ. B A Q]○○ ואחׄר֯י֯ || D ואח[ר]י֯.[24] The traces on the right edge of the line are most clearly visible on PAM 42.474, but their placement suggests that they are not sequential letters and possibly not the first letters in the subsequent word.

Line 4. ואחׄ]רי. B A D]ואחׄ || Q]○ו֯או. The traces of the last visible letter(s) on the line are difficult. Baillet, Abegg, and Duhaime have all very reasonably construed these to be a *khet*, especially in comparison with other examples of this letter in חיל on fragment 11 i 9, and נחשב on line 15. However, in fragment 12 3, לרחובי shows more clearly that Scribe 1's *khet* is looped, which is not an obvious feature of the traces here. Qimron's reading remains plausible, but I have opted to adopt the consensus in my reconstruction.

Line 5. וברכׄה[A D. B Q וברכה[שלום. On Baillet's suggested reconstruction, compare 1QM 1:9; 17:7; 4QBer[a] (4Q286) 7 i 4; 4QH[a] (4Q427) 3 2; 4QH[b] (4Q428) 12 ii 1; 4QDibHam[a] (4Q504) 1–2 *recto* iv 13.

Line 5. ככה יעשו שׄ]פטים. B A D Q ככה יעשו ע֯]ל. Baillet reads the small trace of the last visible letter on the line as an *ayin*, but with a question about whether the letter might otherwise be a *sin*. The choice between the two letters more heavily favors a *sin* when a systematic comparison is made between both letters in this hand that are extant on the other fragments. *Ayin* remains a possibility, but the shallower angle of the visible trace more closely resembles a *sin*. An alternative reconstruction of the word is שלום,[25] but I have elected to suggest יעשו שפטים in an effort to create a plausible distant join to the text on fragment 16 3 (see discussion below).[26]

Line 6. לשׂרפת כׄ]לה[B A D Q. The reconstruction was suggested by Baillet. The trace at the left edge perhaps better corresponds to a *mem*;

23. Ibid., 20; see also Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*.

24. The parallel vertical lines are used to separate multiple readings by various editors.

25. Isa 27:5; 45:7; Job 25:2; 4QpapJub[h] (4Q223–224) 2 iv 30.

26. Exod 12:12; Ezek 25:11; 30:14, 19; 2 Chr 24:24.

nevertheless, a *kaph* is unproblematic and has been retained on the basis of the reconstruction.

Line 7. ושאר]ית[B A D. Q ושאׄר]ית לוא תהיה[. The reading follows Baillet, ושאר̊]ית[, but the presence of the *resh* is virtually certain in the new photographs B-363820 and B-363821.[27] Qimron's reconstruction aligns with Jer 11:23.[28]

Line 8. A מ̊ה כז̊ו̊]את[. B D מלח]מ̊ה כז̊ו̊]את || Q מׄה כו̊○[ ]. My reading is based primarily on Abegg's, but there is a small trace of the head of the *lamed* on both new photographs, B-363820 and B-363821. While the presence of ink here is certain, it would indicate the situation of the supralinear stroke and the head closer to the dryline than one might expect. Baillet left room for alternatively reading מהומה for the first word. I am hesitant to adopt his reconstruction in the absence of any evidence for a *khet* preceding the *mem*. While there is indeed some peeling off of the surface on the bottom right corner here, some traces of the top left part of a *khet* should still be visible beside the *mem*.

Baillet provided descriptions to fragment 16, "division of spoils" and "gathering in Jerusalem."[29] His assignment of this fragment, along with fragments 18–22, to the subgrouping "extraits de règlements" was presumably based on the third person plural verb in line 5, the recurrence of אחר in lines 3 and 4,[30] and his reconstruction of מלחמה in line 8. Jean Duhaime in his edition suggests that fragment 16 "preserves remnants of actions to be performed after the victory," and aligns the text in lines 2 and 3 with the "division of booty" described in the aftermath of the Israelites' campaign for vengeance against Midian in Num 31.[31] In his discussion of fragment 16, Qimron connects the mention of the return of forces to Jerusalem, and the exultation in line 5, to 1QM 12:17, ל[ ]ה̇ם גבורי המלחמה ירושלי̇ם̇, and with "words of thanksgiving" that appear throughout the same column. He suggests a placement for this fragment to align with the

27. Israel Antiquities Authority, Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, "Plate 457, Frag. 3: B-363821," http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546l.

28. See also Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 41.

29. "Partage du butin; rassemblement à Jérusalem"; ibid., 39.

30. See also 1QM 1:3; 2:1, 2–3, 13; 4:6–7; 5:4, 16; 6:1, 4; 8:2, 13; 14:2, 19; 16:3, 12; 17:10; 19:9.

31. Duhaime, "War Scroll," 163 n. 23.

missing final column(s) in the War Scroll.[32] The limited amount of preservation of text on fragments 16 and 17 prevents us from knowing much about their contents and literary context within 4QM[a], but there seem to be two points of agreement among scholars: first, that there is between the fragments a combination of descriptive language, on the one hand, and terminology associated with songs and praise, on the other; and second, that both fragments appear to correspond temporally to the final stages of the War of the *Kittim*.[33]

Baillet and Duhaime have both drawn specific attention to what they interpret as a distribution of plunder in fragment 16 2–3, which might suggest a situation of the fragments in the same column with fragments 1–3. Fragments 1–3 have been described by Abegg in his division of manuscripts as "formations of war," consisting of regulations for purity, order, and mobilization to be used in the eschatological battles.[34] There are literary points of contact between these fragments and several portions of 1QM, but with a concentration on 7:3–12.[35] The last line of reconstructed text in 4Q491 1–3 is based on 1QM 7:10–12 and reads as follows in lines 18–19: "A lin[en] sash [of twined fine linen, violet, purple and crimson, and a varicolored design, the work of a skillful workman, and decorated c]aps [on their heads. And they shall not take them into the sanctuary,] f[or] they are garments for bat[tle.]According to all [this] rule[…]."[36] Line 18 is marked as a new section, which appears to describe the apparel of the priests for engagements in battle.[37] The only preserved text in the

32. Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 132.

33. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 241–44, aptly describes the latter part of 1QM, along with various other smaller sections, as the "War of the *Kittim*" (1QM cols 14–19 +), and distinguishes it from the "War of Divisions" in 1QM, cols. 1–9. See also Duhaime, *War Texts*, 18–20.

34. The title was first used by Abegg in "War Scroll from Qumran," 35; see also Abegg, "Who Ascended to Heaven."

35. See Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 13–14; Duhaime, "War Scroll," 142–45.

36. Reconstruction based on 1QM 7:10–12: Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 19. Translation by Martin Abegg in Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls, A New Translation*.

37. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 14–15, has noted marks in vertical alignment on the ruling line at the beginning of the column in lines 1, 4, 6, 14, 16, 18, and 19 (also Abegg, "War Scroll from Qumran," 37–39). He has noted that each of these begins a new section ("tiret en marge"), but has not offered any thoughts about their placement within a possible hierarchy. Duhaime, "War Scroll," 143, construes these as "vestiges of scoring" from when the column was first marked out. This may be the case for marks on lines 6 and 16—possibly also for line 1, which would suggest scoring for

remainder of line 19 and line 20 mentions leaders of the divisions (שרי המחנות, line 19) and a description of destruction (מלאו לכלת, line 20). If fragments 16–17 do in fact belong to this section of the text, then one would expect them to contextually correspond relatively closely to what is preserved in these lines. However, the depictions of destruction and accompanying praise evident in fragments 16 and 17 that are reminiscent of text towards the later columns of 1QM would seem set too early, and out of place with the extant text at the bottom of fragments 1–3, which is more closely related to preliminary matters, before any of the actual engagements with the enemy.[38]

Qimron has centered his discussion of fragments 16 and 17 on the return of the troops to Jerusalem in fragment 16 4 and the attendant language of jubilation, ורוממו את גבורותו, in line 5. These elements might better align not only with the Self-Glorification Hymn in fragment 11 i, but also with the content in the subsequent column, fragment 11 ii, which was written by Scribe 2. The text contains an alternative version of the final engagement with the *Kittim* also preserved in 1QM, columns 16–17.[39] Qimron's alignment of 4Q491, fragment 16, with another selection from the War Scroll is interesting within its larger context in 1QM, column 12: a priestly prayer that is offered either before battle or on the battlefield.[40] Line 7 begins a new section of praise addressed to God: "You, God, are a[wesome]in the glory of your kingdom, and the council of your holy ones is among us." Line 10 continues:

> Rise up, mighty one [קומה גבור]! Take your captives [שבה שביכה], man of glory! Seize your spoils, you who do valiantly! Set your hand on the

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every fifth line. In the new infrared photograph B-366997 (Israel Antiquities Authority, Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, "Plate 1001, Frag. 2: B-366997," http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546k), this seems especially apparent for the mark on line 16, where traces of the dry lines are perhaps detected. However, it seems unlikely for the others, since several of the marks appear more prominently as ink strokes, and not as points of intersection between dry lines (compare especially those on lines 1, 14, and 18). Furthermore, marks on lines 1, 14, and 18 do not align with the placement of the horizontal lines.

38. The corresponding text from 1QM has been described by Shultz, *Conquering the World*, 251, as a set of "tactical issues."

39. See Jean Duhaime, "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 32–56.

40. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 258–59; Duhaime, "War Scroll," 121 n. 60.

> neck of your enemies, and your foot on the backs of the slain! Crush the nations of your adversaries, and may your sword consume the flesh of the guilty! Fill your land with glory, and your inheritance with blessing [ונחלתכה ברכה]! An abundance of livestock in your holdings, silver, gold, and precious stones in your palac[e]s!
>
> Zion, rejoice heartily [שמחי מאדה]! Shine forth in rejoicing, Jerusalem [והופיעי ברנות ירושלים]! Shout in exultation [והגלנה], all you cities of Judah! Keep open [your] gat[es] that the wealth of nations will be brought to you [להביא אליך חיל גואים]! Their kings will serve you! All those who oppressed you will prostrate themselves before you, and [they will lick]the dust of [your feet! Daughter]s of my people, rejoice with a joyful sound [צרחנה בקול רנה]! Adorn yourselves with ornaments of glory! Hold dominion over kin[gdoms] [ורדינה במ̊ל[כות]. (1QM 12:10–15)

There are a handful of terminological connections to be drawn between the hymn of praise above and fragments 16 and 17. Those which are most obvious have been pointed out by Qimron in lines 13–17: the gathering in Jerusalem in fragment 16 4 and its repeated mention in 1QM, column 12, and the strong concentration of imperatives of exaltation there, שמחי, והגלנה, and צרחנה. Against this background, it is reasonable to see the contents in fragments 16 and 17 as a description of postwar activities that correspond to the imagery contained in the priestly prayers in 1QM, column 12.

But is it possible to form distant joins between fragments 16 and 17,[41] and moreover, how do these fragments align contextually with the last lines of fragment 11 i? Admittedly, both questions are not without obstacles. I have suggested that, based on their physical features, fragments 16 and 17 are closely related to one another and could potentially align on a horizontal axis, between fragment 16 2–5 and fragment 17 3–6, or 4–7. However, despite their physical compatibility, it is more challenging to see a consistent relationship between their contents within the space of

41. Hartmut Stegemann distinguished between two types of physical joins between fragments in manuscripts: (1) "material joins" were those established by complementary borders of fragments, strokes of letters, words, and other "hard evidence," whereas (2) "distant joins were those made between fragments on the basis of patterns in topic, theme and other literary evidence." See Hartmut Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSup 8 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 192–97.

only a few words per line, in accordance with the physical constraints I have proposed above. It is tempting to reconstruct a join between fragments 17 6 and 16 4, and to read something like]לשׂרפת כ֯[לה וקב]צ֯ו֯ כול ישראל ירוש֯[לי]ם, "co]mplete [destruction], and [all of Israel]will gat[her in Jerus]ale[m." This distant join in turn creates another plausible join in the preceding lines, which then might be reconstructed to read, for example, ככה יעשו שׂ[פטים ע]ם קודשו, "as such his holy pe[ople] execute j[udgements." A reconstruction of the end of the line could subsequently provide an object (albeit, without a preposition), such as ממלכות כו[ל גואי רשעה, "*against* the dominion of al[l the nations of wickedness" (cf. 4Q491 8–10 i 5).[42] Unfortunately, suggesting a sensible join for the lines above, fragment 17 4 and fragment 16 2, is not nearly as forthcoming, which would seem to weaken this proposition. Nevertheless, the situation of the fragments in close proximity to one another still appears likely from a physical as well as a contextual standpoint, even if it is not always clear how to reconcile their relationship. All things considered, the suggested placement of fragments 16 and 17 together with fragment 11 i above remains an attractive one, representing portions of the same pericope that is thematically connected to the aftermath of military engagements described in the later sections of 1QM.

The integration of these fragments contextually with the extant portions of the final lines on fragment 11 i is also not an entirely straightforward proposition, since the former appear to be largely prosaic and descriptive, whereas the latter form part of a poetical hymn. While this is conceivably anomalous, the occurrence of the verbal expression in fragment 16 5, ורוממו את גבורות[ו, "they will exalt [his] mighty deeds," in conjunction with the mention of ספר התהלים in fragment 17 4 could help to bolster a situation of these fragments within a hymnic context.[43] Moreover, the language within the second part of the Self-Glorification Hymn—the *can-*

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42. See 1QM 14:7; 15:2; 17:1–2. If this is an object phrase, it could reasonably be restored in a handful of ways; alternatively, כול בני חושך, "all the sons of darkness" (1QM 1:7; 3:6, 9; 13:16; 14:17); כול בשר עול, "all sinful flesh" (4:3); כול גואי הבל, "all nations of vanity" (4:12; 6:6). It is worth noting the absence of prepositions in 4Q491 16 4, יקבצו כול ישראל ירושלים, and perhaps also from the parallel phrase in 1QM 12:17, גבורי המלחמה ירושלים.

43. It is also entirely possible to construe the verb ורוממו as an imperative. See 4QShirShabb[d] (4Q403) 1 i 33; 1 ii 20 (|| 4Q405 8–9 4); 4QShirShabb[f] (4Q405) 20 ii–22 7 (|| 11Q17 7 10); 4QShir[b] (4Q511) 2 i 2. It bears further mention that the short section break in 4Q491 17 3 could also form a divide between a hymn of praise in frags.

tique des justes preserved in fragment 11 i 20–24[44]—is also suggestive of some of what was preserved in fragments 16 and 17:

20 שירו]צ֯דיקים באלוהי [רום יושבים]במעון[45] הקודש זמר֯וה֯[ו
21 ה]ש֯מיעו בהגיא רנה [הביעו]ב֯שמח֯ת֯ עולמים ואין כ֯◦[[46]
22]ם להקים קרן מע֯[לה[47]]◦[

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11 i 20–24 + 17 1–3, 16 1(-2?), and a prosaic denouement in the remaining lines of frags. 16 and 17.

44. Michael O. Wise, "מי כמוני באלים," 213–15, concluded that this first edition of the Self-Glorification Hymn that survived in 4Q491 actually contained as many as three separate hymns, based on his supposition that frag. 12 most likely did not belong to either Baillet's *cantique de Michel* or the *cantique des justes*. The three hymns were later rewritten into a longer, single poem that now appears in 4Q471b, 4Q427 7 i, and 1QH^{a} 25:35–26:10. For a different view, see Eshel, "4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn," 201.

45. Wise, "מי כמוני באלים," 182, suggests באלוהי [ישועה הללו במעון. His argument that the two hymns in 4Q491 have been conflated in the Hodayot rescension (ibid., 203) has likely influenced his reading, which is reminiscent of 4Q427 7 i 14–15, הרנינו באה֯ל֯י֯ ישועה הללו במעון [קודש], "rejoice in the tents of salvation; sing praise in the holy habitation." My reading is inspired by the corresponding text in 4Q427 7 i 13 and by lexical similarities with the invocation in the sixth song in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (Mas1k i 9), חללו א]ל֯[וה]י֯ אלים יושבי מרומי רומים], "]praise the G[o]d [of gods, you who dwell in the exalted heights." See also the call to praise that follows in 4Q403 1 i 1, לאלוהי֯[מ]לא֯כ֯י֯ רום, "for the God of the exalted[a]ngels." The copy of *Shir Shabbat* that was discovered at Masada (Mas1k) was published in Carol Newsom and Yigael Yadin, "The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," in *Hebrew Fragments from Masada*, vol. 6 of *Masada: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965; Final Reports*, ed. Dan Barag et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 120–32.

46. The reconstruction in the lacuna was suggested by Wise, "מי כמוני באלים," 182, who transcribes, הביעו ב]שמח֯ת֯ עולמים ואין ה֯ש֯[בת], "[burst forth in] eternal joy without cea[sing …]." Abegg appears to have affirmed the reconstruction at the end of the line in his translation in Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls, A New Translation*. I have adopted the first part of Wise's reading in the light of how comfortably it fits within the available space. However, the traces at the end of the line much more likely appear to correspond to a *kaph* than to a *he*. Perhaps the basic meaning of Wise's reconstruction is salvaged by reading instead ואין כ֯ה֯[ה (see also Nah 3:19, אין־כהה לשברך; also Isa 61:3). *HALOT*, s.v. "כהה I," traces the etymology of the root to Arabic *khy*, "to abstain, become disheartened"; Ethiopic *hakaya*, "to be limp"; Tigre *hakka*, "to get tired."

47. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 27, offers no reconstruction of the lacuna. See also Abegg, "War Scroll from Qumran," 57; Duhaime, "War Scroll," 152; Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 103. Devorah Dimant, "A Synoptic Comparison of Parallel Sections

23]ה̊ להודיע י̊ד̊ו̊ בכוח̊[

> 20 Sing,] righteous ones, with the gods [on high, who dwell]in the holy habitation! Give praise to hi[m!
> 21 Pr]oclaim with joyful meditation![48] [Burst forth]in eternal jubilation without …[
> 22] … to lift up the horn alo[ft …] … [
> 23] … to declare his power in might[

Especially notable is the concentration of plural imperatives of exaltation and proclamation, שירו, זמרוהו, and השמיעו. As already mentioned, the contents of fragments 16 and 17 appear mostly concerned with post-war activities featuring priests and combatants: the judgment of the victors (frags. 17 4 + 16 3), destruction of enemies and a triumphant return to Jerusalem (17 5 + 16 4), a tribute to "those who remain," and a joyful reflection on God's "mighty deeds" (17 6 + 16 4).[49] These images are preceded by mentions of "their entire host" (frag. 17 1) and the "whole congregation" (frag. 16 2), and it seems reasonable to see a relationship between these descriptions and the collective offerings of praise that form what we know of the *cantique des justes* in fragment 11 i 20–23. The collocation of terms and phrases in this group of fragments is especially complementary against the backdrop of priestly prayers discussed briefly above, in 1QM, column 12:

> For a multitude of holy ones is aloft in the sky and hosts of angels in your holy abode to pr[aise] your[truth.] Those chosen of your holy people you have set before yourself to[gether, and the]book of names of their entire host is with you in your holy dwelling, along with the n[umber of holy on]es in your glorious, lofty abode. The mercy of blessing […]

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in 4Q427 7, 4Q491 11, and 4Q471B," *JQR* 85 (1994): 157–61, suggested reconstructing מש̊]יחו, but this is clearly incorrect judging from the trajectory of the ink trace that is interpreted as the center arm, or as the left arm of *ayin*. See also Eshel, "4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn," 184. My reading reflects the suggestion of Wise, "מי כמוני באלים," 182.

48. Eshel, "4Q471B: A Self-Glorification Hymn," 185, translates "[l]et the music sound of the Hagu (lyre?)."

49. See also 4QH^a (4Q427) 7 ii (|| 4Q431, frag. 2), which Wise believes to preserve another recension of the *cantique des justes*, esp. lines 7–8 (|| 4Q431 2 6–7; 1QHa 26:26–27) read: השמיעו ואמורו גדול אל עושה [פלא] כיא השפיל גבהות רוח לאין שרית, "proclaim and say: 'Great is God who performs [wonders!] For he has brought down the haughty of spirit so that none remain'" (Wise, "מי כמוני באלים," 194–96).

> and your covenant of peace you engraved for them with a stylus of life in order to rule o[ver them] for all time, commissioning the hos[ts of th]ose whom you chose by their thousands and tens of thousands together with your holy ones [and] your angels to direct them in battle [for the subjugation of] those of the earth who arise in rebellion *against* your judgments. Along with those in the sky who are chosen [they] shall triu[mph]. (1QM 12:1–5)

The location of fragments 16 and 17 within 4Q491 is not unproblematic, but it is judged most plausible, both physically and contextually, to imagine their placement in the same column as fragments 11 i +12, following the *cantique des justes* in lines 20–23. According to this arrangement, I would posit that the whole column consists of a small set of probably three short hymns that corresponded to the performance of songs of victory described in 1QM, column 12. This fits with a prevailing view that 4Q491 is an "M-like" text, representing a version or an alternative collection of traditions that are commonly associated with the War Scroll from Qumran. What remains now is to investigate the function of ספר התהלים (which I have translated "the book of praises") in fragment 17 4 as it pertains to this context.

4. ספר התהלים in the Self-Glorification Hymn and Use of Scripture in 4QM[a]

The appearance of the intriguing designation ספר התהלים, "the book of hymns/psalms," within this pericope (frag. 17 4) may understandably be interpreted with reference to a Second Temple psalter. The possibility that it was one that included psalms from the Masoretic psalter should also prompt consideration. Baillet drew positive connections between the title and several equivalents from the New Testament (ἐν βίβλῳ ψαλμῶν in Luke 20:42, with reference to Ps 110:1; and in Acts 1:20, with reference to Pss 69:25 and 109:8), rabbinic writings (i.e., variations of ספר תהלים in b. B. Bat. 14b, y. Ketub. 13.35a), and Greek transliterations (i.e., Σέφρα θελείμ in Hippolytus, *Acta Martyrom Ostiensium*, 439; Σέφηρ Θιλλήν in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 4:25; βίβλος ψαλμῶν Σφαρ θελλείμ in Origen, *Hist. eccl.* 6.25). He observed that if the attestation here was made to Psalms, it would be the earliest such instance.[50] Mention should be made at this point of another reference to

50. Baillet, *Qumrân grotte 4.III*, 41.

psalms in the Qumran scrolls, which are identified as those composed in numbers by David in 11QPs[a] 27:4: ויכתוב תהלים שלושת אלפים ושש מאות, "He composed 3,600 psalms." The designation may refer to a psalter, but this is also not a clear designation of a *specific collection* per se.

Admittedly, the identification of ספר התהלים in 4Q491 is highly problematic, because the term comprises only two out of ten recognizable words on eight lines of a poorly preserved fragment. However, with that in view, the leap made to a dubious conclusion that this is a clear reference to a canon of Psalms could be construed as both surprising and irresponsible. At the outset, we should not assume by default that the reference to a psalter in 4Q491, fragment 17, is made to any known particular set of psalms. Yet, this maximalistic reading of the term is precisely what has been promoted by a consensus of scholars, to the extent of its deployment in servicing a disproportionate view of authority and Scripture in the Qumran scrolls specifically, and also in Second Temple Judaism more generally. In their popular textbook, Peter Flint and James VanderKam provided a list of six terms and phrases derived from early Jewish texts that were used to denote sacred status for certain compositions and which included "the books" (e.g., Dan 9:2) or "the book" (1QS 7:2).[51]

> These terms suggest that sacred material was contained in three loci, or activities: reading, writing, and books. At Qumran, "writing" features most often with respect to sacred truth or teaching, with passages from holy and authoritative works regularly introduced by *as it is written* or a similar phrase. Accordingly, the term *Scripture* (with its adjective *scriptural*) seems most fitting for uniquely sacred or authoritative writings in the Second Temple period.[52]

In a more recent discussion of the concept of authority and sacred literature as revealed in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Timothy Lim asserted with regards to compositions that appear in the division of Writings in the Hebrew Bible that "there is no evidence of a collection, apart from the Psalms. There are three pesharim to the psalms, two occurrences of book titles of the psalms ('songs of David' [11QMelch] and 'in the book

51. James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2005), 156. Italics in original.

52. VanderKam and Flint, *Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 156.

of psalms' [4Q491]), and numerous psalmic allusions in 1QH that may be detected."[53] Lim accepts the designation ספר התהלים in 4Q491 17 4 as overtly referencing the book of Psalms as we know it from the Hebrew Bible.[54] This assertion produces a rather circular argument whereby Psalms are uniquely authoritative by appearance of the designation and the designation must refer to the Psalms because the term itself is a denominator of authority.[55] If, on the contrary, the term is to be freed from this circularity, then the task at hand for 4Q491 is to discover an interpretive matrix that will possibly accommodate themes and terminology redolent in fragment 11 i—most particularly within the *cantique des justes*, commensurate to a recognizable set of hymns that might qualify as a ספר התהלים.

While there may be words on the fragment that reflect occasional overlaps in terminology and theme with individual psalms, there is certainly nothing of any consistency within these patterns from which to assert an identification of ספר התהלים with the book of Psalms. There are in actual fact a handful of more attractive possibilities for interpreting this term, especially within its context as part of an M-like manuscript, and also given my placement of fragment 17 in the same column with fragment 11 i. For example, Florentino García Martínez has noted that 1QM and other texts related to the War Scroll unambiguously describe the performance of triumphal hymns following the final victory in the eschatological conflict of the last days. He has significantly argued that the compilers of these "war texts" have expressly identified other sources

53. Timothy H. Lim, "Authoritative Scriptures and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Timothy H. Lim, OHO (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5, http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546m.

54. Lim, "Authoritative Scriptures," 6. See also Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, STDJ 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 218–19. While Flint makes provision for the possibility that the reference in 4Q491 (see ibid., 22–23) does not necessarily pertain to the book of Psalms, he does assert the indication of status from the appearance of the term ספר: "Here we have the first clear evidence of a tripartite division of the Hebrew Scriptures that antedates Luke's similar description by some 200 years!" (ibid., 219). Paradoxically, Flint infers this notion most specifically from the reference in 4QMMT C 10–11, בספר מושה ובספרי הנביאים ובדויד (4Q397 14–21 10 || 4Q398 14–17 i 2–3), which significantly *does not* include the word ספר in the citation of "David."

55. See also 11QMelch (11Q13) 2:10, כאשר כתוב עליו בשירי דויד, "according to what is written about him in the songs of David," with reference to Ps 18:1. Lim cited this designation of authority as an equivalent to ספר התהלים in 4Q491 17 4, despite the total absence of any corresponding terminology between them.

for these hymns, including ספר התהלים in 4Q491 17 4. However, García Martínez also reminds us that this particular title could refer to an entirely unknown collection of hymns.[56]

Eva Mroczek helpfully points out that elsewhere in the War Scroll תהלה is used more generically with reference to eschatological songs (see 1QM 4:14; 14:2), and this should serve as a primary clue to its meaning in our text.[57] The rabbinic usage of ספר תהלים and its derivatives as a designation for the book of Psalms has been anachronistically applied to its appearance in 4Q491, but the meaning of תהלה in the War Scroll and in Second Temple Jewish literature is actually much more dynamic. In the two other occurrences of this word in the War Scroll, it functions first as one specifier among many for phrases that are to be emblazoned on the "banners of the congregation" (אתות העדה):

> When they return from the battle they shall write on their banners: "The Deliverance of God"; "The Splendor of God"; "The Help of God"; "The Support of God"; "The Jubilation of God"; "The Thanksgiving of God"; "The Praise of God" [תהלת אל]; "The Peace of God." (1QM 4:13–14)

In 1QM 14:2, the word תהלה similarly appears as part of a title for a specific song that is to be performed ceremonially as part of protocol for battle: "After they have withdrawn from the slain to enter the camp, all of them will sing the Praise of Returning" (תהלת המשובע).

The word תהלה is used in the Hodayot as a generic identifier in 1QH[a] 19:8, as well as in 4QNon-Canonical Psalms A–B: "a hymn of Obadiah" (תהלה לעבדיה; 4Q380 1 ii 8) and "a hymn of the man of God" (תהלה לאיש האלהים; 4Q381 24a + b 4). In 1QH[a] 19:36, תהלה is used as a general term, similar to its function in 1QM; and also in the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–405), where it appears with high frequency: "hymns of wonder" (תהלי פלא; 4Q400 2 4; 4Q403 1 ii 13, 31, 2 3; 4Q405 18 5), a "hymn of exaltation" (תהלת רום; 4Q403 1 i 8; 11Q17 3 6), a "hymn of praise" (תהלת שבח; 4Q403 1 i 2), a "hymn of thanksgiving" (תהלת הודות; 4Q403 1 i 3), a "hymn of rejoicing" (תהלת רנן; 4Q403 1 i 4, 9 [pl.]),

56. García-Martínez, "Old Texts and Modern Mirages," 118, esp. n. 54.

57. Eva Mroczek, "The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature," *JAJ* 6 (2015): 14–15; also Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). My thanks to Dr. Mroczek for providing me with a prepublication draft of her book for the purpose of this article.

a "musical hymn" (תהלת זמר; 4Q403 1 i 6; 4Q404 1 1), "hymns of his blessings" (תהלי ברכותו; 4Q403 1 i 7), "hymns of his great righteousness" (תהלי גדל צדקו; 4Q403 1 i 8), "hymns of the songs of his holiness" (תהלי זמירות קודשו; 4Q403 1 i 9), "hymns of greatness" (תהלי גדל; 4Q405 64 + 67 3; 11Q17 3 5), and "hymns of the blessing of the glory [of the Lord] (תהלי ברכות כבוד [אדון]; 11Q17 3 5; 30 5). In all of these instances, the noun תהלה is best understood simply as a generic identifier of praise.

A minimalistic appraisal of the evidence at hand would then suggest that ספר התהלים is an unknown collection of praises. Indeed, the appearance of multiple instances of ספר in the War Scroll in construct with various specifiers—for example, ספר סרך (1QM 1:1, reconstructed) and ספר שמות כול צבאם (1QM 12:2)—provide a strong impetus to reject the designation with reference to the book of Psalms in 4Q491. In 1QM 15:4–6, we read: "He shall recite in their hearing the prayer for the appointed time of battle (תפלת מועד המלח[מה) as written in the Book of the Rule of His Time (ככתוב בס[פר סרך עתו), along with all the words of their thanksgiving. He shall muster there all the battle lines, as written in the Book of War (ככת]וב בספר המלח[מה)."

Alternatively, we might also consider that the contents of the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn were possibly included as part of what comprised the designation ספר התהלים, especially in the light of my placement of fragments 16 and 17 below 4Q491 fragment 11 i. We should also not ignore that the contents of fragment 11 i are largely reflected in alternative versions in three other manuscripts that have also been identified with the Hodayot—itself a manuscript that quite naturally could assume the designation as a "book of hymns." I do not wish to assert that the Hodayot are explicitly the referent for the named collection in 4Q491 fragment 17; but I do believe that, in the light of a variety of hymns within the Hodayot manuscripts, this term is perhaps most appropriately assigned to a collection something like 1QH^a^—or perhaps even contained in one of the 4QH manuscripts. The text of 4QH^a^ (4Q427) also preserves portions of the Self-Glorification Hymn (appearing in cols. 25–26 of 1QH^a^), but contains evidence of a smaller anthology of hymns corresponding to 1QH^a^ [19:6–18], 18–30, [30]–20:6, 26:11–42, 7:[12]–20, 20:7–14, 14–34, [35–21:5], [5]–11, 11–16, [17–31], [31]–37, as well as another unattested hymn (frags. 8 i 13–21; 8 ii 8–9).[58] In the Discoveries in the Judaean

58. The square brackets pertain to material that has been reconstructed, and all

Desert edition of this manuscript, Eileen Schuller observed that all this material can be classified as "Hymns of the Community."[59] Another manuscript where the Self-Glorification Hymn survives is 4Q471b, and it has been argued convincingly by a handful of scholars to belong together with another copy of H, 4QH[e] (4Q431), which also contains text that parallels 1QH[a], column 26 (|| 4Q427 7 i 6–ii 10).[60] These are two copies of perhaps the same collection of hymns, both containing overlaps with 4Q491 11 i, and quite possibly both reflected in the designation ספר התהלים in 4Q491 17 4. Could a number of the so-called Hymns of the Community have formed the basis for the songs of victory mentioned in 1QM, column 12?[61] Could some of these have been contained in 4Q491, and

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references are arranged according to Eileen Schuller's synopsis of the manuscript. The Self-Glorification Hymn appears in cols. 2–3 of the reconstructed MS and before the preserved material from 1QH[a] 26:11–42. See the synopses in Eileen M. Schuller, "4QHodayot[a]," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, ed. Esther G. Chazon et al., DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 81–82, 86. For the otherwise unattested hymn, see Schuller, ibid., 111. There are some thematic and terminological correspondences in this unfortunately fragmentary, unattested hymn with the content in 4Q491, frags. 11 i 20–23, and frags. 16–17 discussed above. See, e.g., רנ֯ה גדול אל ה֯מ֯פלי (4Q427 8 i 13), which Schuller translates "toge]ther a shout of praise, Great is God who does wonders" (ibid., 112; but alternatively, see Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*: "a loud cry from those who magnify"); also ל֯עולם ומ[ק]ו֯ר ברכה (frag. 8 i 18).

59. Schuller, "4QHodayot[a]," 86. For an excellent discussion of the Hymns of the Community, and their social function in the formation of self-identity, see ch. 5, "What Do Hodayot Do?," in Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 191–287. The Hymns of the Community are not a homogeneous collection, but are often commonly designated as a means of distinguishing them from the so-called "Teacher Hymns" (or, as Newsom calls these, "hymns of the leader"; see esp. Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 287–97) clustered in 1QH[a], cols. 10–17. Newsom does distinguish from the larger group four hymns introduced by the heading למשכיל (with reconstructed material in square brackets) in 1QH[a] 5:12 [5:1]; 7:21 [7:11]; 20:7 [20:4]; 25:34 [25:10] (Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 198)—two of which appear in 4Q427 3 4 and 8 ii 10.

60. As per Esther Eshel, "471b: 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn (= 4QH[e] frag. 1?)," in Chazon, *Qumran Cave 4.XX*, 421–32, and Wise, "מי כמוני באלים," 194–200.

61. To this question, it bears mentioning, as Newsom points out, with regards the Self-Glorification Hymn that it does not exhibit the linguistic profile nor motif of either the Hymns of the Community or those of the leader (Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 198). Nevertheless, I believe that Wise's study does effectively show how the *cantique des justes* in particular could function through the collective language of

identified together as a collection in their own right? This supposition would follow more directly from other usages of the term ספר in the War Scroll and תהלה in the Qumran literature than to maintain that ספר התהלים is a designation for the book of Psalms in 4Q491. The designation is uncertain, and just as likely—if not more so—connected to a collection of hymns similar to the Hodayot, and perhaps more specifically the collection (or parts of it) that survives in 4QH[a] and 4QH[e].

By implication, then, the standard measure that scholars in the past have used to gauge the sacredness of a given literary work in terms of its authoritative status suggests that if ספר התהלים in 4Q491 pertains to a Hodayot-like collection, it would certainly also qualify. Moreover, this discussion shows that the term cannot be marshalled in support of the well-worn but uncritical notion that the book of Psalms *was* necessarily an authoritative text. But I think the conclusion to be drawn from the information above is considerably less sophisticated than all of that, in that it perhaps reveals an elevated sense of appraisal harbored in modern biblical scholarship for things written more generally.[62] Does the appearance of the designation ספר התהלים in 4Q491 serve any further function than merely to identify the source of those songs of victory to be performed in the eschaton? If so, then one must by extension inquire about how the *same term* and *similar terms* such as those supplied by Flint and VanderKam were used in Jewish antiquity to do anything more than provide helpful references for their readers. A designation on its own does not always—and perhaps does not often—imply authority. The notion of authority was a far more dynamic and nuanced concept in antiquity than the rigid confines of our own ideas about text[63] and the nature and function of source

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praise similarly, "to detach members from their prior identities and offer them new ones" (Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 194).

62. Mroczek's article "Hegemony of the Biblical" is an excellent critique of precisely this point: i.e., "It is still difficult for us to take to heart the idea that—large as the Bible might loom in the modern imagination—ancient writers were not exclusively concerned with biblical texts, their sources, or their interpretation; and even those texts that later become biblical were not yet configured in terms of such categories" (Mroczek, "Hegemony of the Biblical," 5).

63. This is a particularly prominent theme in the writings of Hindy Najman, especially in *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism,* JSJSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), where she contextualises Mosaic traditions according to various models of authority; and, more recently, Najman, *Losing the Temple and Recovering the Future: An Analysis of 4 Ezra* (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni-

citations, echoes, and allusions will often permit.[64] It would seem that, in the present instance, the naming of a "book of hymns" in 4Q491 does little more than identify a collection for a specialized usage, but not necessarily to imbue that collection with a specialized status. The moral of the story here is that a title on its own is not enough from which to make qualitative decisions about the level of authority that was ascribed in antiquity to *any* given literary work—be it "what is read" (Neh 8:8), "what is written" (1QS 5:17; 8:14; 4QFlor [4Q174] 1 2, 12, 15, 16; 4QCatena A [4Q177] 5–6 i 11;

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versity Press, 2014), where she performs the same service for the figure Ezra. See also my treatment of the Jeremiah figure in the Qumran scrolls in Kipp Davis, *The Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah C and the Qumran Jeremianic Traditions: Prophetic Persona and the Construction of Community Identity*, STDJ 111 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), esp. 29–45, 235–46, 302–307; also in Mroczek, *Literary Imagination*, where she masterfully unravels the phenomenon of ascription in the book of Psalms of specific psalms to King David. See esp. ch. 2: "The Sweetest Voice: The Poetics of Attribution." Mroczek summarizes: "The superscriptions' connection of psalms to moments from David's life, then, seems to have little to do with finding an author for anonymous texts. Making psalms 'Davidic' is not precisely attribution, as little evidence exists for a claim that David personally *composed* the psalms, but dramatization and historicization. But this process of dramatizing and historicizing psalms is motivated not by the texts of the psalms themselves, but by an interest in the *character* who comes to animate the texts. It is the desire to reflect and elaborate on particularly compelling aspects of David's character—David the sufferer, the penitent, the pursued—that is behind the creation of the expanded headings. Put simply, dramatizing the psalms in his voice gives this David more things to say" (emphasis original; Mroczek, *Literary Imagination*, 63).

64. I reject the traditionally wooden compartmentalization of authorial intent behind explicit and implicit usages of sources as a means to infer textual authority. Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, JAJSupp 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 15–48, provide an insightful discussion about the attendant problems with "citationality" or "intertextuality." Nevertheless, the very nature of their program and system of artificial delimitation of sources cannot help but contribute to the inflated sense of importance that is commonly ascribed to texts in Jewish antiquity: "The allusions and quotations of Jewish Scriptures in Second Temple Jewish literature are of great importance not only for the canonical, textual, reception history of the Hebrew Bible but often provide key evidence for the understanding of the biblical books themselves" (Lange and Weigold, *Biblical* Quotations, 15). In all likelihood, the modern fixation on distinguishing between explicit and implicit usages of "Scripture" is a convenient invention that actually detracts from the complex relationship between traditions, culture, aesthetics, and religion well beyond the proliferation and collection of texts in Second Temple Jewish literature. This is discussed in greater depth in Mroczek, "Hegemony of the Biblical," 31–34; also Davis, *Cave 4 Apocryphon of Jeremiah C*, 1–9, 15–37.

7 i 3; 10–11 i 1), or something of the like sort.[65] Sometimes, or more often, *a rose is a rose is a rose* after all.

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65. VanderKam and Flint, *Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 156. I would agree that on their own, the suggested designations כִּתְבֵי הַקּוֹדֶשׁ (e.g., m. Yad. 4.6 [= γραφαῖς ἁγίαις; Rom 1:2]) and τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια (e.g., 1 Macc 12:9) are probably suitably described as denominators of authority of some kind, but these are the only perspicuous terms provided in VanderKam and Flint's list.

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The Textual Forms of Aramaic Levi Document at Qumran

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1. Writings behind Scripture, Scripture before the Bible

One of the larger lessons learned from the Dead Sea Scrolls was that most ancient Jewish religious literature was the evolutionary product of scribal cultures and communities. The production of texts seldom involved one pen and rarely resulted in a final draft. Rather, the compositional process was collaborative and conversive. Because of this, most writings circulated in more than one form, with a spectrum of differences in content and structure. No two copies of a given work were the same, and the processes of composition, transmission, and reception were enmeshed and ongoing. In short, the concept of an *Urtext* is admittedly elusive and, if it is to be retained at all, represents but one plotted point in the developmental process of a given tradition. The pioneering work that has taken place in this regard has been crafted largely on the basis of the so-called biblical scrolls, resulting in the now commonly accepted position that our earliest manuscript evidence attests to the pluriformity of scripture in the mid- to late-Second Temple period, with many books represented by more than one "literary edition."[1]

I count it a great pleasure to have had Peter Flint as a teacher, mentor, friend, and colleague. It is an honor to dedicate this essay in his memory and to the ongoing impact of his field-leading contributions in Dead Sea Scrolls research in Canada and beyond. The present study was made possible through a research grant on the Qumran Aramaic texts by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council.

1. See especially the work of Eugene Ulrich, most recently in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*, VTSup 169 (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

In tandem with this lesson on the shape of scripture in antiquity, the Qumran collection also revealed that its scope was not fixed. That is, the breadth of scripture—what was "in" and what was "out" for communities—was not formalized. While the authority of many books that eventually became "biblical" is evident in the late Persian and Hellenistic periods, other texts and traditions that were not received in the canons of subsequent Judaism and Christianity also attained degrees of popularity and even authority for readers/hearers and communities.

Yet when these two ideas are held in the balance, a disconnect often results: descriptions of the fluidity and forms of ancient Jewish authoritative literature remain heavily weighted toward detailing the prehistory of biblical literature (in the technical sense), with few words committed to recovering the composition and transmission histories of works read as authoritative then, but not now. However, the Aramaic Levi Document (hereafter, ALD) is an ideal case to bridge these worlds: it is known in several copies at Qumran that evince some textual variety and seems to have held some importance, if not authority, in the community.[2]

2. Variant Readings, Passages, and Editions: The Aramaic Levi Document(s) at Qumran?

Aramaic Levi Document is a first-person narrative attributed to the patriarch Levi, and includes an artful patchwork of genres and content, including genealogical and biographical materials, prayer, instruction on priestly lore and practice, a pair of dream-visions, and a poetic wisdom

2. While assessing the status of ALD at Qumran is not the main task of the study, I take the preliminary position that at a minimum it was popular and, by virtue of its pseudepigraphic presentation and revelatory overlay, the work claimed a degree of authority. Gauging the acceptance of this claim at Qumran and wider ancient Judaism, of course, is a difficult task and must account for at least three factors. First, ALD is attested in seven copies, outranking the manuscript count of many books of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament at Qumran. Second, the formula of CD 4:15 associates the figure of Levi with material reflecting ALD 16 as a lens for unlocking the "meaning" (פשר) of Isa 24:17. Third, ALD, or Levi traditions similar to it, seem to have been formative to a series of other compositions (e.g., Jubilees, Visions of Amram, and Testament of Qahat). For a supporting case of the appeal and likely authority of ALD at Qumran, see Michael E. Stone, "Aramaic Levi in Its Contexts," *JSQ* 9 (2002): 307–26.

discourse.[3] Prior to the identification of ALD fragments at Qumran, the work was known from Aramaic materials in the Cairo Genizah collection, a Greek folium of the text nestled within a copy of Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs from the Mount Athos Koutloumousiou monastery, and a modest Syriac fragment housed in the British Museum.[4] Aramaic Levi Document is known by at least seven fragmentary manuscripts at Qumran, the paleographic dates of which span from as early as 150 BCE to the turn of the Common Era.[5] The composition itself likely originated in the third or early second century BCE.[6] While there is a general recognition of the fluidity of the ALD Qumran texts on their own and in comparison with the later witnesses, there is a need for refinement in the ways in which this diversity is characterized.

Early on in research on these finds, J. T. Milik observed the existence of two recensions of ALD at Qumran and posited that they hailed from Judean and Samaritan provenances.[7] With the eventual publication of the texts in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series, Michael Stone and

3. A complete reconstruction of the narrative structure of the work is not possible in view of the evidence currently available, and scholars debate the sequencing of episodes. The strongest reconstruction to date is presented by Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document*, JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), with a helpful summary in Drawnel, "The Aramaic Levi Document: An Overview of Its Content and Problematics," *ScrJC* 3 (2005): 7–17.

4. See R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), 245–56. The Cairo Genizah fragments are found in the libraries of the University of Oxford, Cambridge University, and the University of Manchester.

5. These include: 1QLevi (1Q21), 4QLevi[a] (4Q213), 4QLevi[b] (4Q213a), 4QLevi[c] (4Q213b), 4QLevi[d] (4Q214), 4QLevi[e] (4Q214a), and 4QLevi[f] (4Q214b). For specific date ranges of each manuscript, see Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 4. A more complete description of the manuscript evidence may be found in Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George J. Brooke et al, DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 1–72.

6. Michael E. Stone, "Aramaic Levi Document," *EDEJ*, 362–64.

7. J. T. Milik, "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: D'Hénoch à Amram," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, se théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, BETL 46 (Paris: Duculot, 1978), 91–106. Kugler gave some renewed attention to Milik's theory of ALD's sociogeographical location (Robert A. Kugler, "Some Further Evidence for the Samaritan Provenance of Aramaic Levi (1QTestLevi; 4QTestLevi)," *RevQ* 17 [1996]: 351–58).

Jonas Greenfield echoed the position of two recensions, specifying that these are evidenced by a shorter version, attested in 4Q214a, and a longer version, represented by the rest of the Qumran ALD fragments.[8] Subsequent commentaries also acknowledge the apparent variation between the texts. Greenfield, Stone, and Esther Eshel note the general resemblance between the Qumran and Genizah Aramaic texts, fully document the orthographic and semantic textual variants that present themselves in comparison of these witnesses, and indicate the likely presence of two recensions, evidenced most clearly by fragments of 4Q214 1 and 4Q214a.[9] From this they deduce that "we may observe that considerable textual development had already taken place by the first century BCE. Because of the unfortunately fragmentary character of the Qumran manuscript, we can only catch brief glimpses of the short recension."[10] In view of a succinct summary of the sections of ALD that evidence substantial variety, Drawnel reached the following nuanced conclusion:

> Since the overall manuscript evidence is fragmentary and previous observations mostly based on text reconstructions, any attempt to hypothesize the history of the text transmission must remain in the realm of reasonable probability.… The differences between the texts point to the existence of two recensions of the *Document*. How and when the two recensions arose is uncertain; the presence of seven different manuscripts in the Qumran library allows for the supposition, however, that the exegetical activity of the Qumran scribes left its imprint on the Aramaic work and could have led to the creation of a second expanded recension.[11]

Following on his earlier work on Levi traditions, Kugler recently underscored the need to acknowledge the dissimilarity of the Qumran manuscripts without forcing them into a synoptic reading or composite reconstruction that undermines this inherent diversity and scribal quality of the manuscripts.[12] In the spirit of this, Kugler argued for a Qumran compositional technique of "divine revoicing," wherein a work received at

8. Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 60, 72.

9. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 8.

10. Ibid., 9.

11. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 53.

12. Robert A. Kugler, "Whose Scripture? Whose Community? Reflections on the Dead Sea Scrolls Then and Now, by Way of Aramaic Levi," *DSD* 15 (2008): 5–23. For

Qumran was allegedly innovated through scribal intervention and adapted as functional yet subtly undetected sectarian literature.[13] Kugler based this case on a single, debated textual variant among the ALD witnesses,[14] which may highlight limited diversity among the texts but does not reveal a form or manuscript of ALD that can be identified as a once-gently-over sectarian version of the work. Finally, a small collection of linguistic studies have focused on shorter/longer readings and antiquated/updated forms at the word or phrase level between the Qumran and Genizah texts, yet these scarcely discuss variations in the overall shape of ALD.[15]

This brief overview of the outcomes of research on the overlaps between the Qumran ALD fragments and later witnesses indicates that the predominant understanding is that the witnesses include a range of textual variants, with many scholars identifying two versions or recensions of ALD, earmarked primarily by their respective length or brevity. However, while textual variation at the word, form, or phrase level is undeniable among the ALD texts, and there is evidence of varying length of some passages, the question is whether patterns of variations are present and consistent enough to speak confidently of variant editions of ALD as a whole, and if these can be mapped cogently onto our earliest, albeit most fragmentary, witnesses among the Qumran collection. In what follows I

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his previous reconstruction, see Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*, EJL 9 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

13. Kugler, "Whose Scripture?," 10–11.

14. The reading in question is found in 4Q213b 1 1 and ALD 6 (Bodl. a, 7). Whereas the Qumran text here reads, "I made you greater" (ר̇ב̇יתך), the Genizah text reads "we made you greater" (רבינך). Kugler considered this change of person in light of texts deploying patriarchal first-person voices and divine pseudepigraphic techniques (e.g., Temple Scroll) or those that narrow the gap between the community and divine authority through inspired exegesis (e.g., pesharim). He argues, "The revoicing in Aramaic Levi arguably serves both aims: Levi is one of those rare figures from Israel's past with whom the community both identifies *and* who embodies the community" (Kugler, "Whose Scripture?," 14, italics original). While I agree that the writer of ALD strategically deploys different authority-claiming strategies (e.g., otherworldly revelation, ancestral tradition and discourses, etc.), a single textual variant does not provide a firm enough basis to posit a linkage with a potential Qumran compositional practice.

15. See, for example, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Levi Document," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 237–48; and Stig Norin, "The Aramaic Levi—Comparing the Qumran Fragments with the Genizah Text," *SJOT* 27 (2013): 118–30.

explore three main passages that are present in more than one form: Levi's prayer, Isaac's instruction to Levi on the wood for burnt offerings, and Levi's poetic wisdom discourse. These are considered first independently, and at the close of the paper are brought to bear on the larger questions of the form(s) and status of ALD at Qumran.

3. The Prayer of Levi

The first passage that presents itself in possibly more than one form is Levi's prayer. This unit occurs before Levi joins his father, Jacob, journeys to Abel-Mayin, and receives a dream-vision, likely including his priestly ordination. While the prayer is attested in part at Qumran in 4Q213a 1, it is unavailable in the Aramaic Cairo Genizah text, and is thus known fully only in the Greek translation in the Mount Athos manuscript. This situation makes the evaluation of its textual form and character extremely complicated. Close comparative study of these passages has confirmed that the Greek is indeed a translation of an Aramaic text with similarities to what is attested in 4Q213a 1–2.[16] However, ascertaining the degree of pluriformity of this passage in ALD based on the available evidence is a formidable task, involving the balance of limited insights from the overlapping texts, and positing reconstructions of a theorized Aramaic original behind the Greek. The methodological challenges in this process are immediately apparent: we are dealing with an already fragmentary Qumran manuscript, using a hypothetical Aramaic *Vorlage* achieved through retroversion of the Greek to estimate line lengths for possible reconstructions, with no knowledge of the channels of transmission from early to late witnesses. Without writing off these obstacles, when the reconstruction by Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel is read alongside that by Drawnel, it does seem likely that the version of Levi's prayer attested at Qumran was longer than that known in the Greek and its presumed Aramaic *Vorlage*.[17] Just how much longer is difficult to determine without speculating on what was or was not retained in the lacunae. For this

16. Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Prayer of Levi," *JBL* 112 (1993): 247–66.

17. See the presentations in Stone and Greenfield, "Prayer of Levi," 257, with some updates in Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 60–63; and Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 174–75. Note, however, there are considerable differences in detail between these presentations.

reason, I will limit my brief consideration of this passage to two noticeable variant readings that are perceptible in the extant text of 4Q213a 1 and suggest some degree of variation in the form of the passage.

The first significant difference is found in a section wherein Levi beseeches God to keep him from sources of potential waywardness. The relevant text for this case study is found in Aramaic at Qumran in 4Q213a 1 12–13, and in Greek in Mount Athos E 2, 3 l. 7. Both representations consist of paralleled poetic units, are framed with a verb of entreaty, and specify one or more spiritual or behavioral items to avoid. The following table represents the content and structure of this request in the two witnesses.[18]

Table 1. Levi's requests for purity and uprightness

Mount Athos E 2, 3 l. 7		4Q213a 1 12–13	
"remove from me" (*μάκρυνον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*)	"unrighteous spirit" (*τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄδικον*)	"remove far away" (ארחק)[19]	*not extant*
	"evil intention" (*διαλογισμὸν τὸν πονηρὸν*)		*not extant*
	"fornication" (*πορνείαν*)		"evil thought" (רעיונא ב]אישא)[20]
"turn away from me" (*ἀπόστρεψον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*)	"pride" (*ὕβριν*)	"repel" (דחא)	"fornication" (זנות)

18. Unless otherwise noted, transcriptions and translations of the Cairo Genizah and Mount Athos texts are adopted from Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*. Aramaic texts of the Qumran ALD materials are drawn from the work of Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 1–72, supplemented with my own translations.

19. Both verbs are extant independently in the Qumran fragment, but it is likely they were complemented with מני (Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 174; Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 60), no doubt reflecting the form of the later Greek verbal constructions.

20. The head noun included above is reasonably reconstructed by Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel (*Aramaic Levi Document*, 60). Note that the nominal form רעוה, most often in the sense of an individual's "will," is attested in several Aramaic texts at Qumran (e.g., 1Q20 2:23; 4Q541 9 i 3; 4Q542 1 i 3; 4Q545 4 18; see also Ezra 5:17, 7:18). Drawnel's (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 174) proposed reconstruction ועשתן ב]אישא ("evil intention") is possible, but has less lexical attestation in early Jewish Aramaic literature (see also the verbal form of עשת in Dan 6:4).

Despite the Qumran text's fragmentary nature, enough text has survived to allow for at least four observations on its structure, content, and scope. First, both witnesses share the structural parameters of two paralleled, semantically similar verbs. Second, while the Aramaic text is far from complete, two of the items Levi requests deliverance from in the early Aramaic text (evil thought, fornication) are retained in the later Greek tradition (evil intention, fornication). Third, the references to evil thoughts and fornication are found in both the Aramaic and Greek texts, though they are positioned differently in the verbal phrases. Most notably, the Aramaic text asks that God "repel" fornication (verbal clause two), whereas the Greek asks that God "remove" fornication (verbal clause one). Fourth, the variation of items in the list is accentuated further by the inclusion of a reference to avoidance of "pride" in the Greek, which is seemingly absent in the Aramaic text at Qumran. Further degrees of difference are possible in view of estimations of available space from retroversions; however, the extant items in the list are sufficient enough to indicate that while the Qumran and Mount Athos witnesses resemble one another, there are discernible differences in organization and content.

The largest degree of variation in Levi's prayer comes late in the fragment, involving material from 4Q213a 1 15–17. This text and its corresponding material in the Mount Athos witness are as follows.

Mount Athos E 2, 3, ll. 9–10
ποιῆσαι τὰ ἀρέσκοντά σοι καὶ εὑρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ αἰνεῖν τοὺς λόγους σου μετ' ἐμοῦ κύριε καὶ μὴ κατισχυάτω με πᾶς σατανᾶς πλανῆσαί με ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ σου
to do what pleases you and find grace before you and praise your words with me, O Lord. And do not allow any satan to rule over me to lead me astray from your way.

4Q213a 1 15–17

15 [לא]שכחה רחמיך קדמיך
16 [ ]ד̊שפיר ודטב קדמיך
17 [ו]א̊ל תשלט בי כל שטן

15 [to f]ind favor before you
16 [ ]what is proper and good before you
17 [and] let not any adversary rule over me

Commentators have noted that the Greek text does not contain material reflecting line 16 of the Qumran witness. At a minimum, this variation

involved a phrase, stich, or potentially a complete line of text. The reason for this difference, however, is not agreed upon. On the one hand, Stone and Greenfield indicate the likelihood of the shorter text resulting from parablepsis by homoioteleuton, occasioned by the forms קדמיך and קדמיך at the end of lines 15–16; or the secondary possibility of a doublet arising in an earlier Aramaic *Vorlage*, due to the similarity of the content of the phrases in these lines.[21] On the other hand, Drawnel seems to account for the presence of "an alternative expression not extant in Greek" as an expansion of the text attributed to the "exegetical tendency of the Qumran scribes."[22] While scribal intervention and growth of the text cannot be ruled out, without a perceptible or plausible exegetical occasion for expansion, it is more likely that the later Greek text is truncated here due to a scribal error occurring in the transmission of the text.

Both rich and complex, Levi's prayer is an important part of the narrative progression and ideological framework of ALD. Determining its content and shape in the Qumran text on its own, let alone in comparison with a later translated version, however, is challenging and allows for only tentative conclusions. Nonetheless, the cross-section of examples highlighted here suggests that Levi's prayer was transmitted with limited variety and, if further reconstructions are attempted, *possibly* in forms of differing lengths.

4. The List of Approved Wood Species for Altar Use

A core component of ALD's didactic quality is oriented around instruction on priestly duties delivered from Isaac to Levi, including a description of the procedure for preparing wood upon the altar of burnt offering in ALD 23–25a. Where our witnesses diverge most is in a list of acceptable species of trees that may be used in sacrificial service. The most complete texts in this regard—the Aramaic Genizah and Greek Mount Athos manuscripts—closely parallel one another, enumerating twelve trees.[23] Given this situation, I include only the text and translations of the passage in the Cairo Genizah manuscript, with overlaps in the Qumran materials

21. Stone and Greenfield, "Prayer of Levi," 262.

22. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 175, see also 102.

23. For a comparative list of these species in the ALD witnesses and the analogous presentation in Jub. 21:12, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, 165–66.

highlighted for the discussion below.[24] The Genizah text of ALD 23–25a reads as follows:

Bodl. c IX, 13–21: (**4Q214 1**, 4Q214a 1, 4Q214b 2–3, 4Q214b 5–6 i)

13 מן כל תריעשר מיני אעין אמר 14 לי די חזין להסקה מינהון למדבחה 15 די ריח תננהון בשים סליק ואלין 16 אינון שמהתהון ארזא ודפרנא 17 וסגדא ואטולא ושוחא ואודנא 18 ברותא ותאנתא ואע משחא 19 ערא והדסה ואעי דקתא אלין 20 אינון די אמר לי די הזין **להסקה** 21 מנהון לת]חות עלתא על מדבחה

13 From all twelve types of wood that are fitting 14 he told me to offer on the altar, 15 these whose smell of their smoke goes up pleasantly. And these 16 are their names: cedar and juniper 17 and almond and silver fir and fir and ash, 18 cypress and fig and oleaster, 19 laurel and myrtle and asphaltos. 20 These are the ones that he told me that are fitting to offer 21 from them un[der] the burnt offering on the altar.

A complete list is not recoverable from the fragmentary Qumran texts of 4Q214a and 4Q214b. Nonetheless, these finds do reveal partial representations of lists of tree species, as indicated by the following texts and translations.[25]

4Q214a 1

1]○תא אלן א[
2 על מדבחא *vacat* וכ[
3 ל[ ]○ל[

1]*ta*. These *a*[
2 upon the altar. *vacat* And *k*[
3 *l*[...]*l*[

4Q214b 2–3 2–6

2 תרי ע]שר עעין א[
3]סלק ואלן שמה[

24. The Greek Mount Athos text may be found in Drawnel's synoptic presentation (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 124–26).

25. Drawing on some sections of the Cairo Genizah ALD text to fill in the gaps, Stone and Greenfield presented a more complete, combined reconstruction of 4Q214b 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 (Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 68). These fragments all clearly come from the same section; however, for the present purposes I present only the text of those fragments that relate to the tree list, with minimal reconstructions. Note also that the overlaps with the Genizah text indicated above are meant to highlight general parallels in content, regardless of minor morphological differences.

4] בׄרׄותא ותככה֯]
5] א֯לן אׄנו֯ן די ○]
6 [○○○] [א֯ אל֯ן֯ לׄמׄדׄב֯ח֯[א] ○] [○]

2 twel]ve (kinds of) wood *a*[
3]rises. And these names[
4] cypress and fig
5] These are those that [
6]...[...]*a* these upon [the] altar [...]... [

4Q214b 5–6 i 3–6

3 ל]א֯סקא מנהון למדבח֯א
4 ודפ]רנא וסיגדׄה֯
5 ע]ר֯א אדסא וע֯עי
6]ל֯ת֯○○○ ○ל○אׄ

3 to] make an offering of them on the altar
4 and juni]per and almond
5 la]urel, myrtle, and wood of
6]*lt...l...a*

There are two semantic variants within these texts that indicate modest fluidity of the sequence and scope of this list in the earliest manuscript evidence.

First, the extant materials from 4Q214b are instructive, as they include seven tree species generally corresponding to the list known from the Cairo Genizah text above. Insofar as can be discerned from the fragmentary evidence, the sequence of the later tradition is reflected in the earlier Qumran manuscript. In only one detail do the two differ. Whereas the eighth species in the list is termed תאנתא ("fig") in the Genizah text, 4Q214b 2–3 4 here reads תככה, which is a *hapax legomenon* in ancient Aramaic literature and an unknown species.[26] While some scribal error

26. Mount Athos E 18, 2 l.18 text here reads θεχακ, an apparent transliteration of the term known from 4Q214b. Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel note that the confusion over this term extended even to the analogous list in Jub. 21.12, where the Ethiopic "*tānaka* should be regarded as another corruption of this unknown tree name" (*Aramaic Levi Document*, 167). Drawnel looked to the analogies of *taqak* in modern Persian, to denote a cypress or pine-like tree, and *tkk* in modern Syriac, for a type of creeping melon plant or stem upon which melons and cucumber grow (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 130). From this, he ventured that "the fig in the Genizah manuscript is probably a misinterpretation of the word תככה that was not understood by the scribe" (Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 130). This explanation is possible, but the lack of

in the transmission of the text cannot be fully ruled out,[27] the most likely explanation is that the phrasing of the Genizah text was an attempt to clarify or update an ambiguous text. This small variant thus indicates a degree of scribal interpretation in the transmission history of ALD, which resulted in the incremental evolution of the text. Precisely when this interpretation took place, whether in antiquity or during the medieval transmission of the text, is difficult to determine.

Second, the glimpse of the list in 4Q214a is evident only from the character traces at the outset of the fragment in line 1, presented in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert edition as ○ת֯אׄ. In their discussion of the fragment, Stone and Greenfield ventured the reconstruction of these traces as ר]ק֯ת֯אׄ, which would thus represent the remains of "asphaltos," the final species in the full list known from the Cairo Genizah text.[28] Contextually this makes sense as the next word אלׄן likely comes at the start of ALD 25, the section immediately following the list. Drawnel suggested that the character cluster of the partial first word in 4Q214a 1 reads ה֯דס֯א, that is the "myrtle" tree, but noted that "the proposed reading is only a conjecture, which, however, corresponds to the actual remains."[29] To be sure, the only clear letter traces here are the remains of a pair of lower extensions of the final character, plausibly read as an *aleph.* While Drawnel's reading is ambitious and its coherence with the "actual remains" is overstated, the mere possibility of this reading introduces an intriguing new dynamic. In the Cairo Genizah ALD text, the myrtle is the eleventh or penultimate species of the list. Yet if it is presented in the final position in 4Q214a—as Drawnel conjectures—then there is perhaps a hint of a shorter or rearranged list of tree species in this manuscript. In the end, this possibility must remain in the realm of speculation as it is contingent on a reconstruction and relates principally to a variation related to the location of a single word. There is simply not enough surviving text to verify the

semantic equivalents in known ancient languages—not least Aramaic—is a significant problem. Davila notes only that "the name of the tree in 4QLevi^f ar is unidentified and perhaps damaged" (*MOTP* 1:137 n. e). Cook glosses the noun simply as a "species of tree" (Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015], 253).

27. Norin ("Aramaic Levi," 124) deems this the most likely explanation of the variant.

28. Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 56.

29. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 185.

reading or confirm the order and items of the list; however, the possibility of content variation remains.

In view of this short commentary on two elements internal to the list, it seems we can so far speak only of the existence of textual variants at a micro level, with some speculation of variation related to possible ways of reconstructing the fragmentary texts. In short, the form of the list varied slightly between 4Q214a, 4Q214b, and the Genizah texts, yet the presence of a list is certain in this cluster of texts. However, one final ALD Qumran fragment, 4Q214 1, tells a different story at the macro level.

The sliver of text that is 4Q214 1 contains words and letter traces from eight partial lines of text. Due to its advanced state of decay, lack of context, and difficulty in recovering intelligible content, particularly in the upper and lower regions of the fragment, it is important not to overstep such fleeting evidence. With relative certainty, the near complete forms in lines 5–6 allow for identification with content of ALD 20–23. Yet it is precisely what is not represented between these lines that is instructive for the current case study. The fragment reads as follows:

4Q214 1

1]ן̇[
2] ה̊ [
3]אס̊[
4]ג̊ליד̊[
5]מ̇דבח̊[
6]ל̊אסק̊[
7]לס○[
8]○[

1]*n*[
2] *h* [
3] *as* [
4]your feet[
5]altar[
6]to offer[
7]*ls*[
8]...[

This form of the text, insofar as it can be known, seems to contain material only from the descriptive frame around the list of the species of trees, not the list itself. The characters in line 5 may be reasonably reconstructed with the analogous form למדבחה in the Genizah text of ALD 23, and the characters in line 6 likely represent the remains of an *aphel* infini-

tive construct corresponding to the *haphel* form להסקה in the Genizah text of ALD 25a (see overlaps with the Genizah text above). If this is the case, it is highly unlikely that the original manuscript would have included all of the intervening text between these points, that is, the section consisting primarily of the list of tree species. Based on 4Q214 2, Stone and Greenfield estimate an approximate line length per column of thirty-four to thirty-seven characters.[30] If the same held true for 4Q214 1, the available space would be insufficient to accommodate the extent of material presented in the Genizah text. On account of this, Stone and Greenfield deduced that "it seems most likely that the text of 4QLevi^d ar was different at this point."[31] Henryk Drawnel echoed this conclusion and suggested further that 4Q214 likely also lacked text equivalent to ALD 25b, a section similarly absent in the Mount Athos text.[32] While this extrapolation cannot be verified from the available text, it is nonetheless possible, since ALD 25b includes a reference to "these woods," which could be seen as an awkward rejoinder if the list was not present.

In view of the discussion of the form and presence of the tree list in ALD 24, there is relatively certain evidence for a variant passage, attested already in at least two forms in the Qumran witnesses. These are broadly defined as a shorter text in 4Q214 and one (or more) longer texts represented by 4Q214a and 4Q214b.

5. Levi's Wisdom Poem

While scholars debate the order of episodes in ALD, all agree that the final section of the work as we know it was a wisdom discourse delivered in poetic measure from Levi to his sons. This section starts at ALD 82, as the columns of the Cairo Genizah text become increasingly fragmentary. It is in the final section of the Genizah text that the Qumran witnesses pick up and overlap with five words before continuing on to content that was lost in the medieval text. ALD 95–96 reads as follows in the Cairo Genizah text:

30. Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 44.

31. Ibid., 45.

32. Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 52.

Cambr. f, 17–23 (4Q213 1 ii + 2; 4Q214a)
17 הן 18 יאתון מלכין תקיפין ועם רב 19 וחיל ופרשין ורתיכין סגיאין 20 עמהון וינסבון נכ̇ס̊י מא̇ת 21 וְמְדִינָה[33] ויבוזון כל די בהון 22 אוצרי חוכמתא 23 לא יבוזון וְלָא יִשְׁכְּחוּן מטמוריה ולא

17 If 18 mighty kings come and a great army, 19 and soldiers and horsemen and numerous chariots 20 with them, then they will carry away the possessions of the land 21 and province, and they will plunder everything that is in them, 22 the treasuries of wisdom they will not plunder 23 and they will not find her hidden places and (they will) not …

From this point on, we must rely on three fragmentary Qumran manuscripts, which benefit from some partial overlap among themselves. The most complete are two fragments of 4Q213, which the editors of the edition astutely noted come from the right and left edges of a once complete column (hence their representation here as 4Q213 1 ii + 2).[34] These benefit from additional overlap with 4Q214a 2–3 ii and 4Q214b 8. The text of these Qumran fragments is as follows:

4Q213 1 ii + 2 (4Q214a 2–3 ii; **4Q214b 8**)
1 מ̇טמוריה ולא יעלון תרעיה̇ ולא [ולא]
2 ישכחון למכבש שוריה ○[ ]ולא[ולא]
3 יחזון שימ̊תה שימ̊תה ○[ ]נ̊[ג]ד̇ה̊][35]
4 ולא איתי [כ]ל̊ מחיר נגדה ○[
5 בעא חכמה̊[חכ]מתה̊ י̊[
6 מטמרה מנה̇[פל]אל○[
7 ולא חס[י]ר̊[ ]ן כל בעי̇[ה
8 ב̊קשט[36] [וכען בני]ס̊פר ומוסר
9 ח̊[כ]מ̇ה ד̇י אל○[הזית בחזוין די]ת̊רתון אנון
10 י○[ ]רבה תתנון
11 [י]ק̇ר *vacat*
12 א̇○[ ]א̊ף בספריא

33. Note the modest variant reading ו̊מ̇ד̇י̇ת̇א in 4Q214a 2–3 ii 1. See note 42 below for discussion of this form.

34. Stone and Greenfield, “Aramaic Levi Document,” 14–19.

35. The word is read with Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 195). Stone and Greenfield (“Aramaic Levi Document,” 14) here read ○]ד̇○[.

36. Read with Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 195). Stone and Greenfield (“Aramaic Levi Document,” 14) here read ו̊קשט. While only the partial head of the first character is visible, its formation and distance from the next character make *bet* more plausible.

13 קר֯[37]]י֯ן ראשין ושפט֯ין
14 ידע֯[ ]ב ועבדין
15 [ ]אף֯ כהנין ומלכין
16 ת○[38]]○[ ]ן֯ מלכותכן
17 תהו֯א֯[39] יק]ר֯ ולא איתי סוף
18 לי֯ק֯[40] ולא]ת֯עבר מנכן עד כל
19 ד֯[41]]○ ב֯יקר רב

1 its hidden places and they will not enter its gates and not [… and they will not]
2 be able to flatten its walls […]and will not[and they will not]
3 see its treasure. Its treasure […]e[qua]l to it
4 there is no price equal to it
5 he who seeks wisdom.[Wis]dom *y*[
6 to hide it from him[…]*al*[
7 and not lac[ki]ng[…]*n* all who seek[it
8 in truth [… and therefore, my sons] the art of letters and instruction
9 wi[sd]om which *al*[…]you will inherit them
10 *y*[…] you will give great
11 [ho]nor. *vacat*
12 *a*[…] also in the books
13 *qr*[…]*yn* rulers and judges
14 knowing[…]*b* and servants
15 […]also priests and kings
16 *t*[…]…[…]*n* your kingdom

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37. Both Stone and Greenfield ("Aramaic Levi Document," 14) and Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 195) reconstruct קר֯[ית. While possible, in lack of supporting evidence for the reading, it is not accepted here.

38. There are certainly traces of a second character after the *tav*, which has a dot over it in the manuscript. However, not enough material has survived for a reasonable guess of what followed. Stone and Greenfield ("Aramaic Levi Document," 14) read ת[. Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 195) reads תה֯[וון.

39. The identification of the final character is not certain. The reading here follows Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 195), which seems more likely than Stone and Greenfield's ("Aramaic Levi Document," 14) reading, תהו֯י֯.

40. The reading (לע֯[לם) of Stone and Greenfield ("Aramaic Levi Document," 14) does not reflect the ink traces for a second and third character before the text breaks away. Drawnel's (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 195) transcription, לי֯ק֯[רכן, is more accurate for the extant characters, though I do not follow his proposed reconstruction.

41. Stone and Greenfield ("Aramaic Levi Document," 14) read]○ in their initial transcription of the outset of the line, but propose ד֯[ריא in their reconstruction of the column (ibid., 18; see also Drawnel, *Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 198). The *dalet* is plausible, but nothing more can be inferred beyond this.

17 it will be [… hono]r and there is no end
18 *lyq*[… and] it will [not] pass from you until every
19 […]… with great honor

4Q214a 2–3 ii

1 ו֯מׄדׄיׄתׄא֯[42]]
2 לא ישׄכחו]
3 טבה[43] א֯]
4 מנה פ֯ל֯ׄ][44]
5 ו֯כׄע֯ן בׄני֯ ס֯פר֯ ו֯]
6 ח֯זית בחזוין ד]י[45]
7]○○○○○○

1 and the province [
2 they will not be find[
3 her good (things)/good *a*[
4 from him/her/it *pl*[
5 And now, my sons, the art of letters and[
6 I saw in visions o[f
7 …[

42. The text at the top of the fragment is difficult to discern, particularly the final two or three characters of the form. The reading presented above is that of Stone and Greenfield ("Aramaic Levi Document," 58), which reflects the parallel Cairo Genizah text, ומדינה. Drawnel's reading, ו֯מׄדׄינה, is possible in view of the highly fragmentary evidence at this point, but far from "certain," as he states (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 199).

43. The reading here follows Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 199). Stone and Greenfield ("Aramaic Levi Document," 58) read טב○ה, but there are no remains of a lost letter between the second and third letters.

44. Drawnel proposes the reading ו֯ל֯ׄ]א, stating that the initial *vav* is "certain" (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 199), which is not the case. The character is evident by its hooked head and part of its downward ligature. While this formation is partially commensurate with *vav* formations elsewhere in this manuscript, the typical head stroke of *vav* is more angular. Unfortunately, there are no *pe* characters extant in this manuscript with which to compare the ink traces. Upon comparison with two other Qumran Aramaic texts palaeographically dated to the same period (ca. 50–25 BCE), 4Q552 (4QFour Kingdoms[a]) and 4Q554 (4QNew Jerusalem[a]), the *pe* should be retained as a real possibility. The added benefit here, of course, is that the reading benefits from overlap with 4Q214b 8, 2.

45. The reading of these final two words is quite clear on the manuscript, as indicated by Drawnel (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 199). Stone and Greenfield ("Aramaic Levi Document," 58) read]ת○○חו.

4Q214b 8

1 אׄית֯י כ֯ו֯ל֯ מ֯[
2 מ]טמריא מנה פ[
3]○○ר֯ חׄכ֯[[46]

1 there is any *m*[
2]to hide it from him/her/it *p*[
3]…*r hk*[

The value of the Qumran materials here is twofold. On the one hand, they provide insight into a section of text entirely lost in the fragmentary later witnesses. On the other hand, they also give some perspective on the variation within the early ALD tradition at Qumran. As with the example of the tree list above, our insights into the degree of diversity of the passage extends only as far as the fragments allow. While the view is far from complete, collectively, these pieces of texts provide glimpses sufficient enough to speak of the presence of two versions of this passage. In the briefest of terms, it seems 4Q213 and 4Q214b represent a longer version of the passage, while 4Q214a is shorter.

When the material from 4Q214b 8 is coordinated with 4Q213 1 ii + 2, the texts run parallel. There are no certain textual variants and no clear indicators of structural variations of the poem between the two manuscripts. However, when 4Q214a is brought into the equation, it seems this manuscript retained a shorter version of the unit. This likelihood presents itself upon comparison of the limited, yet instructive, textual overlaps between the witnesses. Several factors need to be taken into account when assessing this variation.

Overlaps between 4Q214a 2–3 ii and the Cairo Genizah text indicated above suggest that there was content spanning approximately forty-three letter spaces intervening between the available texts for the first two lines of 4Q214a 2–3 ii. When this number is added to the available content of line 1 (ו֯מׄדׄיׄתׄא = seven character spaces), an approximate line length of around fifty characters for the Qumran text results.[47]

46. The remnants of these characters are known only from some ink traces of their tops at the bottommost edge of the fragment. The initial characters cannot be identified. However, the final characters are relatively certain. Stone and Greenfield's ("Aramaic Levi Document," 70) reading]○○○○[is overly conservative, while Drawnel's (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 201) מ]ו֯ס֯ר֯ חׄכ֯[מה is perhaps too ambitious, though rightly recognizes that this material reflects content from ALD 98.

47. This is in the ballpark of the reconstructed line length calculations for 4Q214a

The reading לא ישכׄחו] in 4Q214a 2–3 ii 2 overlaps with the Cairo Genizah's ולא ישכחון (Cambr. f, 23). This phrase comes immediately before the extant text at the outset of 4Q213 1 ii + 2 1 (מׄטמוריה; compare Cairo Genizah ולא ישכחון מטמוריה). The next available overlap between the Qumran texts in this section is מנה in 4Q214a 2–3 ii 4 and מנׄה] in 4Q213 1 ii + 2 6. The challenge is that the content that spans approximately four lines in 4Q213 is seemingly represented on approximately three lines in 4Q214a.

That the text of 4Q214a was abbreviated, reworked, or reflects a different tradition here is further suggested by the fact that the available content of 4Q214a 2–3 ii 3—precisely the point where the discord observed above occurs—cannot be identified with anything in the known texts for this portion of the wisdom poem (compare 4Q213 1 ii + 2; 4Q214b 8).[48] As the editors of 4Q214a noted, regardless of how we identify the content of line 3, there is insufficient space between lines 3 and 4 of 4Q214a to accommodate all of the content represented in 4Q213 1 ii + 2.[49] As estimated above, there would be approximately fifty spaces in line 3 to accommodate the equivalent of approximately four lines of text from 4Q213.[50] While this situation does not allow for specific insights into the content of 4Q214a, in general terms the minimal overlap available indicates this unit of the poem was indeed shorter than the form of the text in the other available witnesses.

6. Conclusions on Textual Status

In many ways, the foregoing analysis confirms in outline some findings already on offer in current research on ALD: the triad of passages sur-

1 (ca. fifty letter spaces) and 4Q214a 2–3 i (ca. 39–40 letter spaces) (Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 55, 57).

48. Line 3 retains only the word טבה, which could either be a suffixed adjective meaning "her good (things)," or is part of a lost attributive adjective chain. See also "a good treasure" (שימה ט֯בה) at 4Q213 1 i 20.

49. Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 59–60. In Drawnel's estimation, the text of 4Q214a here "is shorter by about four and a half lines" (*Aramaic Wisdom Text*, 200), though he does not identify the overlap between 4Q214a 2–2 ii 4 and 4Q213 1 ii + 2 6.

50. While the editors provided a compelling partial column reconstruction of 4Q213 1 ii + 2, estimations of line length are not provided due to the fact that there is no consecutive line of text for the two fragments involved and a lack of overlap available from the Aramaic text in the Cairo Genizah.

veyed are attested in at least two forms at Qumran. There is indeed a pluriformity of ALD texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls. Where I diverge from previous treatments, however, is in the overarching characterization of how this pluriformity of passages relates to the hypothesis of two parallel versions, recensions, or editions. Compartmentalization of the fragmentary Qumran ALD manuscripts into two generic groups of short and long versions, predominantly on the basis of these variant passages, is unsustainable: no single ALD witness coheres consistently with either alleged version. The most that can be said for certain is that the Qumran ALD materials attest to the presence of variant passages in at least three documented cases. In those manuscripts with extant materials of more than one of these passages, we find 4Q214b includes the long versions of both the tree list and the wisdom poem. It is possible that 4Q214b attests to a longer form as a whole, but at best we have only glimpses of this. This should also be balanced with a consideration of 4Q214a, which includes the longer text of the tree list and the shorter form of the wisdom poem. Thus the conclusion that 4Q214a represents a shorter version of the overall composition cannot be retained without significant nuance. Unfortunately, the manuscript evidence is less forgiving in all other instances, restricting our ability to gauge whether the remaining Qumran ALD texts were uniformly long, short, or a mix. It was also noted above that there were some further hints of internal diversity within the predominant forms of the variant passages, which would require tailored descriptions of their respective characteristics (e.g., the one different tree species in 4Q214b and possible varying order or number of species in 4Q214a). A similar situation is perhaps found in Levi's prayer. This passage evidenced degrees of difference between the content and shape of the Qumran Aramaic and later Greek text, but to confidently call the former "long" required venturing into reconstruction and speculation (hence the asterisk in the table below).

Table 2. Mapping extant short and long variant passages onto fragmentary manuscripts

	Tree List	Prayer	Wisdom Poem
4Q213	—	—	long
4Q213a	—	long*	—
4Q214	short	—	—

4Q214a	long	—	short
4Q214b	long	—	long
Cairo Genizah	long	—	—*

While the case studies undertaken above gave minimal attention to the many variant readings attested among the manuscripts beyond these passages, it should be noted that there is no discernible pattern to smaller variants to suggest that a literary edition was achieved by a consistent revision of the text on a smaller scale. Finally, it is important to recall that we lack a full knowledge of the scope of ALD and have many Qumran fragments that cannot be placed confidently within the known structure of the work reflected in the later Greek, Aramaic, and Syriac texts.[51] As such, it is possible that there were other areas of minor, modest, or even major variation. At present, little more can be said about these present blind spots.

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51. The recent discovery of a previously unknown Cairo Genizah fragment of ALD is a good reminder that our understanding of the content and structure of the overall work must also remain somewhat organic. For text and commentary on the fragment, see Gideon Bohak, "A New Genizah Fragment of the Aramaic Levi Document," in *From Cairo to Manchester: Studies in the Rylands Genizah Fragments*, ed. Renate Smithuis and Philip S. Alexander, JSSSup 31 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 101–14. A preliminary proposal regarding the context and meaning of the fragment may be found in Dorothy M. Peters and Esther Eshel, "Cutting Off and Cutting Down Shechem: Levi and His Sword in the Rylands Genizah Fragment of the Aramaic Levi Document," in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honour of Martin G. Abegg on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Kipp Davis et al., STDJ 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 237–59.

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Translation and Rewriting in the Genesis Apocryphon

John Screnock

1. Introduction: Rewriting at an Impasse

There is a bewildering array of approaches to "rewriting" and related concepts. A complete and in-depth overview of the rewriting discussion is not necessary—or possible—here; Daniel Falk gives a good overview of the various definitions, terms, and paradigms for thinking about rewriting and rewritten texts.[1] For the discussion of rewriting in the Genesis Apocryphon, one should consult Daniel Machiela's summary.[2] Much of the debate surrounding rewriting is concerned with genre classifications and the categorization of texts, as well as the role of "Bible" and "Scripture" in that categorization. Disagreements abound. Given the sheer number of alternative paradigms and their incongruence, if there were a correct or best model of categorization, I am doubtful it would become the scholarly consensus any time soon. Moreover, I am personally convinced that the

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1. Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, CQS 8, LSTS 63 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 3–17; see also the helpful overview in Moshe J. Bernstein, "'Rewritten Bible': A Generic Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?," *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–96.

2. Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*, STDJ 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 2–5.

idea of "rewritten text" does not work as a genre or even a category for strictly distinguishing a set group of texts.[3]

It therefore makes sense to focus discussions on rewriting as an activity.[4] Definitions of the activity of rewriting, however, also vary significantly from scholar to scholar. According to various scholars, rewriting follows the basic order of events in the base text's narrative, makes the base text less problematic, resulting in a more comprehensible version of the base text's story, and involves an interpretation of the base text.[5] The insertions made in rewriting are often characterized as haggadic, and the purpose of rewriting is in part to integrate interpretation within the form and structure of the base text, making it implicit instead of explicit.[6] Molly Zahn

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3. It might be possible to consider rewriting as more characteristic of some texts, thereby constituting a cluster of generic features, while emphasizing that the texts participate in multiple genres. Although some texts "conform to a single, clear-cut generic pattern," other texts "participate in a genre … that is in fact a combination of literary forms," and still others (perhaps our "rewritten texts") "move between distinguishable but related genres" or even "dazzle and disturb us with a kaleidoscopic array of [generic features]"; Heather Dubrow, *Genre* (London: Methuen, 1982), 28–29.

4. Contra Bernstein, who believes that a focus on process/activity instead of genre is what has watered down our understanding in the first place; "Rewritten Bible," 178.

5. For the view that rewriting follows the basic order of events in the base text, see, e.g., Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies*, 2nd ed., SPB 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 95; George J. Brooke, "The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible," in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London: British Library, 2002), 32; Philip S. Alexander, "Retelling the Old Testament," in *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*, ed. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 117; Emanuel Tov, "Biblical Texts as Reworked in Some Qumran Manuscripts with Special Attention to 4QRP and 4QParaGen-Exod," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Eugene Ulrich and James C. VanderKam (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 113; Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 13. For the view that rewriting results in a more comprehensible version of the base text's story, see Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 6; Bruce N. Fisk, "Rewritten Bible in Pseudepigrapha and Qumran," *DNTB*, 948. For the view that rewriting involves an interpretation of the base text, see Alexander, "Retelling," 117; Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 5.

6. On insertions characterized as "haggadic," that is, having the same sort of character as the aggadic sections of the Talmud, where the text recounts stories instead of offering legal interpretation, see Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, 95; Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 5. On integrating interpretation into the base text, see Brooke,

argues that we should distinguish the "details and method of the reworking itself" from the interpretation that instigates such rewriting.[7] What specific processes are used in the rewriting of a base text? Geza Vermes isolates "rearrangement, conflation, [and/or] supplementation" as the main aspects of rewriting.[8] Emanuel Tov refers to "additions, omissions, rearrangements, and changes," and Sidnie White Crawford to "harmonization," "adding material," and "manipulation of the base text."[9] Zahn's typology of compositional technique includes three basic types of change: "additions," "omissions," and "alterations."[10] The final category includes "rearrangements," "paraphrase," and "replacement with material from elsewhere."[11] Though these viewpoints share much in common, the concepts are nuanced differently from scholar to scholar. In the end, the particular details of the activity of *rewriting* appear to be extremely diverse, and if we wanted to characterize all of them together, we might just say that they involve *changing a text in any way*.[12] When we instead focus on particular sets of phenomena involved in rewriting that can be clearly identified and defined, such as the "anticipatory" additions discussed independently by Bernstein and Segal,[13] I think we make more progress.

One particular aspect of rewriting—the balance of *preservation* and *change*—is pertinent to my discussion of translation and rewriting below.

"Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms," 32; Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 5; Fisk, "Rewritten Bible," 948; compare Alexander, "Retelling," 116.

7. Molly M. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*, STDJ 95 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 11–17.

8. Geza Vermes, "Bible Interpretation at Qumran," *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 185–86. Similarly, Bernstein, "Rewritten Bible," 195.

9. Tov, "Biblical Texts as Reworked," 113; Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 13–14.

10. Zahn, *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture*, 17–18.

11. Ibid., 18.

12. There is a striking similarity at this point between the ideas of rewriting and translation; in his typology of translation strategies, Andrew Chesterman notes that, if we wanted to reduce all aspects of translation to one strategy, it would be the following: "change something"; Andrew Chesterman, *Memes of Translation: The Spread of Ideas in Translation Theory* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997), 92.

13. Bernstein and Segal have helpfully singled out the way that tradents filled in "missing" information that anticipates a later reference in the text. Unlike the shifting notion of rewriting, this specific type of change can be identified and described with precision. Moshe J. Bernstein, "Re-arrangement, Anticipation and Harmonization as Exegetical Features in the Genesis Apocryphon," *DSD* 3 (1996): 37–57; Michael Segal, "The Text of the Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *MG* 12 (2007): 5–20.

Machiela articulates this aspect in two related questions. First, "how significant must the *interpretive element* be" for the rewritten text to be something *other than* the base text?[14] Second, "how much [of the base text] must be present" for the rewritten text to have some sort of relationship to the base text, such that it is considered rewriting and not composition?[15] Although Machiela poses these questions about the categorization of entire texts, they apply equally to specific instances of textual development, that is, the activity of rewriting. Crucially, both preservation and change must be involved to some extent for the notion of rewriting to be present. Once again, different scholars have argued for vastly different views. For George Brooke, *preservation* is more important; if a text contains "very many major insertions or omissions," it is no longer rewritten.[16] Similarly, Gary Knoppers does not consider the Chronicles' account of the monarchy to be rewriting, because of the large amount of material that finds no textual basis in Samuel-Kings.[17] Though this material is inspired by the story and characters from Samuel-Kings, it does not constitute rewriting because the differences create "a unique portrayal" of the history in Samuel-Kings.[18] In contrast, many scholars think of the earlier columns of the Genesis Apocryphon as employing rewriting of Genesis, though the textual material is often not based on Genesis; rewriting is involved insofar as the Genesis Apocryphon is inspired by and takes its point of departure from Genesis.[19] Joseph Fitzmyer, for example, contrasts the latter columns of the Genesis Apocryphon, which follow the wording of Genesis very closely, with the rewriting found in the rest of the Genesis Apocryphon.[20] Harrington considers material that is "in considerable debt" to a base text to be part of the rewriting process, even if it is not clearly "keyed to the

14. Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 5, emphasis original.

15. Ibid.

16. Brooke, "Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms," 32–33.

17. Gary N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 1–9*, AB 12 (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 132–33.

18. Ibid., 133.

19. The earlier columns of the Genesis Apocryphon may be based on various sources or may be the creation of the author of the Genesis Apocryphon; see Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 8–16.

20. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*, 3rd ed. (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 230.

structure and flow of the [base text]."[21] For these scholars, it is the element of *change* that qualifies as rewriting.

In sum, views on rewriting and rewritten texts are various and diverse. Studies that appeal to the idea of rewriting, but do not focus on it, must either briefly define and support their own notion of rewriting or hope that the reader shares the same view as theirs.[22] Rewriting will surely continue to play a role in our discussions of textual development in the future; but given the current state of affairs, we risk talking past one another if the impasse in our understanding of rewriting is not surmounted.

2. Rewriting, Translation, and the Genesis Apocryphon

I suggest that one way to move forward in this discussion is to contrast rewriting with translation, a well understood activity that overlaps with rewriting. Translation is the use of different words—whether from the same or a different linguistic system—to communicate the meaning of a source text.[23] Translation involves both the *changes* made to the source text and the *motivations* for those changes. Translational changes can be both linguistic and content oriented (e.g., addition and omission). The possible motivations for translation in any particular instance are very

21. Daniel J. Harrington, "The Bible Rewritten (Narratives)," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg, BMI 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 246. Harrington exemplifies how the focus on rewritten texts as a genre or category makes way for an understanding of rewriting that does not focus on smaller, particular changes to the text. Instead, the rewriting activity is understood as the entire process of creating a new text that is inspired by a base text.

22. Compare Bernstein, who argues that the terms *rewriting* and *rewritten* have been expanded and applied to so much material that they are in danger of losing their usefulness; "Rewritten Bible," 170, 179.

23. The concept of translation is more typically understood outside of translation studies to be the communication of the meaning a source text using a different language. Following scholars in translation studies, I argue elsewhere that, given the nature of languages and the evidence of translation itself, translation is necessarily broader; John Screnock, *Traductor Scriptor: The Old Greek Translation of Exodus 1–14 as Scribal Activity*, VTSup 174 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 57–62; Screnock, "Is Rewriting Translation? Chronicles and Jubilees in Light of Intralingual Translation," *VT* (forthcoming); see also Roman Jakobson, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation," in *On Translation*, ed. Reuben A. Brower (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 232–39; Karen Korning Zethsen, "Intralingual Translation: An Attempt at Description," *Meta* 54 (2009): 795–812.

broad, and include linguistic barriers between the source text and target audience, the logical and conceptual coherence of the text, differences in cultural and religious norms, and perceived difficulties in the text that, in the translator's view, need clarification. Translation involves interpretation as a crucial first step, and in many regards translation and interpretation should not be treated as distinct activities.[24]

I have argued that much of what occurs in rewriting can be analyzed within a translation paradigm.[25] Translation overlaps, in particular, with descriptions of rewriting that focus on the specific details of how the text is changed. Interestingly, translation has played a role in discussions of one text thought to be exemplary of rewriting: the Genesis Apocryphon. In the earliest considerations of the Genesis Apocryphon, the concept of translation was at the forefront. Scholars considered whether the Genesis Apocryphon was a translation, a targum (that is, a particular type of translation), or something else.[26] In the introduction of *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*, Fitzmyer contrasted translation with instances when the Genesis Apocryphon "uses [the original Hebrew] as a springboard for an extended or midrashic development" and devoted several pages to a consideration of the Genesis Apocryphon as a translation (see section 3 below).[27] Judging by Machiela's review of the secondary literature, it seems that translation faded from view as scholarship of the Genesis Apocryphon progressed, developing the notion of rewriting and searching for sources in 1 Enoch and Jubilees.[28]

At present, our primary conceptual category for the Genesis Apocryphon is not translation but rewriting, though the Genesis Apocryphon was written in a different language from the Hebrew of Genesis and often fol-

24. Translation involves interpretation: Birgitta Englund Dimitrova, "Translation Process," in *Handbook of Translation Studies*, ed. Yves Gambier and Luc van Doorslaer (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2010), 1:406; Radegundis Stolze, "Hermeneutics and Translation," in Gambier and van Doorslaer, *Handbook*, 141. Translation and interpretation are not distinct activities: at a conceptual level, translation is equivalent to the act of interpretation, addressing the same issues in the same ways; George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 28.

25. John Screnock, "Is Rewriting Translation?"

26. See Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 2–3.

27. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), 40.

28. Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 2–3.

lows the text of Genesis quite closely. For example, in Lawrence Schiffman's chapter on interpretation of the Bible, a section titled "Retelling the Bible" discusses the Genesis Apocryphon, while the section on translation, which includes a subsection on targums, does not mention the Genesis Apocryphon.[29] The Genesis Apocryphon could rightly be addressed under either of those sections, and we should not expect Schiffman's brief introduction to biblical interpretation to exhaust the possibilities for one particular text; nevertheless, this example illustrates our propensity to think of the Genesis Apocryphon as rewriting, not translation. Another example is Falk's treatment of the Genesis Apocryphon.[30] Falk briefly discusses the Genesis Apocryphon using translation terminology: it is usually a "free paraphrase" of Genesis, but often presents "fairly literal translation."[31] In his overview of the methods used by the creator of the Genesis Apocryphon, however, Falk does not include translation.[32] Although Falk recognizes that the Genesis Apocryphon is at times a translation of Genesis, he does not examine the Genesis Apocryphon as such. To be clear, given the scope of his study, we should not expect Falk to undertake a translational analysis of the Genesis Apocryphon. My point, rather, is that Falk's focus on nontranslational aspects of the Genesis Apocryphon is representative of scholarship in general—there is a lacuna with regards to work on the Genesis Apocryphon as a translation.[33]

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29. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 212–15, 217–18.

30. Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 26–106.

31. Ibid., 94.

32. Ibid., 101–2.

33. Similarly, Benjamin Wright argues that in discussions of rewriting we have not paid attention to the ways rewriting might be employed in translations; Benjamin G. Wright, "Scribes, Translators, and the Formation of Authoritative Scripture," in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*, ed. Kristin de Troyer, T. Michael Law, and Marketta Liljeström, CBET 72 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014). Bernstein would not consider a translation to be rewritten unless it contained "enough nonbiblical material [= material not drawn from the base text] supplementary to its translation" ("Rewritten Bible," 175); I write "would not consider" because Bernstein completely rules out translations on other grounds having to do with perceived connections between rewriting and authoritative texts. Bernstein does not specify what constitutes "enough nonbiblical material," but it must be considerably less than the amount of nonbiblical material in the first half of the Genesis Apocryphon, which he states "becomes less and less [rewritten]" the more it

It seems undeniable that the Genesis Apocryphon employs translation, at least to some extent. I suggest that it is possible to leverage the concept of translation to refine our concept of rewriting. By identifying the aspects of textual development in the Genesis Apocryphon that stem from *translation*, we will be left with a smaller group of aspects that belong uniquely to *rewriting*. Whether we want to think of translation as one part of rewriting or as mutually exclusive with rewriting, the nontranslation developments will be easier to quantify and describe.[34] The Genesis Apocryphon is particularly suited to translation analysis, since its being written in a different language entails that "translation"—both the linguistic processes involved *and* the perceived understanding of the text by ancient readers—is a significant possibility in the text.[35]

3. The Extent of Translation in the Genesis Apocryphon

In his early study of the Genesis Apocryphon, Fitzmyer devotes a brief section to analysis of the Genesis Apocryphon in "those parts … where the Aramaic text seems to translate the original Hebrew."[36] The methodology employed there is to compare the Genesis Apocryphon to the Aramaic targums and to classify the translation technique of each as "literal" or "paraphrase."[37] He concludes that the Genesis Apocryphon "is more frequently a paraphrase" than a "literal [word-for-word] translation of the Genesis text."[38] Moreover, portions of the Genesis Apocryphon that contain isomorphic translation "are incorporated into its own expanded account."[39] Although his goal is to characterize the

"[moves] further away from the [base text]"; Moshe J. Bernstein, "From the Watchers to the Flood: Story and Exegesis in the Early Columns of the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements, STDJ 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 42.

34. We might label the leftover aspects of textual development as "nontranslation aspects of rewriting" or as simply "rewriting" in toto.

35. I have also argued that a translation analysis works with rewritten texts penned in the same language as their base texts; Screnock, "Is Rewriting Translation?"

36. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon* (2nd ed.), 30–36, quoted text from p. 32.

37. Fitzmyer's descriptions include variations on these two poles, such as "almost literal" and "extended paraphrase."

38. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon* (2nd ed.), 36.

39. I prefer the term *isomorphic* instead of *literal* or *word for word*; isomorphic translations seek to represent the linguistic elements of the source text—whether

Genesis Apocryphon as a whole rather than individual units of text, Fitzmyer seems to set up a three part scheme for classifying the individual units of text that make up the Genesis Apocryphon: (1) text that isomorphically translates Genesis, (2) text that paraphrases Genesis and "resembles … the midrashic insertions of the Targum Ps.-Jonathan," and (3) "expanded" accounts that use Genesis "as a springboard."[40] Because this analysis was undertaken before the issue of rewriting took center stage in our characterization of the Genesis Apocryphon, it is refreshingly devoid of the terminology that can cloud scholarly discussion today. Though brief—and as a result lacking in explicit methodology for translation analysis—I think Fitzmyer's approach in this section illustrates the power of translation to describe the text. Standing, now, on the other side of the debate about rewriting, I believe translation can sharpen our notions about rewriting.

My analysis will be based on a typology of translation I have developed elsewhere, which I will briefly summarize here.[41] The *changes* that are made in translation involve either the content or the linguistic features of the source text. Content changes include addition, restructuring, and omission. Linguistic changes can be lexical, syntactic, or morphological. These categories of change are largely self-explanatory and resemble those usually discussed as constituting rewriting. What aspects of change can be accounted for when the Genesis Apocryphon is analyzed from the perspective of translation? I will consider this question for three types of text in the Genesis Apocryphon, corresponding broadly to Fitzmyer's three categories. First, I will address cases where only linguistic changes occur, resulting in isomorphic translation. Second, I will address cases where the Genesis Apocryphon makes content changes on a smaller scale—that is, adding, removing, or omitting phrases and clauses, not entire paragraphs or more. Third, I will consider content changes that occur on a large scale

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lexical items, morphological units, or syntactical structures and phrases—on a one-to-one basis. Citation of Fitzmyer, ibid.

40. Ibid., 32, 36.

41. Screnock, "Is Rewriting Translation?" Although the typology developed there is aimed at translation within the same language (intralingual translation), I argue that translation across languages (interlingual translation) is essentially the same activity, and therefore the model applies equally to both types of translation. Moreover, similar typologies of translation have been developed elsewhere based solely on interlingual translation; see, e.g., Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 92–116.

and cannot be classified as translation. In a fourth section, I will consider a related issue: the motivation for translation in the Genesis Apocryphon.

3.1. Linguistic Changes Resulting in Isomorphic Translation

The Genesis Apocryphon contains a number of cases where Genesis is translated isomorphically into Aramaic; given their isomorphic character, these are the easiest portions of the Genesis Apocryphon to identify as coming from Genesis. A general tendency towards isomorphism, such as we see in most ancient Jewish translations, does not preclude the use of content changes alongside linguistic changes. However, in interlingual translations—that is, those written in a language different from the source text—the majority of changes are linguistic.

An excellent example of isomorphic translation is GenAp 21:13, which translates Gen 13:16.

Gen 13:16

וְשַׂמְתִּי אֶת־זַרְעֲךָ כַּעֲפַר הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אִם־יוּכַל אִישׁ לִמְנוֹת אֶת־עֲפַר הָאָרֶץ גַּם־זַרְעֲךָ יִמָּנֶה

I will make your offspring like the dust of the earth, which, if one can count the dust of the earth, then your offspring also will be counted.[42]

GenAp 21:13[43]

ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא די לא ישכח כול בר אנוש לממניה ואף זרעך לא יתמנה

I will make your offspring like the dust of the earth, which no one can count; indeed, your offspring will not be counted.

At the most basic level, Hebrew words are translated into Aramaic equivalents. There are numerous one-to-one relationships between the translation and the source text: many of the morphological units of Genesis are represented with an equivalent morphological unit in the Genesis Apocryphon (e.g., ארע and the Aramaic definite article for ארץ and the Hebrew definite article); even when the Genesis Apocryphon represents אֶת־עֲפַר

42. English translations are based on NRSV Genesis, with modifications to reflect the linguistic aspects I will focus on in my discussion.

43. The text of the Genesis Apocryphon follows Machiela's text, though for ease of reading I have left out diacritical marks and followed his reconstructions (which are very limited unless noted otherwise).

הָאָרֶץ with the pronoun ה-, at the *phrase* level the Genesis Apocryphon is isomorphic. When the two texts are set side-by-side, the one-to-one relationship is apparent:

וְשַׂמְתִּי אֶת־זַרְעֲךָ כַּעֲפַר הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אִם־יוּכַל אִישׁ לִמְנוֹת אֶת־עֲפַר הָאָרֶץ גַּם־זַרְעֲךָ יִמָּנֶה
ואשגה זרעך כעפר ארעא די לא ישכח כול בר אנוש לממניה ואף זרעך לא יתמנה

The most striking difference between the translation and the source is how the Genesis Apocryphon simplifies the somewhat complex syntax of Genesis by making a few slight changes. Genesis has a relative clause containing a conditional: "the dust, which, *if* one can count it, *then* your seed can be counted."[44] The Genesis Apocryphon removes the conditional embedded in the relative and states explicitly, using negatives, what the logic of Genesis implies: "the dust, which *no* one can count; so, too, your seed will *not* be counted." This is a basic aspect of translation: though the Genesis Apocryphon could certainly have represented the difficult syntax of Genesis more isomorphically, using a conditional, the target text is more readable because of this change.[45] The Old Greek, presented with the same difficulty of the syntax of Gen 13:16, addresses the problem similarly:

καὶ ποιήσω τὸ σπέρμα σου ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τῆς γῆς· εἰ δύναταί τις ἐξαριθμῆσαι τὴν ἄμμον τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου ἐξαριθμηθήσεται.
And I will make your offspring like the sand of the earth; if anyone can count the sand of the earth, your offspring also shall be counted. (NETS)

Both the Genesis Apocryphon and the Old Greek recognize that a conditional embedded in a relative clause is difficult to read. Instead of removing the conditional to simplify the syntax, the Old Greek removes the relative by omitting אֲשֶׁר, so that the conditional is no longer embedded in the preceding clause. Like the Genesis Apocryphon, the Old Greek is otherwise very isomorphic.

This example illustrates grammatical isomorphism in a contiguous unit of text; another aspect of isomorphism deals with the lexicon and

44. Alternatively, we might understand the relative as modifying זַרְעֲךָ: "your seed, which, if one can count the dust, then it can be counted." Whatever the exact syntax of Genesis, the Genesis Apocryphon simplifies it.

45. On readability, see Screnock, "Is Rewriting Translation?"

must be observed across the entire text. The Genesis Apocryphon, like other ancient Jewish translations,[46] makes use of lexical isomorphism. For example, where the Genesis Apocryphon is based on Genesis, Hebrew יצא, "to go out," is usually translated by Aramaic נפק, "to go out."[47] Only once is it translated otherwise, when סלק, "to go up," is used because it fits better contextually.[48] Moreover, when it follows Genesis as a base text, the Genesis Apocryphon never uses נפק except to represent Hebrew יצא. Often, within the overarching goal of exact representation of the source, a one-for-one relationship between source and target lexemes is not desired, and instead lexical isomorphism takes the form of "semantic leveling" (a multiple-to-one relationship) and "semantic differentiation" (a one-to-multiple relationship).[49] Hebrew לקח, "to take," provides a good example of this: though often translated by נסב, "to take," in a number of cases the Genesis Apocryphon uses a hyponym to better express the sense of לקח in context.[50] In 21:33, Sodom and Gomorrah's goods are "plundered" (בזז) instead of "taken" (in Gen 14:11); in 21:34, Lot is "taken captive" (שבי) instead of "taken" (in Gen 14:12); and in 22:20, the king of Sodom tells Abram to "put aside [for himself]" (שבק) the goods taken from the king of Elam, instead of to "take" them (in Gen 14:21). This strategy differentiates the various actions that are all referred to by לקח in Genesis.

Unlike columns 19–22, which often exhibit close, isomorphic translation, columns 0–17 provide few examples of such translation. This is the result of a variety of factors. These columns are either based on sources

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46. See, e.g., Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xiii–xx; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "The Semantics of Biblical Language Redux," in *"Translation Is Required": The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 41–57.

47. GenAp 11:11 (Gen 8:18); 21:31 (Gen 14:8); 22:14–15 (Gen 14:18), 28 (Gen 11:31), 30 (Gen 11:31), 34 (Gen 15:4).

48. GenAp 22:13 (Gen 14:17).

49. Albert Pietersma, "To the Reader of Psalms," in Pietersma and Wright, *New English Translation*, 542–43.

50. GenAp 20:9 (Gen 12:15), 27 (Gen 12:19); 22:22 (Gen 14:23); and possibly 10:11 (Gen 8:20). Notably, נסב is never used for a different Hebrew lexeme when the Genesis Apocryphon translates Genesis. A hyponym is a more specific lexeme for something more general (e.g., "waltz" for "dance"). On hyponymy as a strategy in translation, see Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 102.

no longer completely extant in their original language (see §3.3 below), or, if they are instead based solely on Genesis, they depart significantly from its narrative. Moreover, columns 0–17 are much more fragmentary than 19–22, allowing us less opportunity to observe the text in its fullness and compounding the two aforementioned issues.[51] We should not be surprised, then, that cases of isomorphic translation are concentrated in columns 19–22. Nevertheless, there are examples of this kind of close translation in columns 0–17, entailing that translation was a factor involved throughout the Genesis Apocryphon. In GenAp 12:13, for example, we find an isomorphic translation of Gen 9:20:

Gen 9:20

וַיָּחֶל נֹחַ אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּטַּע כָּרֶם

And Noah began to be a man of the land, and he planted a vineyard.

GenAp 12:13

[ו]שרית אנה ובני כולהון למפלח בארעא ונצבת כרם רב בלובר טורא

And I began—with my sons, all of them—to work the land, and I planted a great vineyard on Mount Lubar.

Despite a number of changes and additions, the underlying isomorphic character of the translation is seen in a number of item-for-item representations: ושרית for ויחל, אנה for נח, ארעא for אדמה, and ונצבת כרם for ויטע כרם. Other examples of close translation in columns 0–17 include GenAp 6:23 for Gen 6:8, and a four-word stretch of extant text in GenAp 6:26 for part of Gen 6:7. Isomorphic translation, therefore, is found throughout the Genesis Apocryphon.

Where the Genesis Apocryphon remains close to Genesis, the linguistic changes typifying translation are prevalent. Though this is a point that all scholars probably presume, it is worth demonstrating and highlighting. Moreover, even though we have confined ourselves to linguistic changes, we can already see translation encroaching on rewriting: we could easily classify the removal of the conditional in 21:13 or the use of hyponyms for לקח as either rewriting or translation.

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51. Note also Bernstein's suggestion that columns 0–17 and 19–22 constitute two distinct sources for the Genesis Apocryphon, which might entail a different approach to Hebrew source texts in the two sections; see Moshe J. Bernstein, "Divine Titles and Epithets and the Sources of the 'Genesis Apocryphon,'" *JBL* 128 (2009): 306.

3.2. Minor Content Changes: Smaller Additions, Omissions, and Restructuring

The lines between translation and rewriting are even less obvious when we begin to consider content changes. Translation regularly involves content changes (addition, restructuring, omission) of varying significance.[52] There are many examples where the Genesis Apocryphon clearly follows Genesis as a source text, but in a much less isomorphic fashion than the example discussed above. In Gen 14:21–24, the story of Abram's rescue of Lot concludes with a brief conversation between Abram and the king of Sodom. The king of Sodom offers to let Abram keep the goods he has acquired through the routing of the four enemy kings, but Abram declines. The Genesis Apocryphon, which has been following the story since column 21, contains a somewhat close translation of this particular passage in 22:18–26, but with the addition and omission of some words and phrases. In the following interlinear, the differences between the Hebrew source text (given first) and Aramaic target text (given second) are underlined; in the English translations, additions are underlined, omissions are italicized, and reworded equivalents are in bold.

14:21 וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ־סְדֹם אֶל־אַבְרָם תֶּן־לִי הַנֶּפֶשׁ
14:21 Then the king of Sodom said to Abram, "Give me the persons,

22:18 באדין קרב מלכא די סודם ואמר לאבר מרי אברם 19 הב לי נפשא די איתי לי די שביא
22:18 Then the king of Sodom drew near and said to Abram, "My lord, Abram, 19 give me the persons who belong to me, who are the captives

וְהָרְכֻשׁ קַח־לָךְ 22 וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָם אֶל־מֶלֶךְ סְדֹם
but take the goods for yourself." 22 But Abram said to the king of Sodom,

עמך די אצלתה מן מלך עילם ונכסיא 20 כולהון שביקין לך אדין אמר אברם למלך סודם
with you, whom you delivered from the King of Elam, but the goods, leave aside 20 all of them for yourself." Then Abram said to the king of Sodom,

52. See Screnock, "Is Rewriting Translation?"; see also Zethsen, "Intralingual Translation," 802–803; Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 107, 109–10.

הֲרִימֹתִי יָדִי אֶל־<u>יְהוָה</u> אֵל עֶלְיוֹן <u>קֹנֵה</u> שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ 23 אִם־מִחוּט וְעַד שְׂרוֹךְ־נַעַל
"I have raised my hand to *the LORD*, God Most High, **maker** of heaven and earth, 23 [that I will be cursed] if from a thread or the thong of a sandal [I take],

מרים אנה 21 ידי <u>יומא דן</u> לאל עליון <u>מרה</u> שמיא וארעא אן מן חוט עד ערקא דמסאן
"I am raising 21 my hand <u>this day</u> to God Most High, **lord** of heaven and earth, [that I will be cursed] if from a thread or the thong of a sandal [I take],

וְאִם־אֶקַּח מִכָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לָךְ <u>וְלֹא</u> תֹאמַר אֲנִי <u>הֶעֱשַׁרְתִּי</u> אֶת־אַבְרָם 24 בִּלְעָדַי רַק
or if I take from anything that is yours, **so that** you might not say, '**I have made** Abram **rich**.' [I will not take] except only

22 אן אסב מן כול די איתי לך <u>דלמא</u> תהוה אמר <u>דמן נכסי כול עתרה די</u> 23 אברם ברא מן
or if I take from anything that is yours, **lest** you should say, '**From my property is all the wealth of** Abram.' 23 [I will not take] except from

אֲשֶׁר אָכְלוּ הַנְּעָרִים וְחֵלֶק הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר הָלְכוּ אִתִּי
what the young men have eaten, and the share of the men who went with me,

די אכלו כבר עולימי <u>די עמי</u> ו<u>ברא מן</u> חולק <u>תלתת</u> גבריא די 24 אזלו עמי
what the young men <u>who are with me</u> have <u>already</u> eaten, and <u>except from</u> the share of the <u>three</u> men who 24 went with me.

<u>עָנֵר אֶשְׁכֹּל וּמַמְרֵא הֵם יִקְחוּ חֶלְקָם</u>
Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre. Let them take their share."

<u>אנון שליטין בחולקהון למנתן לך</u>
<u>They are governors of their portion, in order to give [it back] to you</u>."

We see all three types of change in this passage. At the outset, we should note that some of these changes may stem from the Genesis Apocryphon using a *Vorlage* that varies from the MT of Genesis. The most prevalent change we see in this passage is addition; the purpose of most of the additions is to explicate, making clear what was implicit in the source text. In Gen 14:24, for example, Abram refers to "what the young men have eaten," while the Genesis Apocryphon specifies that the young men are the ones

"who are with me," and that they have "already" eaten the aforementioned food. In Genesis, these two points are already clear from context, but the Genesis Apocryphon makes the additions in an attempt to make the target text even clearer.[53] The omission of Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre from the end of the text is a product of a wider translational change in the Genesis Apocryphon, whereby the text is made more readable by introducing these three characters earlier (21:21–22; 22:6–7). As a result, they do not need to be named at this point of the text.[54]

Fitzmyer considers part of this passage, GenAp 22:18–20 (corresponding to Gen 14:21), to be a "considerably expanded paraphrase."[55] He even marks the verse with an asterisk "[to indicate] that there is at most an allusion to the verse or only a short phrase in [the Genesis Apocryphon] which echoes the Hebrew text itself."[56] In my opinion, this characterization underestimates the propensity of translations to make changes of this sort. Beginning at the end of the verse, Genesis's וְהָרְכֻשׁ קַח־לָךְ uses focus-fronting to contrast הָרְכֻשׁ, "the goods," with הַנֶּפֶשׁ, "the persons" (i.e., "take *the goods*, not the persons"). The Genesis Apocryphon inserts כולהון, "all of them," to explicate that the king of Sodom really wants Abram to have *everything* but the people (this is implicit in Genesis). In doing so, the Genesis Apocryphon changes the syntax of the clause so that נכסיא, "the goods," is not merely fronted but dislocated ("*as for the goods*, leave aside all of them"); however, the purpose of the dislocation is the same as the fronting in Genesis, to contrast "the goods" with "the persons."[57] The addition of מרי אברם, "my lord, Abram," heightens a sense of deference shown by the king of Sodom to Abram; this deference is probably implicit in the Hebrew text—Abram has just saved the king of Sodom from a dire situation, so we would expect the latter to have a more or less submissive attitude. The Genesis Apocryphon's addition of קרב, "he drew near," is innocuous and simply improves the flow of the narrative in Aramaic—of course the king of Sodom approached Abram before he spoke to him. Finally, the extended addition די איתי לי די שביא עמך די אצלתה מן מלך

53. Chesterman, *Memes of Translation*, 108–109.

54. Bernstein, "Re-arrangement," 45–46.

55. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon* (2nd ed.), 36.

56. Ibid., 32.

57. On the use of both fronting and dislocation for focus, see Robert D. Holmstedt, "Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew," *KUSATU* 17 (2014): 109–56.

עילם, "who belong to me, who are the captives with you, whom you delivered from the King of Elam," serves to fill out what people (Hebrew הַנֶּפֶשׁ; Aramaic נפשא) the king of Sodom is referring to when he asks Abram to give them to him. Although longer than some of the other additions, it again serves the purpose of making explicit what is implicit in the source text. I will return below to the *length* of an addition (or omission) as a possible guideline for considering a change to be translation or nontranslation; however, I find this particular addition to be within the range of what we find in translations generally. Similar examples are abundant, for example, in Old Greek Genesis.[58]

Genesis Apocryphon 20:26–27 (corresponding to Gen 12:18–19) provides an example of restructuring. After discovering that Sarai was not Abram's sister but his wife, the pharaoh chides Abram with these words in Genesis:

> לָמָּה לֹא־הִגַּדְתָּ לִּי כִּי אִשְׁתְּךָ הִוא לָמָה אָמַרְתָּ אֲחֹתִי הִוא וָאֶקַּח אֹתָהּ לִי לְאִשָּׁה
> Why didn't you declare to me that she is your wife? Why did you say, "she is my sister," and I took her for myself as a wife?

The logic of the statement is essentially: "why didn't you tell me *x* instead of telling me *y*?" The Genesis Apocryphon flips the statements to create a different logic with the same import: "why did you tell me *y* when *x* is the case?"

> בדיל [מא] הוית אמר לי די אחתי היא והיא הואת אנתתך[59]
> Why did you say to me, "She is my sister," but she is your wife?

Although the change in the structure of the logic is significant, it is effected by a simple restructuring—אֲחֹתִי הִוא and אִשְׁתְּךָ הִוא are swapped—and by two omissions: the negative לֹא and the introduction to the second question, לָמָה אָמַרְתָּ, are removed.

58. See, e.g., Gen 1:8, 28; 7:3; 20:2; 24:44.

59. Some reconstructions of the text read ותאמר [שר]י, but Machiela's reading is preferable for several reasons; Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 76. I would add to the arguments in favor of [מא] הוית אמר that it makes for a better translation of Gen 12:18, specifically, בדיל מא as an equivalent for לָמָּה.

The preceding examples, in my opinion, typify the idea of rewriting on a small scale, focusing on changes made to the phrases and wording of the base text on a micro level. Such changes seem to overlap significantly with the activities of translation, whether into a distinct language—as in the Genesis Apocryphon—or into the same language as the source text.[60] At what point, then, do content changes become too large to be considered translation? How long does an addition need to be to disqualify it from the domain of translation? These questions recall the issue pinpointed by Machiela regarding the extent of the interpretive element alongside the presence of the base text within the rewritten text; translation, like rewriting, seems to involve a crucial yet nebulous balance of change and preservation.

3.3. Major Content Changes: Large Additions, Omissions, and Restructuring

The kinds of change described above—addition, omission, and restructuring—can occur in the Genesis Apocryphon repeatedly through a large unit of text. When a single, large unit of text is itself added, omitted, or moved, however, the quality of the change is significantly different. In such cases, Genesis is more of an inspiration or springboard (to use Fitzmyer's term) than a base text. Columns 0–11, focusing on Lamech, Enoch, and other ancient patriarchs, add copious material to what we find in Genesis, which only contains a few references to these patriarchs that have inspired extended narratives about them. The possibility that some or all of this material is based on sources other than Genesis, namely, 1 Enoch and Jubilees, complicates matters.[61] If the Genesis Apocryphon is based on either or both of these, then perhaps material in columns 0–11 is rewritten in the sense described above, where a base text is subjected to change at a smaller level. However, the question of sources is currently unresolved; the related aspects of these three texts may result from the Genesis Apocryphon being a source for the others.[62] Moreover, if the Genesis Apocryphon were based on an earlier source, that source itself would contain the type of rewriting that is inspired by Genesis, taking the mentions of Enoch and Lamech as a starting point but not following any narrative already present

60. See Screnock, "Is Rewriting Translation?"

61. See Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 8–17, for an overview of the issues.

62. See ibid., 12–13, 16–17.

in Genesis. Regardless of the priority of these texts as sources, the Enoch and Lamech narratives found in the Genesis Apocryphon depart significantly from the text of Genesis.

Is this sort of springboarding possible to analyze as an aspect of translation? At a certain point, when the changes to an earlier text far outweigh the preservation of that text, it becomes implausible to refer to the new text as translation. There may be a certain reliance on the earlier text and even some preservation of that text, but because the new text hardly preserves the earlier text, the translation relationship is not present. At a very basic level, translation involves "tangible relationships that tie" the target text to the source text, a quality that applies to the major content changes in rewriting considered here.[63] However, this same quality is present in all kinds of intertextuality, and, in particular, in cases where a later text intentionally alludes to or cites an earlier text. We should not, however, call such intertextuality translation.[64] Although there are other factors involved—the ability of the later text to stand in for the earlier text, for example, or the later text's self-presentation of its relationship to the earlier text—it seems clear that there is a point at which there are not enough tangible relationships tying the two texts together. Although there are connections and affinities between intertextuality, interpretation, and translation, the fact that a text involves intertextuality and interpretation does not necessitate that it falls within the bounds of translation.[65]

There are some examples in the Genesis Apocryphon, however, existing in a grey area between the major changes discussed above and the small, translational content changes discussed in section 3.2. Though the changes in these passages are more extensive than the minor content changes considered in section 3.2, they may nevertheless fit into the concept of translation. In GenAp 10:11 through 11:11, for example, the events of Gen 8 are presented; the ark lands on Ararat, the people and animals leave the ark, and Noah makes a sacrifice to God. Although this section of the Genesis Apocryphon very possibly relies on a source other than

63. Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies—And Beyond*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012), 30.

64. Similarly, allusion and citation are problematic for George Brooke's broad idea of rewriting as "the particular kind of intertextual activity that always gives priority to one text over another" (George J. Brooke, "Rewritten Bible," *EDSS* 2:780).

65. See, for example, Steiner, *After Babel*, 28, 260–61; Rachel Weissbrod, "From Translation to Transfer," *ALC* 5 (2004): 23, 28.

Genesis (Jubilees or a shared tradition), that source was itself based on Genesis.[66] Whether the Genesis Apocryphon or the source modifies the base text of Genesis, we can use the Genesis Apocryphon to analyze the changes made to Genesis. One prevalent type of change is omission: some of the exact language of Genesis is translated into Aramaic, but much of it does not find its way into the Genesis Apocryphon. Furthermore, the Genesis Apocryphon adds a significant amount of material to create its version of events. Genesis Apocryphon 10:11–18 contains the highest density of material from Genesis. The phrase על ארעא ("upon the earth") appears in line 11, stemming from עַל־הָאָרֶץ ("upon the earth") in Gen 8:1 or 3; the words תבותא נחת חד מן טורי הוררט ("the ark rested on one of the mountains of Horarat") in line 12 translate Gen 8:4 וַתָּנַח הַתֵּבָה ... עַל הָרֵי אֲרָרָט ("the ark rested … upon the mountains of Ararat"). Lines 13–17 contain an expanded account of the manner in which Noah made his sacrifice, corresponding generally to Gen 8:20, but using stock language known from Leviticus.[67] Finally, in line 17, ורח מקטורתי לשמיא סלק ("the smell of my incense-pan went up to heaven") recalls, but does not isomorphically translate, Gen 8:21, וַיָּרַח יְהוָה אֶת־רֵיחַ הַנִּיחֹחַ ("the Lord smelled the soothing smell"). The extent of the combined additions and omissions are evident in the fact that it is easier to describe where the Genesis Apocryphon preserves something from Genesis than where it makes changes. Besides these additions and omissions, we find at least one case of restructuring: whereas Noah leaves the ark in Gen 8:18 (וַיֵּצֵא־נֹחַ, "Noah went out"), he does not do so until *after* the sacrifice in GenAp 11:11 (אנה נוח נפקת, "I, Noah, went out").[68] The lexical equivalence of יצא and נפק, discussed in section 3.1, entails that the phrase itself is translated from

66. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 99; Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 70–71. Unfortunately, because we do not have the Hebrew text of Jubilees extant at this point, a translation analysis of the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon vis-à-vis the Hebrew of Jubilees is not possible.

67. Moreover, conceptually, the description is dependent on Lev 4:13–21 and Num 15:22–26; see Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 69–70.

68. In Genesis, Noah offers sacrifices (Gen 8:20) *after* leaving the ark (Gen 8:18–19), whereas in the Genesis Apocryphon he offers sacrifices (GenAp 10:13–17) *before* leaving the ark (GenAp 11:11); see Bernstein, "Re-arrangement," 59; Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 70. Line 11's ונסב מן possibly corresponds to וַיִּקַּח מִכֹּל in Gen 8:20, in which case the Genesis Apocryphon has restructured Genesis so that Noah selected the animals for sacrifice before the ark had landed (in either case, the entire sacrifice was made before they left the ark).

Genesis, and that this particular bit of the Genesis text has been moved to a later point. In the whole passage, we find only a few short occurrences of isomorphic translation.

In this example, the translational changes of addition, omission, and restructuring are present. Their prevalence, however, tips the balance of preservation and change much more to the side of change. Compared to the isomorphic translation discussed in section 3.1 and the Genesis-inspired creations discussed earlier in this section, the Genesis Apocryphon's description of Noah's sacrifice is somewhere in the middle. There is a somewhat equal use of addition and omission, resulting in a text of roughly the same length that communicates roughly the same thing.

3.4. The Motivation for Translation in the Genesis Apocryphon

In most interlingual translations, the primary motivation for translation is a lack of linguistic competence in the target audience, resulting in linguistic changes. In the case of the Genesis Apocryphon, however, the primary motivation for linguistic changes is to make the translated text (originally in Hebrew) fit within the Aramaic linguistic framework of the whole work; the choice of Aramaic as the language of the entire text probably stems from its literary value in a particular milieu.[69] Genesis Apocryphon 21:12–14 translates God's promise to Abram in Gen 13:14–17. We might ask why the creator of the Genesis Apocryphon chose to translate the text of Genesis for the direct speech of God. Given the use of Hebrew in most of the sacred texts of the day, and the possibility that the creator of the Genesis Apocryphon believed God spoke Hebrew, it is notable that the text does

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69. Alternatively, the choice of Aramaic may stem from the sources for the initial columns being written in Aramaic, if portions of 1 Enoch are source material. On the viability of the Aramaic texts forming some sort of literary group, see Daniel A. Machiela, "The Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls: Coherence and Context in the Library of Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept of a Library*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 116 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 249–53; see also Daniel A. Machiela and Andrew B. Perrin, "Tobit and the Genesis Apocryphon: Toward a Family Portrait," *JBL* 133 (2014): 111–32. On the purpose for the use of Aramaic in this group of texts generally, see Machiela, "Situating the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: Reconsidering Their Language and Socio-historical Settings," in *The Apocalypse and the Sage: Assessing the Contribution of John J. Collins to the Study of Apocalypticism*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, JSJSup (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

not employ code-switching, using the Hebrew words of Genesis. The text would then read something like the following:

> 21:8 ואתחזי לי אלהא בחזוא ... 10 וסלקת למחרתי כן לרמת חצור וחזית ארעא ... 12 ואמר לי את כל הארץ אשר אתה ראה לך אתננה ולזרעך עד עולם
>
> [Aramaic:] God appeared to me in a vision … so I thus went up the next day to Ramath Hazor and I saw the land.… And he (God) said to me, "[Hebrew:] All of the land that you see I will give to you and to your seed forever."

The underlined portion, taken directly from Genesis and left in Hebrew, would have a markedly different effect from the equivalent that actually stands there, לזרעך אנתן כול ארעא דא וירתונה לכול עלמים ("to your seed I will give all this land, and they will inherit it forever").[70] The Genesis Apocryphon arguably wants to signal a dependence on Genesis here, given the way it straightforwardly translates the text of Genesis that it uses. However, any desire to further highlight the connection to Genesis and/or to present God's native speech is overridden by the desire to integrate the source text into the new, rewritten text.

Similarly, we might wonder why none of the larger sections of material from Genesis are rewritten in Hebrew rather than translated to Aramaic. Blocks of text based closely on Genesis (e.g., the Genesis Apocryphon's account of Abram defeating the invading kings in columns 21–22) could have been rewritten in Hebrew and placed alongside other blocks written in Aramaic, as in the book of Daniel. In cases where text from Genesis is spliced into Aramaic composition (e.g., GenAp 10:11–18), the text could alternate between the two languages, as in the Talmuds. Whatever the reason for Aramaic as the language of the Genesis Apocryphon, the reason that source material from Genesis is not presented in Hebrew is the value (for the tradent/translator and the audience) of having the text of Genesis appear in Aramaic rather than switch to Hebrew. The motivation for the changes

70. Note that, although the Genesis Apocryphon's Aramaic translation introduces several differences (e.g., in Genesis, the land is given "to you," לך, whereas in the Genesis Apocryphon, it is given "to your seed," לזרעך), the difference between the use of Hebrew versus the use of Aramaic is much more significant; we could imagine a Hebrew version of Gen 13:15 modified in a manner similar to the Genesis Apocryphon's text that would still serve the purpose of code-switching and signaling the Hebrew text of Genesis (e.g., לזרעך אתננה את כל הארץ הזאת וירשוה עד עולם).

seems to be to subsume and interweave the base text into the surrounding context. Although it may seem obvious why a code-switching approach was not taken, I think it is worth noticing; it reinforces what scholars have said about rewriting in general, that the point is for the base text and its interpretation (i.e., preservation and change) to be integrated and seamless.[71]

4. Concluding Thoughts

The conclusion I am led to by this consideration of the Genesis Apocryphon is that the scale of change in rewriting is crucial. When we reach the point at which the term *translation* does not apply to the textual changes of the Genesis Apocryphon, we have reached a significant distinction between two types of rewriting. Although the same terminology—for example, addition, restructuring, and omission—can be used to describe both minute and major changes to the base text, my intuition is that the difference in scale indicates a substantially different process or activity. In the case of addition, for example, we could use the term to describe when a single clause from the base text is used with a handful of words inserted, as in GenAp 22:18's addition of "he drew near" to Gen 14:21 (see section 3.2). We could also use the term *addition*, however, when one clause from the base text appears with several columns or chapters of material inserted, as in the numerous early columns of the Genesis Apocryphon, where the text of Genesis only appears occasionally (see section 3.3). It seems to me that the first and second types of addition, though related conceptually, are in practice distinct in a fundamental way. The former can be described as a normal phenomenon of translation, while the latter is foreign to the translation process. I suggest that the notions of omission and restructuring, like addition, each can refer to similar pairs of processes operating either on a small scale or a large scale.

Continuing with the example of addition, to see small-scale and large-scale additions as the opposite ends of a spectrum of one single process of addition would be misleading. I find it extremely difficult to envision a scribe or tradent making a single addition that falls somewhere between the use of manipulated base text and the composition of new material inspired by another text. To be sure, a single scribe or tradent could combine additions of both types, resulting in a text that

71. Machiela, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 5. Usually, however, the emphasis of such statements is on the integration of interpretation, not the base text.

used both types of addition.[72] But each individual addition would fall into one of the two distinct categories. Therefore, though there is a similarity between small-scale additions and large-scale additions, at some point there is a clear line separating the two. The kind of rewriting we find within the activity of textual transmission involves addition of the first type.[73] Even the most extensive additions that result in a new "edition" of a text belong to the first type: in the third edition of Exodus, for example, the insertions recounting Moses's repeating God's commands to Pharaoh, though extensive, still constitute a very small part of the text compared to what is preserved from the earlier edition.[74] When compared to the ratio of new material to base-text material in the first half of the Genesis Apocryphon, the third edition of Exodus is quite restrained in the extent of its additions. The rewriting in the third edition of Exodus is not of the same quality and type as the creation of an entire narrative inspired by a character only briefly touched on in the base text.

Again, the same distinctions could be made for the notions of omission and restructuring, so that they entail distinct processes for small-scale change and for large-scale change. In past discussions of rewriting, it is often unclear whether scholars who use these and similar terms mean to refer to additions and so on occurring on a small scale, a large scale, or both scales. I propose that the two distinct sets of terms belong to two distinct types of rewriting. To take a contemporary example, when a colleague tells me she is going to rewrite a draft of an article she is preparing, there are two distinct possibilities. She may mean to say, on the one hand, that she is going to create a second version by starting from scratch and writing another draft afresh. On the other hand, she may mean that she is

72. See, for example, the story of Judah and Tamar presented in Targum Neofiti: vv. 1–24 and 26–30 employ small-scale additions and follow the Hebrew text closely, while v. 25 is extended with a large-scale addition that amounts to half of the material in Neofiti's new version of the story.

73. See Eugene Ulrich, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Text," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1:88; Molly M. Zahn, "The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?," *DSD* 15 (2008): 317.

74. On new editions of a text, see Eugene Ulrich, "The Evolutionary Composition of the Bible," in *Editing the Bible: Assessing the Task Past and Present*, ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Judith H. Newman (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), 23–40. On the third edition of Exodus, see ibid., 31–34.

going to go through the first draft closely, removing unnecessary phrases and sentences, adding clarifying phrases and sentences, and perhaps even doing some major restructuring and new writing for a few important paragraphs. These are two separate activities—though of course they could be employed in tandem.[75] These two activities essentially correspond to the two types of rewriting contained in the Genesis Apocryphon.[76] The first we could call "editing," "rewording," or—given the ease with which we can describe such rewriting in the Genesis Apocryphon using this term—"translation" (interlingual or intralingual).[77] The second we could call "fan fiction" or, appropriating a term from Falk, "extending."[78]

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75. She would use the two in tandem if, for example, she did the latter rewriting for the current draft and added a completely new section that discusses an issue that arises but is not discussed in her first draft. Under the right circumstances, the use of large-scale omission with small-scale addition results in something like a condensed paraphrase, which, as a whole, I am inclined to categorize as "translation." The text of 4QParaGenExod ("4QParaphrase of Genesis and Exodus") is perhaps an example of such rewriting.

76. Compare Sidnie White Crawford's categorization of texts as "rewritten" or "parabiblical"; Crawford, "The Rewritten Bible at Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran*, vol. 1 of *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (North Richland Hills, TX: BIBAL Press, 2000), 173–74. My suggestion is similar to hers conceptually, but differs insofar as I want to distinguish two types of activity rather than two types of text; both types of rewriting can be used in tandem, and the second type of rewriting I identify can be used to create what Crawford would call a "rewritten" (not "parabiblical") text. George Brooke mentions briefly a distinction between "revisions" and "thoroughgoing rewritings," and Benjamin Wright echoes this distinction (again, briefly); George J. Brooke, "Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process," in *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Devorah Dimant, and Ruth A. Clements (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 86–87; Wright, "Scribes, Translators," 5. This distinction may reflect a similar understanding to mine, and at the very least it reflects the importance of the scale or degree of the changes made. My evaluation of the particular texts mentioned by Wright, however, differs; Wright puts Chronicles in the [smaller-scale] revising category and the Genesis Apocryphon in the [larger-scale] rewriting category, whereas I would see both texts as utilizing both types of rewriting (editing and extending).

77. See sections 3.1 and 3.2; see also Screnock, "Is Rewriting Translation?" I regret introducing and using more terminology about rewriting at this point, as there is already enough in use; it is a necessary evil, however, in order to better articulate my argument.

78. On fan fiction: There is a certain similarity between this second type of rewriting and the contemporary phenomenon of fan fiction, insofar as the narrative world

Which type of rewriting is characteristic of the Genesis Apocryphon? The answer depends, in part, on how we view the possible use of sources in columns 0–17 of the Genesis Apocryphon. If the Genesis Apocryphon does not rely on material from Jubilees and 1 Enoch everywhere in those columns, then it constitutes or at least includes a fresh draft of Gen 1 and following from scratch and employs extending. In columns 19 and following, however, the Genesis Apocryphon clearly uses the editing type of rewriting. The Genesis Apocryphon thus seems to be characterized by both types of rewriting. Fitzmyer recognized similar distinctions in his treatment of the Genesis Apocryphon: some text is translation and some text is rewriting. The latter category includes text that is only related to the base text insofar as it uses it as a springboard. Given the range of the concept of translation, covering small-scale changes, as discussed in section 3.2, I would slightly modify Fitzmyer's distinctions, including both translation and the nonspringboard rewriting under the category of editing.

However we choose to use the term *rewriting* in future discussion, and whatever particular terms we use to describe its parts, it will be valuable to distinguish between two types of process, the one involving change on a small scale, and the other change on a large scale. Moreover, including translations (like the Genesis Apocryphon) and the concept of translation in these discussions will move us in a helpful direction.

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and characters of an earlier text are extended in a new text, without following a base text closely. I would not want to press the analogy too far, however, as the context, purposes and motivations for fan fiction are undoubtedly different in many ways. On "extending," see Falk, *Parabiblical Texts*, 2, and throughout.

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Another Look at 1QHodayot^{b} (1Q35)

Eileen M. Schuller

1. 1Q35 in the History of Research on the Hodayot

1QH^{b} (1Q35) is a manuscript of which only two fragments have survived. It has received relatively little attention since it was first published by J. T. Milik in the first volume of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert in 1955.[1] When discussed, it has usually been in terms of how the text that is preserved can help to fill in the lacunae in the overlapping section of 1QH^{a} at the end of column 15 and the first lines of column 16.[2] A copy of some of the same section of material is also preserved, albeit also very fragmentarily, in 4QH^{b} (4Q428) 10 and 4QpapH^{f} (4Q432) 12, and a significant portion of the psalm represented in these fragments can now be recovered when the evidence of all four copies is combined. This newly recovered psalm has been the object of some detailed attention, though much work still could be done, especially in proposing alternative restorations for some of the lacunae.[3]

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the conference on "Material Philology in the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Approaches for New Text Editions," at the University of Copenhagen, April 3–5, 2014. I am grateful for the invitation to that conference, which stimulated me to think about the material features of the manuscript, and for the comments and suggestions I received there.

1. J. T. Milik, "Receuil de cantiques d'action de grâces (1QH)," in *Qumran Cave 1*, ed. Dominique Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 136–38.

2. Column and line numbers are those of the reconstructed scroll, as presented in Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen M. Schuller, eds., *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^{a}, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^{b} and 4QHodayot^{a-f}*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009). Where earlier publications refer to the columns and line numbers of the Sukenik edition, these have been converted.

3. Émile Puech, "Restauration d'un texte hymnique à partir de trois manuscrits

In this brief essay I want to focus not on the text per se but specifically on 1Q35 as a *manuscript*, and on some of the questions and problems raised by the two fragments that have been preserved. The original is now in the Amman Museum, Jordan, and it is not possible to undertake a complete restudy of this manuscript until there are new photographs available and the originals can be studied.[4] In this preliminary article, I will review the history of the publication and previous analysis of this manuscript, then draw out some of the implications of how the two fragments have been interrelated, and finally venture a few tentative suggestions about other possible solutions.

It is helpful to begin by recalling some relevant details about the publication history of the "other" Hodayot manuscript, the large scroll that was removed from a cave by the bedouin and purchased by Eleazar Sukenik in November, 1947. Already in 1948, Sukenik published two of the better-preserved columns in a small pamphlet-type booklet, *Megillot Genuzot* (vol. 1), and another two columns a year or so later.[5] A few more columns were part of a photograph that appeared in the English newspaper *The Sphere* on February 18, 1950. This newspaper photo was seen by J. T. Milik in Jerusalem and served as an important source of information for him when he was working on the fragments collected by archaeologists from Cave 1.[6] The Cave 1 Hodayot material that Sukenik had purchased was published under his name in 1954 in Hebrew and in 1955 in English.[7] It

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fragmentaires: 1QH^a xv 37–xvi 4 (vii 34–viii 3), 1Q35 (H^b) 1, 9–14, 4Q428 (H^b) 7," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 543–58; Eileen M. Schuller, "A Thanksgiving Hymn from 4QHodayot^b (4Q428 7)," *RevQ* 16 (1995): 524–41.

4. 1Q35 will eventually be reedited in the revised edition of DJD 1 that is being edited by Torleif Elgvin. The most complete photos are those taken by Bruce Zuckerman in 1988, and available from the West Semitic Research Project. The photos in DJD 1, plate 31, are not complete for fragment 2.

5. Eleazar L. Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot* [Hebrew], 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1948–1950).

6. Otherwise the photo did not attract much attention until John Chamberlain at Duke University realized some years later that, with a good magnifying glass, he could read from the newspaper parts of five otherwise unknown/unpublished Hodayot psalms (John V. Chamberlain, "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm," *JNES* 14 [1955]: 32–41).

7. Eleazar L. Sukenik, *Oṣar ha-Megilloth ha-Genuzoth* [Hebrew], (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1954); Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955). The preface explained that the edition had been prepared by Dr. Avigad, assisted by Jacob Licht, after Sukenik's death.

was in writing a review of Sukenik's publication in *Revue Biblique* later in 1955 that Milik announced publicly that, among the fragments of Cave 4 that he had seen in the Scrollery, there were the remains of six more manuscripts with overlapping text, and that he was publishing two more pieces from Cave l.[8]

For some years it had already been known that there was more Hodayot-like material among the fragments that had been recovered from Cave l in the excavation carried out by G. Lankester Harding and Roland de Vaux in February to March 1949.[9] A photo of one fragment was published in *The Illustrated London News* on October 1, 1949. At this stage, the fragment and its content were unidentified, and what captured attention was the Paleo-Hebrew writing of the divine name in line 5: the caption in the newspaper read: "an extremely interesting fragment in which the sacred name Al or El is written in the Archaic script (Phoenican type alphabet)."[10] Very soon after, in a footnote in volume 2 of *Megillot Genuzot*, Sukenik identified this fragment as another piece of "his" Thanksgiving Scroll, noting that there were four places in his scroll where *ʾel* was written in Paleo-Hebrew.[11] In Sukenik's 1954/1955 edition, the picture from *The Illustrated London News* was reprinted, along with a transcription, with the caption "a fragment of the Thanksgiving Scroll found in the cave during excavations"; however, Sukenik judged that the writing on the two fragments was "too slight to be of intrinsic interest."[12]

These two fragments recovered from Cave l were numbered 1Q35 and published by Milik in 1955 in volume 1 of the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series under the title: "Recueil de cantiques d'action de grâces

8. J. T. Milik, review of *Oṣar ha-Megilloth ha-Genuzoth*, by Eleazar L. Sukenik, *RB* 62 (1955): 597–601. The Cave 4 materials were subsequently assigned to John Strugnell but were not published until the late 1990s by Eileen M. Schuller, "Hodayot," in Esther G. Chazon et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 69–232.

9. Some of this material was eventually determined to be hymnic in genre, but not overlapping with text in Sukenik's Hodayot scroll. See John Strugnell and Eileen M. Schuller, "Further Hodayot Manuscripts from Qumran?," in *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum: Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Bernd Kollmann, Wolfgang Reinbold, and Annette Steudel, BZNW 97 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 51–72.

10. *The Illustrated London News,* October 1, 1949, 494, fig. 6.

11. Sukenik, *Megillot Genuzot*, 2:32 n. 1.

12. Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 39 (see fig. 30 for photo).

(1QH)."[13] Milik wrote that "ces deux fragments appartiennent presque certainement à 1QH" and acknowledged that Sukenik had already said the same. Milik could not match fragment 1 (containing only the left side of what he counted as twelve lines) to any specific psalm in the Hodayot that he knew, given that volume 1 of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert went to press in 1953, before Sukenik's edition had appeared. However, he was able to recognize the text in fragment 2; he wrote, "les deux phrases de ces 2 lignes se trouvent, exactement sous la même forme, dans la partie de 1QH, publiée dans *The Sphere*."[14] It is not entirely clear if he thought this was a repetition of only a few phrases or if he thought that an entire psalm was appearing twice in the collection (the possibility of a doublet, of course, has precedence in the Psalter, e.g., Ps 14 = Ps 53).[15] Milik judged that these two fragments were from the final two columns of the manuscript, presumably based on the fact that lines in fragment l ii and in the bottom part of fragment 2 were uninscribed. He noted that there was another sheet sewn on, only a small fragment of which had survived, folded back behind fragment 2, though unfortunately this piece was cut off on the photo printed on plate 31.[16] He suggested that this may have been a handle sheet, perhaps containing the title of the composition ("avec le titre de l'ouvrage?"), or it may have contained another part of a composite work (on analogy with 1QS-1QSa-1QSb). In his 1955 review of Sukenik's edition, Milik wrote "je publie deux morceaux des Hodayoth qui appartiennent à la fin du manuscrit."[17] He did not seem to take into account that in Sukenik's manuscript another scribe with a very different hand had taken over to write the latter part of the manuscript after column 19:25—or did he assume that the first scribe had returned to write the very end? There is no explicit indication (that I have found) that Milik considered the possibility that the overlapping text might indicate a second copy.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, when there was much work done on the Hodayot, commentators sometimes included a short note on Milik's

13. Milik, "Recueil de cantiques," 136–38, and pl. 31.

14. Ibid., 137.

15. Note also Ps 40:14–18 = Ps 70; Ps 108 = Ps 57:8–12 + 60:7–14. In the War Scroll, the text/psalm in 1QM 12:7–16 also appears in the lower part of col. 18 (not preserved) to 19:8.

16. "Les photographies ne reproduisent pas les bords non inscrits en toute leur étendue" (Milik, "Recueil de cantiques," 137 n. 1).

17. Milik, review of *Oṣar ha-Megilloth ha-Genuzoth*, 601.

1Q35 fragments. Most treated them as simply two more fragments to be added to the sixty-six individual fragments that Sukenik had published.[18] When Carmignac made his idiosyncratic attempt to divide Sukenik's materials into two scrolls, he put the 1Q35 fragments as the last two columns (columns five and six) of the first roll, following Sukenik's columns 13–16.[19] Menahem Mansoor in 1961was perhaps the first to decide that the scribal hand in 1Q35 was different than that of Scribe A in Sukenik's manuscript and to state explicitly, "This is probably from another copy of the Hodayot."[20] In these years, little attention was paid to fragment 1, with its fifteen or so words from the ends of some unidentified lines.

In the early 1960s, when Hartmut Stegemann undertook to reconstruct the original layout of the Sukenik scroll, he recognized that these two fragments did not fit any of the recurring shapes of fragments or gaps in the large scroll, even though the language and style was so similar. At the Jerusalem conference in 1997, Stegemann told the story of how, when he was working at the Qumran Research Institute in Heidelberg in 1962, Karl-Georg Kuhn tried to convince him that these two pieces *must* belong to the Hodayot, and how he then sat down with a concordance for a close comparison.[21] Stegemann quickly realized that every word in fragment 1 overlaps with material in 1QH^{a} 15:30 to 16:1, from two adjacent psalms; and that the two lines of fragment 2 overlap with 1QH^{a} 16:13–14, from the next long psalm that begins in 16:5. Once this was recognized, he was able to correct a couple of Milik's readings and to rearrange slightly the three

18. For example, Svend Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, ATDan 2 [Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlaget, 1960], 152 n. 25) briefly mentions "a fragment from Cave l in Qumran, which in all probability belongs to 1QH." Maurice Baillet ("Deux cantiques d'action de grâces du désert de Juda," *BLE* 3 [1956]: 130), described the Lankester Harding expedition that discovered fragments "parmi lesquels se trouvaient deux nouveaux morceaux des Hodayot." Hans Bardtke ("Literaturbericht über Qumran IX. Teil: Die Loblieder (Hodajoth) von Qumran," *TRu* 40 [1975]: 213) summarized Milik's description of two fragments that belonged "einwandfrei" to the penultimate and ultimate columns of Sukenik's scroll.

19. Jean Carmignac, "Remarques sur le texte des hymnes de Qumrân," *Bib* 39 (1958–1959): 139–155.

20. Menahem Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Leiden: Brill, 1961), 154 n. 11.

21. Hartmut Stegemann, "The Material Reconstruction of 1QHodayot," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery (1947–1997): Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. Vanderkam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 272–84.

pieces of fragment 1 to spread them over fourteen lines rather than twelve. Stegemann concluded that the 1Q35 fragments definitely were from a second copy, and hence he began using 1QH^a for Sukenik's manuscript, 1QH^b for this second manuscript.

Around the same time, in the early 1960s, John Strugnell was working on the cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts, and specifically the sixty-eight fragments of 4Q428, 4QH^b. The largest fragment (what he called fragment 7, now renumbered as fragment 10 in DJD 29), overlapped with 1QH^a 15:37–41 and 16:1–5 and supplied considerably more text. Strugnell, too, realized that fragment 1 of 1Q35 was yet another copy of the same psalm, and he realigned the three pieces as needed for the overlap.

Some years later, in the 1970s/1980s, when Émile Puech made his reconstruction of 1QH^a, he came to the same conclusion about 1Q35.[22] His discussion in the *Journal of Jewish Studies* in 1988 was the first extended treatment of 1Q35 to appear in print after the *editio princeps*, since neither Strugnell nor Stegemann had published their work (though in 1966 Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn had published, in one sentence, the gist of Stegemann's conclusion, namely, that 1Q35 was a second Hodayot copy and that the two fragments overlapped with 1QH^a 15–16, but this comment seems to have passed unnoticed).[23] In 1995 in an article in *Revue de Qumran*, Puech produced a drawing of the entire reconstructed column of the 1Q35 manuscript that contained fragment 1; the article, however, was not a study of 1Q35 per se, but concentrated on putting together the evidence from all three copies to recover the basic contours of a psalm that had previously been unintelligible.[24]

2. The Manuscript Profile and Text of 1Q35

In light of this past discussion, we can now turn to the 1Q35 manuscript itself. Our focus will be on specific features and problems of the material form of the manuscript per se, not the readings and possible restorations

22. Émile Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du rouleau des hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988): 39–40.

23. H. W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und Gegenwärtiges Heil*: *Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu*, SUNT 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 17.

24. Puech, "Restauration," 543–58. For a slightly different reconstruction of the psalm in 4QH^b, see Schuller, "Thanksgiving Hymn," 527–42.

of the actual text (which would require another article). But in order to facilitate the discussion, it is helpful to have before us a working reconstruction of the column containing fragment 1 and a reading of fragment 2.[25]

Fragment 1

Parallel Text in 1QH^a 15:30–41: underlined (lines 1–14)
Parallel Text in 4QH^b 10 1–6: overlined (lines 10–14)
Parallel Text in 4QpapH^f 12 1–4: dotted overline (lines 5–9)

1 [וברזי פלאכה הודעתני ובחסדיכה לאיש פשע וברוב רחמיכה] לנעוי
2 [לב כי מי כמוכה באלים אדוני ומי כאמתכה ומי יצדק לפני]כה בהשפטכה
3 [ואין להשיב על תוכחתכה כול צבי רוח ולוא יוכל כול להתיצב]לפני
4 [חמתכה וכול בני אמתכה תביא בסליחות לפניכה לטהרם מפשעי]הם
5 [ברוב טובכה ובהמון רחמיכה להעמידם לפניכה לעולמי עד כי]א 𐤀𐤋
6 [עולם אתה וכול דרכיכה יכונו לנצח נצחים ואין זולתכה ומה הו]א
7 [איש תהו ובעל הבל להתבונן במעשי פל]אכה הגדולים *vacat*
8]] *vacat*
9 [אודכה אדוני כי לוא הפלתה גורלי בעדת שו ובס]וד נעלמים לוא
10 [שמתה חוקי ותקראני לחסדיכה ולסליחותיכה הביאות]ני וב[המו]ן
11 [רחמיכה לכול משפטי צדק ואני איש טמא ומרחם]הוריתי בא[שמת
12 [מעל ומשדי אמי בעולה ובחיק אומנתי לרוב נדה ו]מנעורי בדמים ועד
13 [שיבה בעוון בשר ואתה אלי כוננתה רגלי בדר]ך לבכה ולשמוע[ת
14 [פלאכה גליתה אוזני ולבי להבין באמתכה]אטומם

Fragment 2[26]

Parallel Text in 1QH^a 16:13–14: underlined

Upper margin

1 [בל יבו]א זר במעין חיים
2 [ועם]עצי ע[ו]לם לוא ישתה מי

25. The text of 1QH^a is taken from Stegemann and Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III*, and the text of of 4QH^b and 4QpapH^f from Schuller, "Hodayot." For other possibilities for readings and restorations, see the proposals by Puech, "Restauration"; and Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew Writings*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [Hebrew], BBM (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi, 2010), 81–82.

26. The reading in a number of places in this fragment remains uncertain until there are better photos. For a slightly different reading of the traces in line 1, see Puech, "Restauration," 544.

The first column contains three pieces (1a, 1b, 1c) that preserve the ends of fourteen lines; it is the overlapping text in 1QH[a] 15:30–41, 4QH[b] 10 1–6 and 4QpapH[f] 12 1–4 that enables these three pieces to be placed in a precise relationship to one another. The reconstructed column width in fragment 1 i is approximately 11.5–12 centimeters. There are traces of an intercolumnar margin of 2 centimeters, and vertical lines are visible. The beginnings of six (perhaps seven) lines from fragment l ii are preserved; these lines are uninscribed.

The number of lines per column in this manuscript is difficult to ascertain with any certainty. If fragment 2 (with an upper margin) is to be placed in the adjacent column, the column containing the fourteen lines of fragment 1 must have had a minimum of thirteen additional lines in order to fill in the material in 1QH[a] 16:1 (after אטומם) to the middle of 1QH[a] 16:13, where fragment 2 overlaps.[27] Puech suggested that the beginning of the psalm would have come in this column rather than that the scribe began the psalm in the last line of the previous column, so that the column had at least twenty-eight lines (that is, 14 + 13 + 1).[28] However, if the scribe were beginning the new psalm in the line previous to fragment 1 i (that is, with the five words אודכה אדוני כיא השכלתני באמתכה corresponding to 1QH[a] 15:29) there must have been a large indent; and if this were the first line of the column, such a large indent would not be expected.[29] Since it has not been established at what height fragment 2 is to be placed, the column could be more than 28 lines; Puech suggests about 33–34 lines.[30]

In fragment 2, there is a top margin of approximately 2.3 centimeters. Then come the two lines, with writing that corresponds to 1QH[a] 16:13–14. Milik suggested that there may have been writing in the third line, מי קודש (the next words in 1QH[a] 16:14), but as Puech recognized, even קודש might be slightly too long for the missing part of the fragment.[31] Below these two lines are traces of at least five ruled lines that are uninscribed.

27. See Puech, "Restauration," fig. 3, for a full reconstruction of this column.

28. In the Hodayot manuscripts, there is no clear instance of a scribe beginning a new psalm in the last line of a column—whether this is by chance or by design. The text of 4QH[b], fragment 10, gives one exemplar where a psalm begins in the penultimate line.

29. There is no example in 1QH[a] where the first preserved line of a column begins a new psalm. In fragment 3 of 4Qpap[f], a new psalm begins in the first line of the column, with no indentation.

30. Puech, "Restauration," 544.

31. Ibid., 544 n. 5.

On the far left of the fragment, there are traces of stitching, and the small piece that Milik described as perhaps being from a handle sheet.

It seems as if the scribe wrote approximately two lines, both very short, only about 5.5 centimeters of writing, and then stopped writing.[32] There is no evidence of damage to the sheet at this point, and the rest of the fragment seems ready for writing. Did the scribe intend to continue at another time—and never did? Was there a problem in his *Vorlage* at this place, and he stopped to consult another manuscript? Or was the intent that another scribe would take over at this place? That there could be a change of scribe *in medias*—in the course of writing a column (as opposed to when starting a new sheet) and even in the middle of a colon—is evidenced by the change of hands in 1QH^{a} in the middle of column 19, line 25, and in 1QpHab 12:13 (change at the word אשר).[33] Of course, we can speculate endlessly about what might have happened and why the first scribe did not continue, nor did a second scribe take up writing—whatever the reason, the manuscript appears to be incomplete, unfinished.

Although we will want to consider whether there are other possibilities, let me make a few more specific comments about the implications when fragment 1 and fragment 2 are placed in adjacent columns.

2.1. The Order of the Psalms

1QH^{b} is a copy in which the two psalms on fragment 1 are clearly in the same order as in 1QH^{a} (15:29–36 followed by 15:37–16:4), and when fragment 2 is placed in the next column, there is a third psalm (16:5–17:37) in the same order. In 4QH^{b}, fragment 10, the second and third of these psalms are clearly side by side, and very probably the first also (to place fragment 9, which overlaps with 1QH^{a} 15:29–31, towards the top of the same column fits with overall reconstruction patterns).[34] The text of 4QpapH^{f} may give some support to the same ordering in that copy, but the evidence

32. The reading of some of the traces and the overall reconstruction of these lines are very problematic, and there may be other possibilities, but unless 1QH^{b} has a different text here than 1QH^{a}, there are only a couple of letters between חיים and עׄצי[.

33. In 1QH^{a} the change of hands is further complicated because of uncertainty whether there was a third scribe who wrote a few lines. For a survey of scribal practice, see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judaean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 21–22.

34. See my discussion of frag. 9 in Schuller, "Hodayot," 140.

is very slight and more hypothetical.[35] That is, we have multiple copies where the order of three psalms is the same. Since 4QH[b] is the oldest copy of the Hodayot (the hand is Hasmonean, dated 100–50 BCE), it is clear that the fixing of the order (at least in this section) was set early on. The attestation of a set order is particularly significant for this series of psalms because it has long been recognized (ever since the Hodayot were divided into two groups of Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns in the 1960s) that the psalm in 1QH[a] 15:29–36 is something of an anomaly. Although introduced by the standard אודכה אדוני formulary, and set in the midst of the Teacher Hymns section (cols. 9/10–17), this psalm has always been classified on form-critical grounds as a Community Hymn of general, unspecific praise. The psalm in 1QH[a] 15:37–16:4—now that we can make better sense of it by combining all copies—is also somewhat unusual. It begins אודכה אדוני and has many parallels in style and vocabulary with Teacher Hymns, such as an initial statement of deliverance formulated as a double negative (see also 13:7–8, 22) and terminology for the wicked (סוד נעלמים, עדת שוא) and other vocabulary that is typical for Teacher Hymns. This is followed by an extended reflection on sinfulness at every stage of life (בדמים, לרוב נדה, באשמת מעל, איש טמא) that is much closer to *Niedrigkeitsdoxologien* passages distinctive of the Community Hymns, as is the conclusion with a sapiential reflection about the human condition: "Truly [the way of] a hu[man] is not in his control." The evidence of 1QH[b] does not resolve anything about why this psalm is in this particular place, or more broadly about how the collection was put together—but the fact that there are multiple Hodayot copies with these psalms in the same order, including this placement of a Community Hymn–like composition, indicates that we are not dealing with an anomaly in a specific copy.

2.2. The Scribe of 1QH[b]

A major question is whether 1QH[b] was written by same scribe, Scribe A, who wrote the first part of 1QH[a] (up to col. 19:25) or whether 1QH[a] and 1QH[b] were written by two different scribes. Certainly when Sukenik and Milik thought that they were dealing with one manuscript, they were assuming the same scribal hand; Carmignac did also (from his own perspective). Puech argues that "les ductus sont identiques pour les lettres

35. Ibid., 226.

conservées" and "il est plus difficile de prouver que les deux copies ne sont pas dues à une meme main."[36] He acknowledges that 1QH^b is "plus calibrée" and could be slightly later, but argues that the perceived differences are only those of a more practiced and experienced hand after some years. Stegemann, on the other hand, was more convinced that 1QH^b was written by a different hand. For him, one of the most significant difference is the formation of the *shin*: in the two occurrences in 1QH^b, the scribe joins the middle stroke of the *shin* with the left stroke, whereas in 1QH^a, there regularly remains a small space between these strokes.[37] It is quite clear that the Paleo-Hebrew *lamed* in 1QH^b is shaped differently than the three Paleo-Hebrew *lameds* in 1QH^a (7:38; 9:28; 10:36), but that is less significant for determining the hand; a different scribe may have filled in the Paleo-Hebrew (particularly in 1QH^a 9:28, where there is a large space), and Puech points to considerable variation in the *lameds* in 11QpaleoLev.[38]

In arguing for a different scribe, Stegemann put considerable stock in the fact that there are four orthographic variations (in slightly over twenty shared words) and that 1QH^b is written with a fuller orthography: לוא with *vav* twice, כיא with *aleph* once; כה suffix once, whereas in each case in the overlapping text in 1QH^a there is the shorter form. But the orthography of ל(ו)א and כי(א) is not consistent in 1QH^a. According to Emanuel Tov's statistics, Scribe A used the full form of לוא at least 20 percent of the time.[39] For the second person suffix, although Scribe A regularly used כה-, he wrote a final ך- in 1QH^a 15:37 because he was at the end of the line and did not want to go over the margin ruling (as attested in many places). That is, the orthographic variations are not as significant as a simple counting up of the number of differences might suggest. The line that is left uninscribed between psalms (line 8) needs to be taken into consideration as a possible indication of a different scribe. The usual prac-

36. Puech, "Restauration," 546 n. 9.

37. Stegemann, unpublished notes on 1QH^b.

38. As described by Stegemann ("Material Reconstruction," 279) the *lamed* in 1Q35 has a curved left edge, while the *lamed*s in 1QH^a have a sharp left edge. Puech finds a fourth Paleo-Hebrew *lamed* in 1QH^a 15:40; Stegemann and Qimron read a regular *lamed* at this place; Sukenik did not attempt a reading of the very slight traces. See Puech, "Restauration," 556, fig. 1. On the variation in the *lamed*s in 11QpaleoLev, see Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration," 40.

39. Emanuel Tov, "Scribal Features of Two Qumran Scrolls," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint: Collected Essays*, VTSup 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 3:368–86.

tice of Scribe A in 1QH[a], when a psalm ends beyond the halfway point of the line, is to indent the beginning of the next psalm; there are only two places, in 1QH[a] 17:37 and 18:15, where the scribe did leave a blank line, and it is not totally clear what generates the blank line or its significance (though it can be observed that in both instances a new psalm or subsection begins with the ברוך אתה formulary).[40]

Another scribal practice to note is that at the place where 1QH[b] 1, line 5, has אל in Paleo-Hebrew, 1QH[a] has אל in regular script (15:34). This could suggest that the two manuscripts are written by two different scribes, but that is not a necessary conclusion. The same scribe could be copying from two different *Vorlagen* and maintaining what was before him in the texts from which he copied.[41]

Finally, if both 1QH[a] and 1QH[b] were written by the same scribe, this in itself is worthy of note. In Daniel Falk's detailed study "Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts," he examined approximately ninety scrolls containing prayer texts and noted that "there is no case of more than one copy of the same prayer text by the same scribe."[42] But what conclusion do we draw: that it is unlikely that one scribe wrote both these copies—or that 1QH[a] and 1QH[b] are the exception?

2.3. Placement in Cave 1

As we have seen, in fragment 2 the scribe seems to have stopped writing for some unknown reason in midcourse, and neither he nor another scribe continued. There is no obvious error or major mistake, nor visible damage to the leather. But if this is an incomplete and damaged manuscript, why was it preserved at all, and why was it placed in Cave 1?

The preservation of two copies of the Hodayot in Cave l would not, in and of itself, be unique. Although there is only one copy of the S-Sa-Sb

40. Another possible blank line might be in 1QH[a] 4:28, although it is more likely that there were some words at the start of l. 28.

41. None of the three other certain occurrences of Paleo-Hebrew *ʾl* in 1QH[a] (7:38; 9:28; 10:36) have parallels preserved in 4QH copies. But, if 1QH[a] 15:40 is in Paleo-Hebrew (see discussion at n. 38 above), the parallel in 4QH[b] 10 5 is in regular script.

42. Daniel K. Falk, "Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran," in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in Their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*, ed. Clemens Leonhard and Hermut Löhr, WUNT 363 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 33–88. Falk, in private correspondence, indicated that he did not consider the case of 1QH[a] and 1QH[b].

compilation, the War Scroll, and Pesher Habakkuk in Cave 1, there are double and a few triple copies of other compositions: some biblical books (Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Psalms, Daniel); two copies of Jubilees; perhaps two copies of the Book of Giants.[43]

The profile of the individual caves and the materials contained therein has been the subject of much ongoing and unresolved speculation.[44] Sukenik's original proposal that Cave 1 was a genizah for worn out, damaged, or unusable scrolls that had to be preserved because they contained the divine name accounts not only for the presence of 1QH[a] (which he considered to be a worn-out scroll) but would also explain why 1QH[b] was preserved there.[45] On the contrary, if, as Stegemann has proposed, the materials stored in Cave l were those that "the Qumran settlers saw as especially worthy of urgent rescue," or "master manuscripts, which served principally as models for the preparation of further copies,"[46] it is harder to explain the presence of 1QH[b].

3. Concluding Remarks

There are many problematic issues with understanding the material condition of 1QH[b]. Most obvious is the fact that so little is preserved—only two fragments—if this is a copy of the Hodayot collection. There are, of course, the similar cases of 4Q430 (4QH[d]), a single fragment in a Herodian hand of seven lines, overlapping with text from 1QH[a] 12:14–20; and 4Q431 (4QH[e]), of which two fragments have survived, overlapping with 1QH[a] 26:6–10 and 26–29. Strugnell had once very tentatively proposed that 4QH[d] could in theory be linked with 4QH[e] since both are written in a Herodian hand; that is, 4QH[d] and 4QH[e] could be from a single manuscript that was written by two different hands (the transition point not being preserved). But there is little positive evidence for such a proposal, and

43. The issue is whether 1Q24 is really a copy of the Book of Giants. See the discussion of Loren Stuckenbruck, "1QEnochGiants[b]? ar (Re-edition)," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1,* ed. Stephen J. Pfann et al., DJD 36 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 67–72.

44. For the papers from the recent Lugano conference, Marcello Fidanzio, ed., *The Caves of Qumran: Proceedings of the International Conference, Lugano 2014*, STJD 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

45. Sukenik, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 22–24.

46. Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 68, 80.

it is most often assumed that 4QH[d] and 4QH[e]—like 1QH[b]—are Hodayot manuscripts from which only one or two fragments have survived.[47]

Of course, we do not know exactly what is missing from 1QH[b]. Did this copy contain all the psalms that are in 1QH[a], or did it contain only a part of the collection? Perhaps it contained just the Hymns of the Teacher section, corresponding to 1QH[a] 9/10–17:36, as can be argued was the case for 4QH[c] and 4QpapH[f].[48] Angela Kim Harkins raises the possibility that 1Q35 "may have been part of an excerpted text and not a collection of *hodayot*,"[49] but an excerpted text of what? Yet if we assume that the manuscript contained only a small selection of psalms, this can help to explain why so little of the scroll has survived.

The problem with fragment 2 is, of course, not only that it stops in the middle of a colon, but that in the two lines that are preserved, the scribe seems to have written a very short line and stopped well before the left margin. Might the whole situation be even more complicated or quite different than we have been considering so far? There are other alternatives, of which at least two very different approaches perhaps deserve further consideration. Could fragment 2 come from a distant, and not an adjacent, column? It is difficult to evaluate the plausibility of this option on material grounds without better photographs and without access to the originals to study the fragment shapes and the diagonal lines of breakage. If this were entertained as a possibility, then the words in fragment 2 would not be an overlap with 1QH[a] 16:13–14, but could come in a completely different psalm; while individual elements—"spring of life," "eternal trees," "drink"—(to consider only the words that can be read with certainty) might be considered rather standard Hodayot language, their combination is unlikely to occur in multiple contexts. And even if fragment 2 is separated from fragment 1, we still have to account for the uninscribed lines of fragment 1 ii. Perhaps we need to consider the possibility that

47. These suggestions appeared in John Strugnell's working draft (unpublished) of a commentary on the Cave 4 manuscripts.

48. For the rationale that 4QH[c] contained a smaller collection, perhaps just the Hymns of the Teacher, based on the small size of the scroll, see Schuller, "Hodayot," 179. For a discussion of 4QpapH[f], based on the reconstruction of the beginning of the scroll and the short distances between recurring patterns of damage, see ibid., 210–11.

49. Angela Kim Harkins, "A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH[a] Sixty Years after Its Discovery," *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery*, ed. Daniel K. Falk et al., STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 129.

fragment 2 is not a column at all. Might it have been just some sort of scribal note, the place where the scribe jotted down a few phrases, some sort of a practice sheet? What would be other examples of such "scraps"?

I have in my files a letter that Hartmut Stegemann wrote to John Strugnell, dated around 1976, in which he briefly talked about 1Q35 and concluded: "In any case, this scroll is unusual and without a real parallel among any of the other material from Qumran." Some forty years later, we still cannot say much more, but perhaps new photographs and a reexamination of the originals will eventually give us a better understanding of this unusual scroll.

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"I Thank You, O Lord … in the Bereavement of My Soul": Lament Reshaped in a Thanksgiving Psalm (1QH^{a} 10:33–11:5)

Dorothy M. Peters

You did not let me be terrified by their slanders.[1]

—1QH^{a} 10:37

1. A Response to Slander: The Writing of a Poem-Song in 1QH^{a} 10:33–11:5[2]

The experience of slander is a common human experience within whichever millennium one lives. The translated text of the *hodayah* (poem-song) will be given further below. In the meantime, the following scenario is easily reimagined in light of the Qumran collection, in general, and this poem-song, in particular. A Jewish religious leader from the second century BCE was in distress. He had become an object of scorn by those who had willingly allowed themselves to be deceived by lies. For the leader to become terrified of the slander and fearful of the destruction of which the wicked are capable would have been a perfectly natural response;

We are bereaved of our dear colleague and friend, Peter Flint. I am so thankful for his life, his work, and his friendship. This study of this hodayah is dedicated to his memory.

1. Transcriptions and (slightly adapted) translations of Thanksgiving Psalms in this essay follow Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen M. Schuller, eds., *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^{a}, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^{b} and 4QHodayot$^{a–f}$*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

2. A *vacat* on l. 32 separates the preceding psalm from this one. There appears to have been a *vacat* at the beginning of 1QH^{a} 11:6, possibly indicating the beginning of the next psalm (ibid., 133–34, 144, 146).

abandoning one's service to God as a result of the attack, a real possibility. Yet this leader does not passively accept the delusion accepted by others. Instead, his riposte is active and theologically innovative, honed and shaped out of the Jewish scriptures and fashioned into a poem-song of thanksgiving, a *hodayah*. The composer thanks God for watching over him *in the bereavement* of his soul. The metaphor of physical bereavement describes what was a frantic and deeply emotional loss, such as that of a bear robbed of her cubs, an ewe of her lambs, or a widow who has lost children, and the separation of those sent into exile. The language of physical bereavement evokes the powerful sense of sudden and utter aloneness, a profound abandonment.[3] Yet, God has delivered him.

The leader then labels the adversaries—presumably persons of some influence in the religious community—as strong and mighty, wicked, slandering, jealous, lying interpreters, and seekers of smooth things, who were set on destroying him. But it is those who are described as needy, poor, and afflicted whom God has chosen to ransom and help. The adversaries are without knowledge of what God is accomplishing; they have no idea that the leader's every step has come from God. They may be called *strong* and *mighty*, but it is God himself who has strengthened the leader. Now, with face shining for God's covenant, he presents a new composition, a Hebrew thanksgiving poem-song to his community: "I thank you, O Lord, for your eye watches over me in the bereavement of my soul" (1QH[a] 10:33).[4]

3. For these meanings of שכול in the Hebrew Bible, see 2 Sam 17:8; Prov 17:12; Song 4:2; 6:6; Isa 49:20–21; 47:8–9; Jer 18:21; and Hos 13:8.

4. This *hodayah* is located within the block of columns 10–17 traditionally identified as Teacher Hymns. Where preserved, the opening formula is "consistently 'I thank you, O Lord.'… The 'I' voice seems very personal and to be speaking of the experience of an individual who was chosen by God to receive special knowledge of divine mysteries, who suffered persecution and opposition, and who served as a medium of revelation for a community; this individual is usually identified with the Teacher of Righteousness, who seems to have been the founder and leading figure of this community" (Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH[a]*, EJL 36 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012], 2). Elsewhere, Newsom suggests that the "I" could also represent the "persona of the current leader of the community," suggesting that the Thanksgiving Hymns functioned, over time, to shape the "ethos of the community," addressing "perennial questions of sectarian life" (Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 [Leiden: Brill, 2004], 288).

Reading this *hodayah* for autobiography is hazardous because the link between the poem-song and a particular person, experience, or event cannot be proven. However, it is likely that this composition resonated with the personal experience of its composer—whether the founding Teacher of Righteousness or someone else—and with the experiences of generations of *yahad* members who possibly treasured the collection for personal and community use, devotionally and liturgically.[5]

After a brief overview of lament in the Dead Sea Scrolls, potential scriptural allusions in 1QH[a] 10:33–11:5 are identified and discussed. Next, elements of the *hodayah* are compared and contrasted to one of its proposed scriptural sources, Ps 35. Finally, how scriptural lament was reshaped for theological purposes in describing the triangular relationship between God, the afflicted community insiders, and the adversary outsiders is explored.

2. On Elements of Lament in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Although psalms of individual and communal lament are fully at home in the biblical psalter, and the Qumran caves yielded a collection of new psalms saturated with language highly allusive to biblical psalms, there are few, if any, new compositions that might unambiguously be classified as lament.[6] Regardless of this, several compositions have been titled as laments. For example, 4QLament by a Leader and 4QLament A contain lament motifs: "my eye, a spring of water" (4Q439 1 i + 2 3) and "I am abandoned and made to look foolish" (4Q445 3 2).[7] The interrogative or exclamatory adverb איככה on the tiny two-word fragment titled 4QLament B is suggestive of lament: "How did you let yourself be delayed?" (איככה התאחרת̊[ה ; 4Q453 1 1).[8] However, not enough context in any

5. George J. Brooke allows that the Thanksgiving Hymns may have been used in a corporate setting but suggests that the use of the first-person singular pronoun in praise formulae make their use for "private devotion and reflection" more likely (Brooke, "Aspects of the Theological Significance of Prayer and Worship in the Qumran Scrolls," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 [Leiden: Brill, 2012], 48).

6. Among the collection of lament psalms are Pss 3, 13, 22, 35, 74, 80, and 137.

7. Translations in this paragraph are the author's own.

8. See also Song 5:3; Esth 8:6. The adverb is used in a "context of eschatological recompense" (4Q385 2 3, 4Q388 7 5), in sapiential instruction (4Q418 69 ii 11), and

of these texts has been preserved that would make a clear classification of these texts as laments.

About 4QApocryphal Lamentations A (4Q179) and 4QApocryphal Lamentations B (4Q501), Adele Berlin queried, “Are they indeed laments?”[9] She identified the first of these as a “hymn or penitential prayer,” rather than a Jerusalem lament. While recognizing that 4Q501 shares “common structural elements” with biblical communal laments and relies heavily on Lamentations, Berlin categorizes it as a “supplication or petition.”[10] Here, language from Lamentations is recontextualized in terms of Ps 109, along with allusions to Ezekiel 34:4 and 16, ultimately transforming it from a “moving dirge by mourners” to a “vindictive attack against the group that the speaker’s community sees as its opponents in the matter of ‘words’—that is, teachings and interpretations.”[11] In both texts, the “conflation of biblical verses” sets up a “dissonance between the common understanding of the text and the new understanding the poet is advocating.”[12] In sum, Berlin argues that both are “not poems of mourning, they are poems of alienation.”[13]

In collections of Dead Sea Scrolls psalms that are better preserved, such as the Thanksgiving Psalms, elements comparable to biblical lament are found. Yet, as Carol Newsom observed, none of these units start with “Hear my cry, O Lord.” Instead, lament motifs tend to be framed by statements of thanksgiving, occurring within a structure of speech that opens with phrases like “I thank you, O Lord” or “Blessed are you, because …”[14]

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in narrative (4Q200 4 6; 6 3). God may be the referent if the text is reconstructed with a second-person masc. sg. verb (התאחרת]ה). Other reconstructions noted by the editors are התאחרת]ם and התאחרת]י. So Esther G. Chazon, “453. 4QLament B,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, ed. Esther G. Chazon et al., DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 403.

9. Adele Berlin, “Qumran Laments and the Study of Lament Literature,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls; Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January 2000*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1.

10. Ibid., 12.

11. Ibid., 14.

12. Ibid., 7.

13. Ibid., 17.

14. On the framing of lament by statements of thanksgiving, see Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space,* 207. On opening phrases, see Carol A. Newsom, “Constructing ‘We, You, and the Others’ through Non-Polemical Discourse,” in *Defining Identities: We,*

As observed by Julie Hughes, some poem-songs among the Thanksgiving Psalms even negate the language found in the biblical lament to which they allude. She pointed to the phrase "you have not put me aside for evermore" (לא הזנחתני בחסדיכה; 1QH[a] 17:7) as an example of negating language commonly found in biblical lament psalms and likewise suggests that the phrase "my peace you have not put aside" (ולא גערתה חיי ושלומי; 1QH[a] 17:11) is a negation of "similar words" in Lamentations.[15]

3. Potential Scriptural Allusions in 1QH[a] 10:33–11:5[16]

Actual scriptural citations in the Thanksgiving Psalms are rare, and even claims of scriptural allusions need to be made carefully.[17] Erring on the side of caution, one might be tempted to term a linguistic element common between a scriptural psalm and a Dead Sea Scrolls psalm simply as *shared language*, detached from any migration of meaning from the supposed source. Terming words and phrases as *allusions* suggests intentionality, that the composer was having at least a brief conversation with elements of the scriptural source.

You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls; Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Gröningen, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović, STDJ 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 13–21.

15. On the phrase "you have not put me aside," see Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 163–64. Hughes translates מקץ לקץ as "for evermore," while recognizing that the phrase could either "end this poetic line or start the next one" (ibid., 144). On the negation of language from biblical psalms, see ibid., 163 n. 128. See, for example, "Do not cast us off forever" (אל תזנח לנצח; Ps 44:24 [23]); "O God, why do you cast us off forever?" (למה אלהים זנחת לנצח; Ps 74:1); and "Will the Lord reject forever?" (הלעומים יזנח אדני; Ps 77:8 [7]). The negation of language from Lamentations occurs, for example, in the phrase "my soul is bereft of peace" (ותזנח משלום נפשי) in Lam 3:17 (ibid., 163–64).

16. The text of 4QHodayot[b] (4Q428) is extremely fragmentary where it coincides with 1QH[a] 10:33–11:5. The extant text does fortify several uncertain readings in the Cave 1 manuscript, but the scant surviving text offers no certain variant readings.

17. Richard B. Hays distinguishes between *echo* and the concept of *allusion*, which requires authorial intention. Generally, he uses *allusion* for "obvious intertextual references" and *echo* for "subtler ones" (*Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989], 29).

3.1. The Intentionality of Allusions to Scripture

It could be argued that each of the processes of reshaping a possible scriptural source—fragmentation, reordering of source materials, conflation of sources, negation, and changes to verb forms—could serve to distance any potential allusion in a *hodayah* from its supposed scriptural source. With the help of 1QH^{a} 11:6–19, the poem-song immediately preceding the *hodayah* under consideration here, William Tooman identified three principles for determining literary borrowing: (1) "uniqueness" or "rarity," (2) multiplicity, and (3) thematic correspondence.[18] He noted that the author "reused multiple locutions from a single source-text" and "broke up and/or adapted many of the most rare and distinctive of the borrowed locutions," separating and scattering the "borrowed elements." Tooman's explanation is that the author was mimicking the biblical idiom while trying to "avoid evoking the sources too clearly," suggesting that the author was discouraging readers from "making too close an association between the new text and the sources he quarried for linguistic material."[19]

In response to Tooman, we might ask why the composer would have selected language from unique or rare forms, and why reuse elements in multiple locations from a single source-text, if the goal was to avoid "evoking the sources too clearly"? There were certainly other, less unique scriptural sources from which to choose.

An alternative hypothesis may be that, far from distancing the scriptural source from the new composition, the composer was purposefully using unique or rare forms, and reusing elements from multiple locations within a single source-text, for a dual purpose.[20] First, this strategy drew attention to a particular source. Second, the use of fragmentation and reordering, conflation, and negation, and changes of verb forms served to highlight a distinct interpretation, sometimes a meaning that differed dramatically from the plain meaning in the scriptural source. These interrelated observations may be seen in a comparison of materials in the *hodayah* with their potential precursors in the Hebrew Scriptures.

18. William A. Tooman, "Between Imitation and Interpretation: Reuse of Scripture and Composition in Hodayot (1QH^{a}) 11:6–19," *DSD* 18 (2011): 58–59.

19. Ibid., 54 and 72, respectively.

20. According to Richard Hays, one of the factors of the "volume of an echo" is the distinctiveness of the precursor text (*Echoes of Scripture*, 29–30).

In the following I identify potential scriptural echoes and allusions between 1QH^a 10:33–11:5 and the Hebrew Bible, quoting first the 1QH^a text and then possible echoes or allusions.

> 1QH^a 10:33: I thank you [אודכה] O Lord, that your eye (watches) over [me] in *the bereavement of my soul* [בשכול נפשי],
> Ps 35:12b: They repay me evil for good, to *the bereavement of my soul* [שכול לנפשי].[21]
>
> 1QH^a 10:33: and *you have delivered* me [ותצילני] from the jealousy of lying interpreters;
> Ps 35:10b–c: Who *delivers* [מציל] the afflicted from the one who is stronger than he; the afflicted and the needy from the one who robs him.[22]
>
> 1QH^a 10:34: and from the congregation of those who seek *smooth things* [חלקות],
> Isa 30:10: Do not prophesy to us what is right; speak to us smooth things [חלקות].[23]
>
> 1QH^a 10:34: you have *ransomed* [פדיתה] the soul of the *needy one* [אביון], whom they thought to destroy 35 [חשבו להתם], pouring out [לשפוך] his blood because of service to you.
> Ps 35:10c: the *afflicted* and the *needy one* [ועני ואביון].[24]
> Jer 31:11: For the Lord has *ransomed* [פדה] Jacob; he has *redeemed him* [גאלו] *from the hand of one stronger than he* [מיד חזק ממנו].
>
> 1QH^a 10:35: Yet they *did* [*not*] *know* [[לא]י֯ד֯ע֯ו] that *my steps* [מצעדי] have come from you, and so they made me [וישימוני] an object of scorn 36 and reproach in the mouths of all who seek deceit.
> Ps 35:11: Malicious witnesses rise up; they ask me about things I *do not know* [לא־ידעתי].
> Prov 20:24: From the Lord (are) *the steps of a man* [מצעדי־גבר]. How then can humanity understand [יבין] their (own) way?
> Ps 37:23: By the Lord are *the steps* of a man established.[25]

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21. Trans. of Ps 35:10–12 slightly adapted from NASB.

22. The editors compare Ps 35:10, 12 (Stegemann and Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III*, 140).

23. Unless otherwise noted, translations of biblical texts are slightly adapted from the NRSV. For "flattering lips (חלקות)," see also Ps 12:3–4 (2–3).

24. See l. 34 for אביון and l. 36 for עני.

25. Adapted from NASB.

1QHa 10:36: But you, O my God, you *have helped* [עזרתה] the life of the *afflicted and poor one* [עני ורש] 37 *from the hand of the one who was stronger than he* [מיד חזק ממנו]. You *ransomed* [ותפד] my soul from the hand of the mighty …
Ps 35:10: *from the one stronger than he* [מחזק ממנו].
Jer 31:11: For the Lord has ransomed [פדה] Jacob; he has redeemed him [גאלו] *from the hand of one stronger than he* [מיד חזק ממנו].
Ps 70:6 [5]: But I am *afflicted* [עני] and *needy* [אביון]; hasten to me, O God! You are *my help* [עזרי] and my deliverer; O Lord, do not delay [אל־תאחר]![26]
Ps 82:3: Do justice [הצדיק] for the *afflicted and poor one* [עני ורש].

1QHa 10:37: and you did not let me be *terrified* [החתותני] by *their slanders* [בגדפותם]
Isa 51:7: Neither be *terrified* at their *slanders* [ומגדפתם אל־תחתו].

1QHa 10:36: so as to *abandon* [לעזוב] your service for fear of *destruction by the wicked* [הוות רשעים],[27] or to *exchange* [ולהמיר] in delusion, the resolute purpose which 39 you gave [ ] statutes and in the testimonies that you [es]tablished for me to strengthen 40 [fl]esh [ ] pit to all my offspring with 41 [ton]gue like your disciples and in judg[ment] 1 [ ] 2 [ ]*m* weeping [בכי] *m* [ ] 3 [ ] *m whb l* [ ]
Jer 2:11: Has a nation changed [ההימיר] its gods? … But my people have changed [המיר] their glory.[28]

1QHa 11:4: [You,] O my God, *have made my face shine* [האירותה פני] for your covenant[29] [ ] 5 [ ]*h* for yourself in eternal glory with all [ ] [ ]
Num 6:25: The Lord make his face shine [יאר יהוה פניו] on you.
Ps 31:17 [16]: Make your face to shine [האירה פניך] upon your servant.[30]

26. NASB; see also Ps 72:12.

27. See Stegemann and Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III*, 140, for additional comparison to Prov 10:3.

28. Out of the fourteen occurrences of מור in the MT, 1QHa 10:20, 38, and 12:11 “probably have an eye toward Jer 2:11” (Michael C. Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14” [PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1998], 117).

29. Note also the similar terminology in 1QHa 12:6.

30. Imperatives forms of this verb are also found in Ps 31:17, 67:2, 80:4, 8, and Dan 9:17.

3.2. Uses and Adaptations of Scriptural Sources

As seen in the foregoing table, methods of scriptural reuse similar to those noted by Tooman are found also in the proposed echoes and allusions in 1QH[a] 10:33–11:5, the *hodayah* that precedes the poem-song studied by Tooman. The following is a selective commentary on the scriptural echoes and allusions noted above, with a particular interest in how they have been adapted in their new setting. Changes to verb forms will be discussed in a later section.

3.2.1. 1QH[a] 10:33

Within the Hebrew Bible, the juxtaposition of bereavement and soul (שכול לנפשי) is unique to Ps 35:12.[31] Therefore, this psalm becomes a credible candidate as a scriptural allusion in the *hodayah*.

3.2.2. 1QH[a] 10:35

In Ps 35:11, the speaker is the one who does "not know" (לא־ידעתי) the answers to the questions asked by the malicious witnesses. In the *hodayah*, it is the adversary who "did not know" (לא]יׄדׄעׄו) what the speaker implicitly does understand, that all his steps have been set by God. If this psalm serves as at least one of the scriptural sources, the *hodayah* subtly negates the lack of knowledge in the biblical text. However, the language of knowledge is neither unique nor rare.

Two other sources are more probable for this section in the *hodayah*. "My steps" (מצעדי) may personalize the rare phrase "steps of a man" (מצעדי־גבר), found only in Prov 20:24 and Ps 37:23. The *hodayah* clarifies that human lack of understanding of one's steps, as in Proverbs, applies only to the adversary. The "steps of a man" (מצעדי־גבר) and "his way" (דרכו) of Ps 37:23 are explicitly interpreted as applying to the Teacher of Righteousness in 4QPsalms Pesher[a]: "Its interpretation concerns the Priest, the Teacher of R[ighteousness whom] God [com]manded to arise and [whom] he established to build for himself a congregation [… and] his [wa]ys he directed toward his truth" (4Q171 1 + 3–4 iii 15–17).[32] Regardless of whether the composer of the *hodayah* was the Teacher of

31. Here again the distinctiveness and, in this case, the uniqueness of the precursor text is significant (see Hays, *Echoes of Scripture*, 30).

32. Translation from Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Exegetical Texts*, vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), l01.

Righteousness, the association made in 4QPsalms Pesher[a] between the "steps" and "way" of a founding figure and Ps 37:23 may suggest further that the biblical psalm was a source for line 35 of the Qumran poem-song.

3.2.3. 1QH[a] 10:36b–37a

The sentence "But you, O my God, have helped the life of the *afflicted and poor one* [עני ורש] from the hand of *the one who was stronger than he*" (חזק ממנו) seems to conflate language from Ps 35:10b and Ps 82:3. The terminology of being "afflicted" and the phrase "from the one who was stronger than he" are paired in the Hebrew Bible only in Ps 35:10b, making this psalm a source of multiple echoes or allusions. The term עני is then repeated in Psalm 35:10c as part of the pairing "afflicted and needy" (עני ואביון). In the *hodayah*, this pairing is split up and reordered: אביון appearing in line 34, and עני in line 36. The "afflicted and poor one" are found together only in Ps 82:3, a psalm asking for justice and rescue, and deliverance from the hand of the wicked.

The language of "ransom" (פדה) and "hand" (יד) are occasioned by echo or allusion to Jer 31:11: "For the Lord has *ransomed* [פדה] Jacob; he has redeemed him *from the hand of one stronger than he*" (מיד חזק ממנו; Jer 31:11). These themes and language are seen in 1QH[a] 10:36–37: "But you, O my God, have helped the life of the afflicted and poor one, from the *hand of the one stronger than he* [מיד חזק ממנו]. You *ransomed* [ותפד] my soul."

3.2.4. 1QH[a] 10:37b

Another unique occurrence is the juxtaposition of גדופה ("slanders") and תחת ("terrified"), appearing together only in Isa 51:7. If the allusion is intentional, and scriptural context has migrated alongside, then those who are speaking or singing this poem-song may be reassured that the "ones knowing righteousness" (ידעי צדק) in the scriptural prophetic text are not to be terrified at the slanders of men, for the "moth will eat them like a garment" (Isa 51:7–8).

3.2.5. 1QH[a] 11:4

Finally, "[You,] O my God, *have made my face shine*" (האירותה פני) seems to draw attention to scriptural sources in which God's face would shine. For example, in the priestly blessing, "The Lord make his face shine [יאר יהוה פניו] on you" (Num 6:25), or in the Psalms, "Make your face to shine

[האירה פניך] upon your servant" (Psa 31:17 [16]). Remarkably, in the *hodayah*, it is the worshiper's face that shines.

4. Change of Verb Forms: From Anticipated to Perfected Deliverance

Bonnie Kittel is correct in noting that one of the difficulties in identifying a scriptural source as a quotation in the Thanksgiving Psalms concerns the employment of different verbal forms.[33] However, perhaps even as the negation of biblical lament could link a *hodayah* more securely to the scriptural source for the purposes of highlighting the reinterpretation, so the change in the verb form might function similarly.

We now compare the verbs in 1QH^{a} 10:33–11:5 with the verbs in context from their proposed scriptural sources, especially in those instances where verbal changes occur. In a series of imperfect verbs and participles in Ps 35, the adversaries are still robbing the afflicted one, malicious witnesses are still rising up and asking questions for which the answer is unknown, still repaying evil for good. The "one who delivers" (מציל) has not yet, apparently, accomplished the present deliverance.

In Isaiah, the jussive "neither be terrified at their slanders" (ומגדפתם אל־תחתו) is used to exhort those "who know righteousness" not to be terrified by slanders (Isa 51:7). The afflicted and needy one calls for God, the helper, urging him not to delay (Ps 70:6 [5]). Another psalmist calls for justice for the "afflicted and poor," using the imperative (Ps 82:3). Finally, "The Lord make his face shine [יאר] on you" is part of a blessing (Num 6:25) that resonates with the imperatival phrase, "Make [האירה פניך] your face to shine upon your servant" (Ps 31:16).

In the *hodayah*, however, some of the verbs from the proposed scriptural sources are written in the perfect or *vav* consecutive. For example, whereas the biblical psalmist uses a participle to describe a "delivering" (מציל) God (Ps 35:10), the *hodayah* speaks of God's deliverance as a completed action with the *vav* consecutive: "You have delivered me" (ותצילני; l. 33). The jussive form in Isa 51:7, "neither be terrified at their slanders," becomes a *hiphil* perfect verb in the *hodayah*, remembering God's already completed act: "you did not let me be terrified [החתותני] by their slanders" (l. 37).

33. Bonnie Pedrotti Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary*, SBLDS 50 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 49.

The perfect form of ידע in the phase “yet they did not know [ידעו] that my steps come from you” (l. 35), hints at an answer to the rhetorical question offered in Prov 20:24. It is true that humanity in general may not understand its way, but the one writing the *hodayah* does have knowledge from which the adversary is excluded. As above, the *hodayah* seems to resolve the problem of the speaker’s lack of knowledge in Ps 35:11. Here, the speaker is at the mercy of malicious witnesses, who ask him things that he does not know (אשר לא־ידעתי ישאלוני). In the *hodayah*, it is the adversary who is without knowledge.

Apart from the imperfect verb in the opening phrase, “I thank you, O Lord,” and several infinitive construct verbs, this *hodayah* uses a series of perfect and *vav* consecutive verbs, setting both affliction and deliverance in the past as a completed event.[34] The *hodayah* presents itself as if God has *already* delivered the worshiper and has *already* ransomed the needy one from the lying interpreters who, in the past, sought to destroy him. These lying interpreters had not known (perfect verb) that the speaker’s steps came from God, so they made him (*vav* consecutive) an object of scorn. But God helped (perfect) the afflicted and poor one, and he ransomed him (*vav* consecutive) from the hand of the powerful and mighty, not allowing him to become terrified (perfect). Now, God has made his face shine (perfect) for his covenant.

Corinna Körting noted a similar strategy in the reuse of Ps 106 in 4QNon-Canonical Psalms A (4Q380), which created a “new, distinct perspective,” such that the psalm became a “praise that counteracts lament.”[35] Whereas the petitioner in the biblical psalm used the imperative, “O Lord, remember me” (זכרני; Ps 106:4), the perfect verb in the Qumran text communicates that the Lord has already “remembered” ([זכ]רו) (4Q380 1 i 9). Psalm 74, a lament after the destruction of the temple, petitions God with the imperative זכר, to remember (Ps 74:2). In Lamentations, God’s remembrance of Jerusalem/Zion is denied: “he has not remembered (לא־זכר; Lam 2:1). In sum, according to Körting, the remembrance that has

34. However, the use of the infinitive construct might suggest a “timeless” significance.

35. Corinna Körting, “Jerusalem, City of God (4Q380 1 i 1–11): Praise that Counteracts Lament,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 211.

been petitioned, hoped for, and denied in the biblical Psalms and Lamentations is realized in 4Q380.[36] Likewise, in the ways that scriptural sources were reused, adapted, conflated, and even negated, the composer of 1QH[a] 10:33–11:5 constructed a new and distinct perspective.

5. Lament in Psalm 35 Reshaped and Restructured in 1QH[a] 10:33–11:5

Psalm 35 has been noted as a principal scriptural source for the *hodayah* on account of multiple echoes and allusions, reuse of unique language and themes, and adaptations beyond linguistic details. This is especially the case in Ps 35:10–12. The following description compares and contrasts the lament features of Ps 35 with the entire *hodayah*.

5.1. Imperatives in Contrast with Praise

Psalm 35 begins with a series of sharp, imperative verbs directed towards God: "Contend, O Lord, with those who contend with me! Fight! Take hold! Rise up!"; "Draw also the spear!"; and "Say to my soul!" (Ps 35:1–3). Finally, Ps 35:9 includes a praise statement or, more accurately, a promise to praise: "And my soul shall rejoice in the Lord, exulting in his deliverance." After a sustained lament, the imperatives and jussives continue, with pleas for deliverance and vindication (Ps 35: 17, 29, 22–24).

In contrast, the *hodayah* employs no imperatives adjuring God to act. A statement of thanksgiving stands at the very beginning of the poem-song and words of glory end it. The *hodayah*, therefore, presents itself as a postdeliverance expression of thanksgiving about an enemy already defeated. Any conceivable lament motifs that appear within the *hodayah* are thus framed by thanksgiving and anchored to praise.

5.2. But You: An Interruptive Response amid Sustained Lament

Psalm 35:11–17 is comprised of sustained and unbroken lament. Malicious witnesses continue to "rise up" (יקומון), "repaying" (ישלמוני) evil for good (Ps 35:11–12). The soul of the psalmist has been "afflicted" (עניתי) by fasting, bowed down in mourning (שחותי) "as one who laments for a mother" (Ps 35:13–14). These adversaries have "rejoiced" (שמחו) at the

36. Körting, "Jerusalem, City of God," 225–26.

psalmist's stumbling (Ps 35:15). The lament is then capped with a lament question, formulated with the imperfect ("Lord, how long will you look on?" [תראה]), which is followed with an imperative ("Rescue [השיבה] my soul from their ravages"; Ps 35:17). In the biblical psalm, the eyes of the psalmist remain on the enemies for a sustained and unbroken period, contemplating the affliction they impose on him.

In contrast, the eyes of the speaker in the *hodayah* look only briefly on the doings of the lying interpreters, returning continually to the "you" (i.e., God), in reflection on the purposes and actions of God in relationship to the afflicted, needy, and poor ones. The table below reads from left to right, from "You (God)" and "me" to "they."

Table 1. The shifting eyes of the speaker: from "you and me" to "they"

You and Me	They
33 I thank you, O Lord, that your eye (watches) over [me]in the bereavement of my soul. And you have delivered me	from the jealousy of lying interpreters, 34 and from the congregation of those who seek smooth things
You have ransomed the soul of the needy one	whom they thought to destroy, 35 pouring out his blood because of service to you. Yet they did [not] know
that my steps have come from you,	and so they made me an object of scorn 36 and reproach in the mouths of all who seek deceit.
But you, O my God, you have helped the life of the afflicted and poor one	37 from the hand of the one who was stronger than he.
You ransomed my soul	from the hand of the mighty,
and you did not let me be terrified	by their slanders 38 so as to abandon your service for fear of destruction by the wicked, or to exchange, in delusion,
the resolute purpose which 39 you gave [ ] statutes and the testimonies that you [es]tablished for me to strengthen 40 [fl]esh [ ] pit to all my offspring with 41 [ton]gue like your disciples and in judg[ment] 11:1 [ ] 2 [ ]*m* weeping *m* [ ] 3 [ ] *m whb l* [ ] 4 [You,] O my God, have made my face shine for your covenant [ ] 5 [ ] *h* [ ]for yourself in eternal glory with all [ ] [ ]	

Long sections of sustained lament focused on the enemy are found elsewhere in the Thanksgiving Psalms. For example, a *hodayah* in column

12 beginning with "I thank you, O Lord" (אודכה אדוני) and continuing with "you have made my face to shine for your covenant" (האירותה פני לבריתכה; 1QH[a] 12:6),[37] moves quickly to a lengthy lament. Those who use "slippery words" (בדברים החליקו) and are "deceitful interpreters" (מליצי רמיה) ultimately drove the speaker from his land "like a bird from its nest" (כצפור מקנה), along with his friends and relatives (1QH[a] 12:7b–13a). The length of the lament makes the subsequent "but you" an all the more powerful counterfoil to the adversary: "But you, O my God [כי אתה אל], you despise every devilish plan" (1QH[a] 12:13b).

Whether the lament is broken up or sustained for a longer period, there is no uncertainty about who is control. The adversary does not have the final word. The "but you, O my God" formula turns the worshipper's eyes back to the purposes and actions of God.

5.3. "Missing" Lament Question and the Place of Thanksgiving

The text of 1QH[a] 10:33–22:5 is apparently missing a lament question. Indeed, this element that routinely characterized biblical laments (e.g., Ps 13:1–2, 22:1, 35:17) is absent from all of the extant Thanksgiving Psalms. Whereas the psalmist in Ps 35 implies, "How long will you watch and do nothing?," the *hodayah* effectively negates the lament question, confirming that God's eye is watching over the worshipper (1QH[a] 10:33). This is interpreted positively as a cause for thanksgiving for deliverance, not a complaint driven by a perception of a God who is simply sitting on his hands.

Following the lament question and the imperative beseeching God for deliverance in Ps 35, the biblical psalm at last includes an expression of thanksgiving: "I will give you thanks" (אודך; Ps 35:18). However, as in the hoped-for rejoicing of Ps 35:9, this promise is contingent on deliverance. The implication of Ps 35:17–18 is, in effect, "Rescue me first so that I can thank you!"[38] In contrast, the *hodayah* places the unconditional language of thanksgiving at the very beginning, right next to the language of ongoing bereavement.

In sum, the structure of the *hodayah* prompts speakers of this poem-song to affirm that God is watching them for their good; it reminds them

37. See the identical phrasing in1QH[a] 11:5.
38. For a similar outlook, see Ps 35:28.

to shift their gaze from the enemy to God. Because the speaker's focus continually returns to God, the power and importance of the enemy is effectively diminished. Here, the enemy is seen from the point of view of what God is doing *for* the worshipper, in contrast to what the enemy has tried to do *to* the worshipper. God does not have to be convinced to help—he has already delivered. Finally, by his act of deliverance, God has effectively made a distinction between the ones who were delivered from the ones intent on destroying them.

4. Theological Insiders and Outsiders

Did the composer of this *hodayah* intentionally select and reshape scriptural sources? Three answers suggest themselves. First, the composer merely used familiar scriptural language without intending to import context or meaning from the scriptural resource. Second, the author deliberately used scriptural language with the intention of importing similar context or meaning. Third, and most likely, the author carefully chose fragments from familiar scripture, but deliberately reconfigured the language within a new framework to signal a carefully worded adaptation, resulting in a fresh interpretation of the scriptural resources. So, what was this new interpretation, the new story being told? What did the adaptation of scriptural sources communicate to generations of worshippers who followed about the relationship between the afflicted, their adversaries, and their God?

Even a surface reading of this poem-song reveals that its composer claims inside knowledge from God that is unavailable to the adversary. Throughout, the expression of the *hodayah* becomes an act of estrangement, theologically thrusting the adversary outside of God's knowledge and purposes.[39] The mining and reshaping of biblical lament within 1QH^{a} 10:33–11:5 may have deepened this estrangement, heightening and strengthening the distinctions between the afflicted insider and the adversary outsider. Specifically, those who had been afflicted need not be transfixed by the attentions of the adversaries; they need not fear what they would do to them. After glancing at what the adversary has been doing, the gaze of the afflicted one turns back continually to God. The adversaries

39. As Newsom observed, "every act of formation is also an act of estrangement" (*Self as Symbolic Space*, 269; see also Newsom, "Constructing," 16).

in the *hodayah* are presented as less powerful, less knowledgeable, and less terrifying than their counterparts in biblical lament.

While the speaker in Ps 35 seems to lack knowledge in the face of his enemies, in the *hodayah*, it is the adversaries who lack knowledge. Here, the slanderers, revilers, and destroyers are not privy to the *inner* story. They only see the *outer* story: a leader slandered and abandoned, mocked and shamed, a person bereaved. However, the composer of the *hodayah* and those among the *yahad* who had access to this for personal use are now able to express that they know something that their adversaries do not know, that their steps come from God. They are delivered and helped and strengthened by God. This knowledge is what distinguishes them from their adversaries and preserves them from abandoning their service to God.

Effectively, the afflicted ones become the legitimate inheritors of what was hoped for and prayed for in the psalms and prophets. By skillfully selecting and adapting the scriptural resources, the composer positions himself on the shoulders of giants, able to see further than his biblical predecessors could see, able to understand more perceptively God's attitude and actions towards the adversaries who opposed him. The tumult of participles, imperfects, and jussives in the scriptural sources communicate a present sense of urgency and immediacy that is in contrast to the assured confidence present in the *hodayah*.[40]

The choice of perfects and *vav* consecutives did shift the action from present and future to the past. Ironically, this could have been a particularly effective strategy for reassuring community members whose need of rescue was in the present. Perhaps some were discouraged, considering abandoning the community. The psalm could have functioned to prompt the community member to look forward to the future when the deliverance was already completed, by claiming deliverance as if it were already accomplished.

Whether or not the author was recounting a real or imagined past deliverance or whether the words were, indeed, penned in the midst of distress or meant to be spoken in the midst of affliction, this *hodayah* guides the worshipper to speak as if God has already delivered. The use of perfect and *vav*

40. In her work on 1QH[a] 10:20–30, Newsom (*Self as Symbolic Space*, 235) comments, "The threat and deliverance is not a moment of the past but an integral part of the speaker's fundamental condition, one that the hodayah enables to be experienced over and over again."

consecutive verbs removed the users of this *hodayah* from any uncertainty about God's ability and willingness to act against the enemy on their behalf. Thus, the *hodayah* subtly "negates" biblical lament by communicating an accomplished rather than future deliverance and redemption. The speaker had *not* been terrified by the adversary's slanders and had *not* abandoned God's service. The result was that God himself had caused his face to shine.

5. Postscript on the Writing Lament in the Dead Sea Scrolls

One might wonder whether the people of the Dead Sea Scrolls created a collection of Lament Psalms as a companion volume to the Thanksgiving Psalms, a collection that did not survive. The single *hodayah* studied in this essay contains lament motifs, but it remains a Thanksgiving Psalm. It resembles lament but, on closer inspection, inverts the lament.

Based on the ways that biblical lament was both highlighted and reinterpreted in 1QH^a 10:33–11:5, we might at least ask whether the treatment of lament motifs in this *hodayah* extended also to other *hodayot*. If the practice was systemic, did the religious worldview of the composers of Thanksgiving Psalms restrict them from writing psalms that included the traditional elements of the biblical laments? Perhaps the deterministic theology of the members of the *yahad* did not permit writing the sort of lament that included a "hear our cry, O Lord" opening statement, lament questions, the admission of confusion and lack of knowledge, and demands that God do something to help them. Perhaps the *yahad*'s knowledge of the power and sovereignty of God did not allow the raw, biblical-style complaint that assumed God's absence in the light of the power of the enemy and dared to admit the worshipper's lack of understanding.

If the composer of this *hodayah* and those that preserved and used it did believe that they possessed inside knowledge of the workings of God in the midst of their affliction, and if they did believe that the final outcome was already assured, there would be no need to express themselves with imperatives and lament questions that would have communicated their lack of knowledge and uncertainty of final outcomes. Expressions of lament were still necessary and useful, provided they were framed in a confident and optimistic thanksgiving.[41]

41. For a contemporary lyrical and musical interpretation of 1QH^a 10:33–11:5, see Dorothy M. Peters and Brian Doerksen (lyrics), and SHIYR Poets (music), "In the

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Willing Heart and Broken Spirit: Psalm 51 in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Daniel K. Falk

This paper addresses obliquely two broader issues in the study of psalms and prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The first is the question about the role of penitential prayer in the sectarian movement attested in some of the scrolls. Although confession of sin plays a prominent liturgical role, there is surprisingly little in the way of petition for forgiveness of sin. This observation has led to some debate as to whether the deterministic theology found in the sectarian scrolls found at Qumran could accommodate true penitential prayer.[1] The second issue is the difficulty of recognizing, classifying, and describing the various types of hypertextuality encountered in the scrolls.[2] Many texts bristle with expressions, motifs, images, or constructions that remind the reader of various scriptural texts, but it

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I am pleased to dedicate this study to the memory of our dear friend and colleague Peter Flint, whose enthusiasm for scholarship was truly inspiring.

1. See Eileen M. Schuller, "Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran," in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 29–45; Russell C. D. Arnold, "Repentance and the Qumran Covenant Ceremony," in *The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 2 of *Seeking the Favor of God*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney Alan Werline, EJL 22 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 159–75; Daniel K. Falk, "Petition and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M. Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 135–59.

2. See George J. Brooke, "Hypertextuality and the 'Parabiblical' Dead Sea Scrolls," in *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature*, ed. Philip S. Alexander, Armin Lange, and Renate Pillinger (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 43–64.

is often not clear whether the passage is playing off the echo or whether this is merely a factor of a shared idiom. In this paper, I consider the influence of Ps 51—one of the most famous penitential psalms—on the Dead Sea Scrolls.[3]

1. Psalm 51 and Hypertextuality

Psalm 51 was certainly known at Qumran: it is partially attested in two fragmentary Psalms scrolls: 4QPs[c] and 4QPs[j]. In the limited parts preserved, neither of these attests any significant variation of the psalm. Unfortunately, the psalm is not represented in any of the pesher manuscripts (1QpPs, 4QpPs[a], 4QpPs[b]), which might have given an indication of its reception. There are no explicit citations of Ps 51 in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and there is only one text (4Q393, Communal Confession) that extensively alludes to it. Several other texts, however—including explicitly sectarian texts—contain language and/or motifs that are reminiscent of Ps 51, although less prominently. Given that two motifs in Ps 51 are particularly important in the sectarian ideology—the creation of a new spirit/holy spirit and the connection of ritual purification ("with hyssop," "washing") with the removal of sin—we might have expected more explicit usage of this psalm.[4] I focus here on three texts where evocation of Ps 51 is strongest: Communal Confession (4Q393), the Community Rule, and the Hodayot.

For the purposes of this study, I make no attempt at refining a taxonomy but adopt the following terminology. For the broader phenomenon, Gérard Genette's category of hypertextuality is useful, which he defines as "any relationship uniting a text B (… the hypertext) to an earlier text A (… the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not a commentary."[5] More specifically, we are concerned with various types

3. Unfortunately, I did not have access to the volume by Christiane Böhm, *Die Rezeption der Psalmen in den Qumranschriften, bei Philo von Alexandrien und im Corpus Paulinum*, WUNT 2/437 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017).

4. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Law and Spirit of Purity at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, vol. 2 of *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Second Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 98; John R. Levison, "The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology," in Charlesworth, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, 177.

5. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree,* trans. Channa

of literary allusion, for which I find Julie Hughes's definition suitable for now: allusion is "a reference which is recognized by a reader as referring to a textual source, knowledge of which contributes to the meaning for the reader."[6] Two aspects of her criteria for identifying allusions are especially important: (1) She does not require verbal similarity. While allusion can be identified by use of a *hapax legomenon*, for example, it can also be a "group of words in a similar syntactical relationship" or "a more commonly occurring phrase which has similarities of meaning or context." (2) She looks for indication that the adoptive text "directs the reader to a particular interpretation of the adopted text," and especially, indication that an awareness of the context of the adopted passage contributes to the meaning/significance of the adoptive passage.[7] Reminiscence is a looser relationship yet. Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold define reminiscence as "the thematic employment of an anterior text by a posterior one without clear linguistic analogies."[8] At the most distant, one can speak of a text written in the idiom of a posterior text, which may be imitation of form or style without directing attention to content. The metaphor of echo from John Hollander is also useful, as applied by Richard Hays to scriptural literature. Two key ideas are distortion of the hypotext by the hypertext and new figuration.[9]

Psalm 51 falls into two mains parts: 51:3–11 and 51:12–19.[10] The first section is dominated by imperative verbs seeking removal of sin ("have

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Newman and Claude Doubinsky, Stages 8 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 5.

6. Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 52. On explicit versus implicit allusions, see Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, JAJSup 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 25–27. Their definition of allusion, however, I think focuses too narrowly on verbal similarity.

7. Hughes draws here on Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 9.

8. Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations*, 28.

9. John Hollander, *The Figure of Echo: A Mode of Allusion in Milton and After* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), ix, 111; Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 19.

10. See Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *A Commentary on Psalms 51–100*, vol. 2 of *Psalms*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005), 11–25. Translations from the Hebrew Bible are according to the NRSV, occasionally modified, but references to passages from the Hebrew Bible are according to the numbering of the MT. Verse references in the English translations of Ps 51 are two higher than the

mercy," "wipe out," "wash me," "cleanse me," "purge me," "wash me," "hide your face," "wipe out") and statements confessing sin, using a cluster of different terms for sin. An envelope structure delimits this section focusing on confession of sin and God's just judgment:

wipe out my sins (51:3)
 wash, cleanse (51:4)
  confession of sin (51:5–6a, 7), God's just judgment (51:6b)
 purge, wash (51:9)
wipe out my sins (51:11)

Notable are the confessions of awareness of sin ("I know my transgressions"; 51:5) and of sinfulness "from birth" (51:7). Anticipating the second section are a statement that God desires truth in the inner self, a petition to be taught wisdom in the inner self, and a petition for joy (51:8, 10).

The second section (51:12–19) is dominated by petitions for inner renewal and a cluster of expressions with "spirit" and "heart": "clean heart," "right spirit," "holy spirit," "willing spirit," "broken spirit," and "broken" and "contrite heart." The petition leads to a vow to "teach transgressors your way" so that "sinners will return to you," and to offer praise (51:15–17). Both this speech and the attitude of heart are presented as an acceptable sacrifice to God (51:18–19). Most scholars regard the final two verses (51:20–21) as an appendix anticipating eschatological restoration of Jerusalem and temple sacrifice.

2. Communal Confession (4Q393)

The most extensive use of Ps 51 in a prayer from the Second Temple period is in a fragmentary manuscript that seems to have been a composite scroll, containing a hymn concerning God's works (4Q392, Works of God) and, in a different hand, a communal penitential prayer (4Q393, Communal Confession).[11] Both parts show reflection on Neh 9, but different diction for God (third person versus second person) suggests that they are separate compositions. Since the change in hand and diction correspond to a

MT. Hebrew transcriptions of biblical texts are from the Accordance module "Hebrew Bible (BHS) Tagged," Version 4.35.

11. Daniel K. Falk, "Works of God and Communal Confession," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, ed. Esther G. Chazon et al., DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 23–61. The transcription and translation of 4Q393 provided below are adapted from this edition.

sewn join, it is possible that these were two separate texts subsequently joined. On the basis of paleography, both hands date to the late first century BCE or early first century CE. Neither composition displays explicitly sectarian content, but both have points of thematic resonance with sectarian texts from Qumran: in 4Q392 the requirement to examine human ways, and some verbal and stylistic resemblance to the Hodayot; and in 4Q393 some possible reflections of two-spirit dualism and determinism.[12]

I will focus here only on fragment 1 i–2 of 4Q393, which preserves 10 lines of a prayer excerpted and adapted from Ps 51. For convenience, I divide the surviving content of this fragment into four stanzas, labeled A–D.

Table 1. 4Q393 1 ii–2[13]

A		…	*cf. Ps 51:5?*
	2	**And what is evil [in your eyes] I have [done,]**	Ps 51:6aβ
		so that you are just in your senten[ce,]	Ps 51:6bα
	3	**you are bl[ameless … when] you [jud]ge**	Ps 51:6bβ
		Behold, **in** *our sins w*[*e*] *were founded*,	*Ps 51:7a, b*
	4	[*we*] *were* [*bi*]*rthed in i*[*mpurity …*	*cf. Ps 51:7b*
		… st]*iff-necked*	
B		*Our God*, **hide** 5 **your face from** *o*[*ur*] **faul[ts**	Ps 51: 11a
		and] wipe out [al]l *our* **sins.**	Ps 51:11b
		A new spirit 6 **create** *in us*,	*Ps 51:12a, b*
		and establish **within** *us a faithful nature*.	*cf. Ps 51:12b*
C		(*Teach*) **transgressors your ways,**[14]	*Ps 51:15a*
	7	**and** *return* **sinners to you**.	*Ps 51:15b*
		Do n[*ot*] *thrust* **the broken of [spir]it** *from before you*	*Ps 51:19a*; *cf. 13a*
		because 8 *your people have fainted*	
		on account of [*your gr*]*eat ang*[*er,*]	
		and continually they [*have trusted*] *in* [*your*]	
		forgiv[*eness.*]	

12. Ibid., 27, 48.

13. Correspondence to Ps 51 is bolded; different content is in italics.

14. One must assume that an imperative verb "teach" (ולמד) or "make to know" was lost, corresponding to the first-person אלמדה in Ps 51:15, as Strugnell recognized (Falk, "Works of God," 52).

D 9 *Nations and kingdoms shall s*[*ay* …]
10 *and by their words* […]
11 *for your peoples on account of* […]

Table 2. 4Q393 and Ps 51

4Q393 frag. 1 i–2	Ps 51
	3 חנני אלהים כחסדך
	כרב רחמיך מחה פשעי
	4 הרבה הרב כבסני מעוני
	ומחטאתי טהרני
]ש◦◦ע א◦◦[	5 כי פשעי אני אדע
	וחטאתי נגדי תמיד
	6 לך לבדך חטאתי
2 והׄר֯ע֯[בעיניך עשי]ת֯י	והרע בעיניך עשיתי
למען תצדק בדׄבׄר֯[י]ך֯	למען תצדק בדברך
3 ת֯ז֯[כה -- בשופ]ט֯כׄה	תזכה בשפטך
ה֯נׄה בעונותינו נסכ֯נ֯[ו]	7 הן בעוון חוללתי
4 [ח]ולל֯[נו] ב֯ט֯[מאת …]	ובחטא יחמתני אמי
[…ובק]שי ערף	8 הן אמת חפצת בטחות
	ובסתם חכמה תודיעני
	9 תחטאני באזוב ואטהר
	תכבסני ומשלג אלבין
	10 תשמיעני ששון ושמחה
	תגלנה עצמות דכית
אלוהינו הׄסתר 5 פׄנ֯י֯ך֯ מחט֯[או]ת֯י֯נ֯[ו	11 הסתר פניך מחטאי
וכו]ל עונותינו מחה	וכל עונתי מחה
ורוח חׄדשה 6 ברא בנו	12 לב טהור ברא לי אלהים
וכונ֯ן֯ בקׄרב֯נ֯ו֯ יצר אמונות	ורוח נכון חדש בקרבי
	13 אל תשליכני מלפניך
	ורוח קדשך אל תקח ממני
	14 השיבה לי ששון ישעך

ורוח נדיבה תסמכני	
15 אלמדה פשעים דרכיך	ולפשעי֯ם דׄרׄכ֯י֯ך
וחטאים אליך ישובו	7 וחטאים השב אליך
16 הצילני מדמים אלהים אלהי תשועתי	
תרנן לשוני צדקתך	
17 אדני שפתי תפתח	
ופי יגיד תהלתך	
18 כי לא תחפץ זבח	
ואתנה עולה לא תרצה	
19 זבחי אלהים רוח נשברה	וא֯[ל רו]ח֯ נשברה מלפניךׄ תה֯ד֯ף֯
לב נשבר ונדכה אלהים לא תבזה	על 8 עלפו עמך
20 היטיבה ברצונך את ציון	למען חׄרׄ[ונך ר]בׄ
תבנה חומות ירושלם	ו֯תמיד על סלׄ[יחתך בטח]ו
21 אז תחפץ זבחי צדק עולה וכליל	9 ג֯ו֯ים וממלכות יׄו֯מ֯[רו ...]ל֯[ ]רׄ[...]
אז יעלו על מזבחך פרים	ו֯ב֯ד֯ב֯ר֯י֯ה֯םׄ ◦◦ד֯ר֯ שע[--] לעמיכה
	למען[...]◦◦[...]

In what survives, there is extensive verbal correspondence to selections from Ps 51:6aβ–7, 11–13a, 15, 19a. Of the fifty-nine words at least partially preserved in 4Q393 1 ii–2, half (twenty-nine words) are directly taken from Ps 51—in sequence—with only a few minor modifications to adapt the prayer from first person singular to first person plural, and four words transposed. A further three words have the same root but are transformed to a different part of speech, and six words represent functional equivalents of terminology in Ps 51. Only about a third (twenty-one words) of what survives of this prayer is without correspondence to Ps 51. It is impossible to determine whether 4Q393 contained anything corresponding to Ps 51:3–5; if so, this would have occupied missing lines at the top of this column.[15] After the correspondence to Ps 51:19a, 4Q393 has quite different content; it is unlikely that it had anything corresponding to

15. The preceding column is the end of Works of God (4Q392), written in a different hand. In line 1 of 4Q393 1 ii–2 are traces of a few letters, with only *shin*, *ayin*, and *aleph* discernible:]◦◦ש◦◦ע א[. It is not impossible that this corresponds in some way to Ps 51:5a: כי פשעי אני אדע.

Ps 51:19b–21. Therefore, it is possible to say that 4Q393 omits Ps 51:8–10, 13b–14a, 16–18, and probably 19b–21; unknown with regard to 51:3–6aα.

I have elsewhere examined the web of scriptural echoes in 4Q393, including the patterning of fragment 3 on the prayer in Neh 9, and the relationship with Moses's prayer in Jub. 1.[16] Here I am interested in the significance of the selections from Ps 51, the changes, and the omissions. To the extent that it is possible to determine, what is the effect on the new prayer? First, the selective use of Ps 51 excludes all cultic language (petitions for purging and cleansing in 51:7; references to sacrifice in 51:18–21), as well as petitions concerning inner wisdom (51:8), joy (51:10, 14), holy spirit (51:13b), willing spirit (51:14b), deliverance (51:16), the rebuilding of Jerusalem (51:20), and the vows to offer praise (51:16b, 17b). Second, the most important transformation changes first person singular references throughout to first person plural, thus transforming the individual petition of Ps 51 to a communal prayer.[17] Other transformations include the following:

(1) In stanza A, the language of iniquity is made plural (עונותינו) rather than singular, putting emphasis specifically on acts of sin rather than a human condition, as similarly in the Septuagint. This is reinforced by the addition of reference to stubbornness. Moreover, the verbs are rearranged, with a substitution ("founded … brought forth" instead of "brought forth … conceived").[18] The reworking of Ps 51:7 in 4Q393 eliminates explicit birth imagery and seems intended to evoke the creation language about

16. See Daniel K. Falk, "Biblical Adaptation in 4Q392 Works of God and 4Q393 Communal Confession," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 126–46. I have elsewhere summarized 4Q393 as follows: "Literarily, the prayer is an expansion of the prayer of Moses in Deut 9:26–29, particularly with language from Neh 9 and Ps 51, and has strong literary affinity with both Jub. 1:4–25 and the Psalms of Joshua (4Q378, 4Q379)" (Daniel K. Falk, "Scriptural Inspiration for Penitential Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 2 of *Seeking the Favor of God*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney Alan Werline, EJL 22 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007], 140).

17. Apart from retaining the first per. sg. of 51:6aβ. Although given the fragmentary state, it is possible that this, too, could be the plural עשי]נׄו: the surviving marks fit a *nun* almost as well as the left leg of a *tav*, and the final letter could be a *vav* instead of a *yod*.

18. The rearrangement results in a different poetic structure (ABBA structure of noun to verb, instead of ABAB).

wisdom in Prov 8:23–24, the only passage in the Hebrew Bible to cite these two rare verbs together.[19] The purpose of evoking the creation of wisdom in a prayer about sin and impurity is unclear, but the connection probably has to do with Ps 51:8: God must bestow wisdom in the inner self. Ulrich Dahmen's claim to find here an allusion to predestination is questionable, but even if so, the thought is not the same as in the Hodayot or even the Two Spirits teaching of 1QS (see below).[20]

(2) In stanza B, the petition for God to create a pure heart (51:12a) is changed to a request for a "new spirit" (4Q393 1 ii–2 5b), avoiding cultic language and adopting language from Ezek 36:26 (and adapting a verb from Ps 51:12b). Instead of "renew a firm [נכון] spirit within me" (Ps 51:12b), 4Q393 1 ii–2 6 has "establish [וכונן] within me a faithful inclination [יצר אמונות]." This latter expression in 4Q393 is not attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible or in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but although it is reminiscent of expressions in the Hodayot (e.g., 1QH^{a} 7:26, 34), there is no compelling evidence for Dahmen's contention that this is an allusion to predestination thought.[21]

(3) In stanza C, the vow to teach transgressors (51:13) is changed to a petition for God to teach transgressors and return sinners to himself (4Q393 1 ii–2 6b–7a). The most complicated transformation involves the expression "broken spirit." Once again, 4Q393 avoids the cultic language of Ps 51:19 (the broken spirit is tantamount to sacrifice acceptable to God), and petitions for God not to thrust the broken spirit away (4Q393 1 ii–2 7b). The broken spirit is equated with the people, who have fainted because of God's anger, but who trust in God's forgiveness. Thus, it becomes clear that the sinners whom God is petitioned to instruct and restore are the petitioners' own community. This renders unlikely Dahmen's suggestion that the change of vow into petition might reflect a sectarian ban on instructing outsiders.[22] Instead, the praying community in this stanza seeks instruc-

19. The *niphal* of נסך ("to form") occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible, in Prov 8:23, about God's fashioning of wisdom before the creation of the world. The *polal* of חיל ("to be brought to birth") occurs only four times in the Hebrew Bible: Ps 51:7; Prov 8:24; and Job 15:7; 26:5. In the DSS, the two terms occur only in 4Q393.

20. Ulrich Dahmen, "Ps 51 in Qumran und der zwischentestamentlichen Literatur," in *Miserere mei, Deus: Psalm 51 in Bibel und Liturgie, in Musik und Literatur*, ed. Dominik Helms, Franz Körndle, and Franz Sedlmeie (Würzburg: Echter, 2015), 165–66.

21. Ibid., 167.

22. Ibid.

tion and forgiveness. That is, it is a counterpart to Ps 51:3 ("have mercy") and 51:8 ("teach me"). Stanza D apparently addresses the relationship of other nations to Israel, although no details can be determined.

Although it is not possible to detect the reasons for all the changes and omissions, it is the case that the resulting prayer is coherent and tightly structured. It moves from a straightforward confession of sins (A) to petition for internal renewal of the person (B). This is followed with petition for spiritual transformation of the community (C), although it is unclear whether "the people" are Israel at large or a separatist community. Language in fragment 3 about God's abandonment of his people and the petition to "confirm us as a remnant for them to give us what you established with Abraham and Israel" (4Q393 3 4, 7) could suggest a remnant perspective or even a sectarian self-identity. In any case, the prayer then moves to address the community's relation to the world (D; see frag. 3 7–10).

The most salient features of the use of Ps 51 in 4Q393 include the adaptation to a communal prayer of confession, the omission or transformation of all traces of vow, the omission of all cultic language—even the presentation of prayer as sacrifice—and the community's identification with sinners in need of forgiveness and instruction. I am not convinced that there is sufficient evidence for Dahmen's conclusion that 4Q393 "breathes a Qumranic spirit and bears a Qumranic theology."[23] Some of the changes would be surprising if this prayer was composed in the same sectarian movement as the Community Rule or the Hodayot, especially the petition for God to teach the guilty his ways and return sinners to himself. On the other hand, it should not be ruled out. The identification of the community with these sinners requesting divine instruction does potentially resonate with a perspective found in the sectarian texts; for example, 1QS 11:1–3, discussed below, in which the elect community understand themselves to be those with true insight into their nothingness before God. Instruction is for these, but not for outsiders.

3. Community Rule

Language and motifs resonant with Ps 51 appear throughout the Community Rule. These include especially language about spirit, willingness,

23. Ibid., 168.

confession of sin, atonement, and purification. Although several passages include small clusters of such language, there is no instance that could be considered a quotation. The question is whether any of this rises to the level of intentional evocation of Ps 51, or whether it represents more generalized usage of common language stock.

Anja Klein argues that Ps 51 was an important exegetical source for the Community Rule, evidenced above all in "the idea of the spirit and its significance for salvation."[24] For the most part, the allusions are dispersed and consist of "a thematic and conceptual nearness," but she also notes that there are "some lexical linkages that point to a straightforward literary dependency."[25] The strongest case for literary dependence is the expression "broken spirit" (רוח נשברה), which occurs only in Ps 51:19 in the Hebrew Bible, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls occurs twice in the Community Rule (1QS 8:3 and 11:1) and once in Communal Confession (4Q393 1 ii–2 7). Klein examines the potential usage of Ps 51 according to chronological order of units in the textual development of 1QS, in the following sequence: 1QS 5–9; 10–11; 1:1–3:12; 3:13–4:26.[26]

Psalm 51 employs spirit and heart language (pure heart, right spirit, willing spirit, broken spirit, broken and contrite heart) to describe an inner disposition of a will aligned with God. The renewed person is accepted as an offering to God, but this renewal itself requires a new creation by God.[27] Klein argues that there are numerous similarities in the Community Rule to the "pattern of thought" in Ps 51,[28] but with adaptations to dualistic and predeterministic theology and an eschatological outlook: different conceptions of spirit, the elect community as the locus of atonement, and the divinely implanted spirit determining membership in the elect community.

In 1QS 5–9, Klein regards the concept of willingness (*hithpael* participle of נדב; 1QS 5:1, 6, 8, 10, 21, 22; 6:13; also 1:7, 11) as "a loose parallel" to

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24. Anja Klein, "From the 'Right Spirit' to the 'Spirit of Truth': Observations on Psalm 51 and 1QS," in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran,* ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, FAT 2/35 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 171. She posits that Ps 51 is posterior to both Jer 31 and Ezek 36, and shows further reflection on their ideas of renewal of spirit.

25. Ibid., 188.

26. For a brief summary of theories about the development of the Community Rule, see Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts*, LSTS 9 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 15–20.

27. Klein, "From Right Spirit," 172–76.

28. Ibid., 183.

the petition for a “willing spirit” (רוח נדיבה) in Ps 51:14b.[29] In 8:3–10, the “Council of the Community” are described with language also recalling Ps 51, especially the connection between a “broken spirit” and atonement for sin. “Consequently, the self-designation … conveys … the idea that the community presents themselves and their conduct of life as a voluntary offering to God.”[30]

She finds a similar “sacrificial self-understanding” in 1QS 1:1–3:12, combined with perfection language. Moreover, in support of reflection on Ps 51, Klein notes in 1QS 3:6–9 a “combination of ritual purification and spiritual endowment,” an association of טהר and רוח found in the Hebrew Bible only in Ps 51:9–12 and Ezek 36:25–27, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls only in 1QS 3:7–8 and 4:21. The purification is thus spiritualized, performed by the Holy Spirit.[31]

Klein comments only briefly on the hymn of the *maskil* in 1QS 10–11, noting the use of the expression “broken spirit” as the “frame of mind” of the speaker in responding to oppressors. She pays particular attention to the “two spirits” teaching in 3:13–4:25. Whereas the supplicant in Ps 51:15 vows to teach transgressors so that sinners will return to God, the *maskil* in 1QS 3:13 is to teach the sons of light, and there is no possibility of return for the sons of deceit. She finds the strongest parallel to Ps 51 in 1QS 4:18–23, in the combination of “ritual purification and spiritual endowment” that requires “an inner restoration that can only be carried out by God” and is described with creation language.[32] She also finds the “spirit of truth” that replaces the “spirit of deceit” in humans in the eschatological purging (1QS 4:20–21) to respond to the motif of God’s desire for truth in the inner being in Ps 51:8. A major difference from Ps 51 is the restriction of salvation to the elect, rather than any penitent.[33]

Dahmen is not convinced that these similarities reflect thematic and conceptual dependence on Ps 51, citing the very different application of the language and motifs in the Community Rule.[34] In contrast to the

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29. On the concept of willingness in the Community Rule, see Devorah Dimant, “The Volunteers in the ‘Rule of the Community’: A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb,” *RevQ* 23 (2007): 233–45.

30. Klein, “From Right Spirit,” 185–86.

31. Ibid., 186.

32. Ibid., 187.

33. Ibid., 187–88.

34. Dahmen, “Psalm 51,” 168–70.

expression “willing spirit” (רוח נדיבה) in Ps 51:14, the language of willingness (√נדב, *hithpael* or *niphal*) in 1QS is not combined with רוח, and is focused on Torah observance; thus it differs in both form and meaning from Ps 51. He also notes that the combination of spirit and purification in 1QS 3:7–8 and 4:21 is a prophetic motif and is better understood as a reception of Ezek 36:25–27 than of Ps 51. Likewise, he doubts that the language of “spirit of truth” and “making new” in 1QS 4:21 and 4:25 have anything to do with Ps 51, as Klein suggests. In the end, he concedes that at most the distinctive language of “broken spirit” may show the adoption of a motif from Ps 51, transformed as not only a humble attitude before God, but also a stance toward the world and opponents.

Evaluating the evidence of the Community Rule is difficult, as these two different analyses indicate, because the overlap of distinctive terminology is minimal. Some of what Klein labels allusion should better be called reminiscence, but in my opinion, there is more allusion to Ps 51 than Dahmen recognizes, as suggested especially by the clustering of language and motifs.

I consider two related passages: 1QS 8:1–7 and 1QS 11:1–3.[35]

1QS 8:1–7

> In the council of the *yahad* there shall be twelve laymen and three priests, perfect in everything which has been revealed from the whole 2 Torah, to perform truth, righteousness, justice, merciful love, and humility, one with another. 3 They are to preserve faithfulness in the land with a steadfast nature [ביצר סמוך] and a broken spirit [ורוח נשברה], atoning for sin [ולרצת עוון] by works of justice and 4 suffering affliction.… When these come to be in Israel, 5 then shall the council of the *yahad* be established in truth, an eternal plant, a house of holiness for Israel, a most 6 holy assembly for Aaron, witnesses of truth for justice, chosen by (God’s) will to atone [לכפר] for the land and to recompense 7 the wicked [ולהשב לרשעים] their due.

35. Translations from 1QS are adapted from Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, “Rule of the Community,” in *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, PTSDSSP (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1944), 34–35, 46–47; and Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, “Serekh ha-Yaḥad,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, 2nd ed., ed. Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1:22–23, 32–33.

This passage is the beginning of what many scholars believe to be the original core of the Community Rule in 1QS 8–9, offering a program for a new community and representing their self-understanding.[36] The distinctive expression "broken spirit" (ורוח נשברה) recalls Ps 51:19, the only scriptural passage to employ it. Moreover, it has a similar contextual usage and connotation in 1QS 8 as in Ps 51:19, namely, as a positive spiritual quality (paralleled by a "steadfast nature")[37] and a means of noncultic atonement. As Charlotte Hempel notes, the preceding line (1QS 8:2) contains an extensive allusion to Mic 6:8, another context about ethical over cultic sacrifice (Mic 6:6–8).[38] Thus, it is probable that these are two intentional allusions to direct attention to contexts about noncultic atonement. If this is correct, nearby language and motifs take on extra resonance in relation to Ps 51. First, although the expression "steadfast nature" (יצר סמוך) has no direct correspondence in Ps 51, it is analogous to the expression "faithful nature" (יצר אמונות) in 4Q393 1 ii–2 6, which clearly is a rewriting of Ps 51:12b: ורוח נכון חדש בקרבי becomes וכונֿ֯ן בקׄרבׄנׄו֯ יצר אמונות. In 1QS 8:3, יצר סמוך bears a similar relationship to Ps 51:14, "sustain in me a willing spirit" (ורוח נדיבה תסמכני), with alteration of root between adjective and verb, and a semantic equivalent substitution.

Second, the vow in Ps 51:15 to teach transgressors so that sinners will return (ישובו) may be echoed in the purpose of the community to be a "witness of truth for justice" and "to recompense the wicked" (ולהשב לרשעים). This is admittedly not close in formulation, but it is analogous to the significant transformation in 4Q393 1 ii–2 6, where the vow to teach and the wish that sinners return becomes a petition that God teach and cause sinners to return (שוב, *hiphil*). Given the other evidence of allusion to Ps 51, I am inclined to believe that the similar use of the *hiphil* form of שוב, as in 4Q393, is also a transformation from the language of Ps 51. If so, it makes an appropriate adjustment for sectarian sensibilities: instead

36. Scholars differ on the extent of this section and its literary development. For a brief overview, see Michael A. Knibb, "Rule of the Community," *EDSS* 2:793–97. What is important for our purposes is that 1QS 8:1–7 is an early representation of the self-conception of the community. In support of this, see Charlotte Hempel, "Emerging Communities in the Serekh," in *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, TSAJ 154 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 84–87.

37. In 4QS[e] (4Q259) 2 11b–12a—the oldest version of this passage—it is further paired with "humility": "with a steadfast nature and with humility [ובענוה] [and] a broke[n spirit] to pay for in[iquity…]."

38. Hempel, "Emerging Communities," 87.

of wishing that sinners may be instructed and repent, it expresses a mandate for members to witness for truth and to repay sinners. Finally, the function of suffering affliction as a means of atonement for sin is a similar motif to the "broken and contrite heart," which is an acceptable sacrifice in Ps 51:19.

Psalm 51

> 14 Restore to me the joy of your salvation,
> and sustain in me a willing spirit [ורוח נדיבה תסמכני]
> 15 Then I will teach transgressors your ways,
> and sinners will return to you [וחטאים אליך ישובו]....
> 19 The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit [רוח נשברה];
> a broken and contrite heart [לב נשבר ונדכה], O God, you will not despise.

4Q393 1 ii–2

ורוח חׄדשה 6 ברא בנו	A new spirit 6 create in us,
וכוׯנׯן בקׄרבׯנׯוׯ יצר אמונות	and establish within us a faithful nature.
ולפשעׯים דׄרׄכׯיׯך	(Teach) transgressors your ways,
וחטאים השב אליך	and return sinners to you.

The case of 1QS 11:1–3 further supports this reading of 1QS 8:1–7. This passage belongs to the hymn of the *maskil* and describes responsibilities of this teacher of the community. As Carol Newsom has argued, it is likely that the function of this hymn is to motivate the ordinary member by providing "a model of the ideal sectarian self."[39]

1QS 11:1–3

> [And to cause] those erring of spirit [to know] discernment, to enlighten those who grumble with instruction, to reply [ולהשיב] humbly [ענוה] before the haughty of spirit, and with broken spirit [ברוח נשברה] those who 2 oppress, point the finger, speak injustice, and acquire wealth. As for me, my justification lies with God. In his hand are the perfection of my way [תום דרכי] and the uprightness of my heart [ישור לבבי]. 3 By his righteousness [ובצדקותו] he wipes out my transgression [ימח פשעי].

39. Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 167.

Two distinctive expressions call to mind Ps 51: "broken spirit" and "wipes out my transgression." Once again, the language of instruction and the use of the *hiphil* of שוב evoke the language of Ps 51:15 in a distinctive sectarian fashion. Here, this language describes the attitude with which to respond to various categories: instruction to those who are in danger of disaffection, and with humility toward arrogant outsiders.[40] In this context, the "uprightness of heart" loosely recalls the motif of a clean heart, and the statement that "my justification lies with God. In his hand [is] the perfection of my way" may reflect a causative reading of Ps 51:6b: "so that *you justify* by your words, *you purify* when you judge." It should also be noted that the word "humility" (ענוה) in 1QS 11:1 appears also in the version of 1QS 8:3 in 4QS^{e} (4Q259 2 11b–12a). The two distinctive expressions, in combination with the pattern of motifs shared with Ps 51, make it likely that this is an intentional evocation. The effect is to inflect the meaning of Ps 51 in a way that highlights a sectarian perspective: teaching is restricted to the elect who err (see 1QS 8:16b–19a; 10:24b–25a), whereas for the wicked there is recompense, with no possibility of repentance. Humility and broken spirit in this passage describe not a stance of repentance before God, but a stance toward outsiders. Although the speaking persona confesses sin, this is not from the location of pleading with God, as in Ps 51, but of confidence in this evidence of election since it all comes from God.[41]

I do not necessarily find in this evidence of a conscious reworking of Ps 51, as there is in 4Q393. But the echoes of Ps 51 show distortion and refiguring in the context of the *maskil* hymn, and reflect an impact from reflection on Ps 51—I would suggest in the context of prayer. Given a few distinctive similarities to 4Q393 in the use of Ps 51, I would suggest that this supports the possible use of 4Q393 as prayer in the *yahad*—regardless of whether or not it was composed in the movement.

4. Hodayot

The Hodayot psalms do not contain explicit quotations, but abundantly resonate with scriptural language and imagery, especially Psalms and

40. Newsom notes that the *maskil* is "represented as having both an 'outside' persona and an 'inside' persona" (ibid., 170).

41. See ibid., 172.

Isaiah, as well as other prophets.[42] They are best understood as original compositions written in a scriptural idiom.[43] In several of the Hodayot, the thought and language are in places reminiscent of Ps 51, especially in passages concerning sin and the role of the spirit implanted by God in directing one's way.[44] The most interesting example is the psalm 1QH^a 12:6–13:6 (= Sukenik 4:5–5:4).[45]

The psalm falls into two parts: a complaint against enemies (12:6–30a) and a prayer of confession and renewal of commitment (12:30b–13:6).[46] The first part opens with a thanksgiving that sets the overall theme of knowledge, "you have illumined my face for your covenant" (12:6–7b). Two parallel sections each describe the speaker's enemies, portraying them as false teachers who lead "your people" astray, withhold knowledge, and are self-deceived. Each ends with vindication, expressing confidence that God's plan will be established and God will judge the speaker's enemies. The first part culminates in a section expressing confidence in God's aid to the speaker and those who listen to him in the face of opposition, recalling the motif of enlightenment from the introduction.

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42. Jean Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament, et spécialement des poèmes du serviteur, dans les hymnes de Qumran," *RevQ* 2 (1959): 357–94; Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, ATDan 2 (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlaget, 1960), passim. On biblical interpretation in the Hodayot generally, see Sarah J. Tanzer, "Biblical Interpretation in the Hodayot," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 255–75; and Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*.

43. E.g., Brooke, "Hypertextuality," 57–58, accepts Genette's term "pastiche"—"a kind of imaginatively creative and playful imitation through anthologisation." See also Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 9.

44. Esp. 1QH^a 4:21–27; 8:24–32; 9:33–35; 11:20–24; 12:30–38; 19:12–14; 19:30–37. On the spirit in the Hodayot, see Robert W. Kvalvaag, "The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-biblical Texts," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Frederick H. Cryer and Thomas L. Thompson (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 159–80.

45. All references to the Hodayot follow Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen M. Schuller, eds., *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot^a, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot^b and 4QHodayot$^{a–f}$*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009). According to Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot*, 88), "On the whole it may readily be assumed that the first seven or eight verses from Ps. 51 belong to the O.T. passages which were particularly esteemed by the community. These verses come nearest to the fundamental awareness of sin in the Hodayot."

46. See Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 102–104.

The tone shifts dramatically for the second part, which focuses on the speaker's humble stance before God. It begins with rhetorical questions (12:30b–31a) tying it to the first part: how is it that mere humans can be so privileged to have God's works revealed through them? This introduces a prayer of confession in four sections: acknowledgment of God's righteousness (12:31b–34a); confession of sin in solidarity with ancestors (12:34b–36a); remembrance of God's compassion and forgiveness (12:36b–39); and a pledge of renewal of commitment to God's covenant (12:40–13:?). It concludes with an expression of confidence based on the theme of knowledge: "[W]hen I knew these things, [I] was comforted by your truth" (13:?–6).

It is in the second part that some language and imagery resonates with Ps 51, although there are no significant direct verbal parallels.[47] The most distinctive resemblances with Ps 51 concern the motifs of sinfulness from birth, knowing one's sins, and God cleansing a person from sin. Other similarities with Ps 51 shared with a few other scriptural passages include the creation of a spirit to direct one's way (see also Ezek 36:26–27) and the expression "your steadfast love, according to your abundant mercy" (with slight differences in wording; see Isa 63:15).[48]

1QH[a]	Ps 51
"It (exists) in sin from the womb and until old age in faithless guilt" (12:30b–31a)	"I was born guilty, a sinner when my mother conceived me" (51:7) "my sin is ever before me" (51:5b)
"But as for me, I know that righteousness does not belong to humankind nor perfection of way to a mortal" (12:31b)	"For I know my transgressions" (51:5a)

47. Carmignac finds allusions to Ps 51:3, 6, 7, 8 ("Citations," 375); Holm-Nielsen finds allusions to Ps 51:3, 7, 12–14 (*Hodayot*, 76–90). Hughes regards the major biblical inspiration for this psalm to come from Hosea, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, as well as Deuteronomy and Isaiah. She recognizes an echo of Ps 51:7 (*Scriptural Allusions*, 105–32).

48. Text and translation below adapted from Stegemann and Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III*, 157–81. Poetic layout adapted from Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 311–25.

"The way of humanity is not established except by the spirit God has fashioned for it, in order to perfect a way for mortal beings" (12:32b–33a)	"Create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me" (51:12)
"By your steadfast love, and according to your abundant mercy to me, you pardon iniquity" (12:38a)	"Have mercy on me, O God, according to your steadfast love; according to your abundant mercy blot out my transgressions" (51:3)
"and thus clean[se] a person from guilt through your righteousness" (12:38b)	"Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin" (51:4)

The question is not whether reading this psalm would bring Ps 51 to mind in a few places for the imagined sectarian reader, but whether that recall would inflect the meaning of this psalm. To evaluate this, we need to consider the rhetoric of the psalm. The relevant part of the psalm (part 2) is as follows (with the Hebrew provided for only the most significant section):

1QH^{a} 12:30b–13:6

What being of flesh is like this?
And what vessel of clay is able to do wondrous great deeds?
It (exists) in sin 31 from the womb
and until old age in faithless guilt.

But as for me, I know that righteousness does not belong to humankind
nor perfection of way to a mortal.
32 To God Most High belong all the works of righteousness.
The way of humanity is not established except by the spirit God has fashioned for it,
33 in order to perfect a way for mortal beings,
so that they may know all his works through his mighty strength
and his abundant compassion toward all the children of 34 his good will.

But as for me, trembling and quaking have seized me,
and all my bones shatter.
My heart melts like wax before the fire,
and my knees give way 35 like water hurtling down a slope.
For I remember my guilty acts together with the unfaithfulness of my ancestors,
when the wicked rise against your covenant
36 and the vile against your word.
And I said, "In my sin, I have been abandoned, far from your covenant."

But, when I remembered the strength of your hand
together with 37 your abundant compassion,
I stood strong and rose up,
and my spirit held fast to (its) station in the face of affliction.
For I am supported 38 by your kindness,
and according to your abundant compassion to me,
you pardon iniquity
and thus clean[se] a person from guilt through your righteousness.

For yourself, O [my G]od, 39 and not for the sake of humankind is all that you have made,
for you yourself created the righteous and the wicked […]
40 I will hold fast to your covenant until […]
[…] 41 […]
for you are truth, and righteous are all [your] de[eds …]
13:1 […] 2 […]
[…] 3 for the day of furious [in]dignation
[… the greatness of] 4 your forgiveness
and the abundance of your compassion […]
5 and when I knew these things, [I] was comforted by your truth
[…] 6 according to your goodwill,
and in your hand is the judgment of them all.

Part 1 is framed by the speaker's self-presentation as an enlightened one (12:6) to whom God has made known wonderful mysteries in order to enlighten and make others know (12:28–30). This is in contrast to his enemies, who do not acknowledge him, but as false teachers withhold and reject knowledge (12:12, 19). In part 2, there is a dramatic progression to the motif of knowledge. The speaker begins with a crisis: how can a mere human carry out such an exalted task as making known God's wonders? After all, humans spend the entirety of their lives "in sin" (והוא בעוון מרחם). What the speaker "knows" is his moral inadequacy (ואני ידעתי כי לוא לאנוש צדקה ולוא לבן אדם תום דרך): only by "the spirit God has fashioned for it" (כי אם ברוח יצר אל לו) can he perfect his way and know God's might and compassion. He "remembers" his guilty acts and the treachery of his ancestors (כי זכרתי אשמותי עם מעל אבותי), and this plunges him into fear and despair, which is felt in his body: trembling, shattered bones, melted heart, buckling knees. But then, when he feels abandoned and cut off from the covenant because of his sin, he "remembers" God's compassion (ובזוכרי כוח ידכה עם המון רחמיכה) and is able to rise up and stand with his spirit holding fast, supported by God's kind-

ness and cleansed of guilt (ו֯כ֯המון רחמיכה בי תכפר עוון ולטה֯[ר]א֯נ֯ו֯ש מאשמה בצדקתכה).

In part 2 there is an obvious chiastic structure involving the bodily effects of remembering—from knees buckling to standing tall, and from weak heart to strong spirit—and centered on confession (12:34b–38a):

- weakened body
  - because remembered sins
    - confession
  - remembered God’s strength and compassion
- strengthened body

The chiasm is more extensive and detailed than this, though, beginning with the knowledge that righteousness and perfection of way do not belong to humans, and concluding with recognition of cleansing from guilt through God’s righteousness.

- A knowledge that righteousness and perfection of way do not belong to humans;
  perfection of way is only by the spirit God fashions for humans
  - B to know God’s strength and abundant compassion
    - C trembling; shattered bones
      - D heart melts
        - E buckling knees
          - F because remembered guilty acts
            - G confession: “in my sin, I have been abandoned, far from your covenant”
          - F′ remembered God’s strength and abundant compassion
        - E′ stood strong and rose up
      - D′ my spirit held fast to its station
    - C′ supported by God’s kindness
  - B′ God pardons sin according to abundant compassion
- A′ God cleanses from guilt through God’s righteousness

There are two other correspondences within this part of the psalm, having to do with God’s strength and abundant compassion (B, F′), and the spirit (A, D′). The remembrance of God’s strength and abundant compassion (F′) is an effect of the spirit fashioned by God (A, B), which also enables him to stand up and hold fast (D′). The turning point is the confes-

sion of sin, which begins a spiritual renovation, but this is a retrospective account. The function is to explain rejection by other teachers, and his sense of a divided spirit.

There is a different economy of knowledge than Ps 51. What is known in Ps 51 is merely one's sin, and the speaker petitions for forgiveness and inner renewal. In return, the speaker in Ps 51 vows to teach sinners God's ways (Ps 51:15). The speaker in 1QH^{a} 12:6–13:6, on the other hand, is a teacher and one who knows (12:28–29, 31b). The problem to be addressed is why he is rejected by other teachers and why he has a divided self. In Newsom's analysis, this psalm draws "a map of the ideology of truth."[49] The opposite of knowledge is perversity, and "rejection is a necessary part of the pattern of truth."[50] In contrast to Ps 51, 1QH^{a} 12:6–13:6 is not a penitential prayer, and there is no petition for forgiveness or renewal. Rather, the speaker's transformation is precipitated by remembering that he is the recipient of God's compassion and forgiveness.

Body language functions differently. Whereas in Ps 51, crushed bones are the result of God's punishment, and a broken heart is an acceptable sacrifice in response, in 1QH^{a} 12:6–13:6, shattered bones and failing heart, along with buckling knees, are the response to recognition of guilt. Physical strengthening follows spiritual strengthening, and this is the work of God through an implanted spirit.

The logic of this psalm in 1QH^{a} starts with the fact that the speaker understands divine mysteries because God has revealed them to him, and he is a teacher to others. The question "What being of flesh is like this?" expresses recognition of divine activity, and the admission of being "in iniquity from the womb" is not a confession of sin, but reinforces that this must be divine activity. Because humans cannot establish perfection of their way, the speaker recognizes evidence of the divinely fashioned spirit in him. On the one hand, remembering his guilt, he is reduced to trembling, but remembering God's strength working in him, he stands firm, being pardoned and cleansed. Knowing these things, he is comforted. The psalm ultimately is about affirmation of divine activity, in response to doubt due to rejection by other teachers.

I suggest that the speaker assumes a perspective looking back on the spiritual progression of Ps 51. The speaking persona has—in the past—recognized his sin, been cleansed, been strengthened by the spirit implanted

49. Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 311.

50. Ibid., 322, 325.

by God, and become a teacher. Rejection by other teachers precipitates self-doubt, and recalling the past transformation restores confidence. It is not necessary that this represent the real experience of a leader, but rather, as Newsom has noted, the rhetoric of the psalm constructs the ideal sectarian. This is how one should process doubts, and it involves positioning oneself in the scriptural story as one whom God has purified, enlightened, and favored with a new spirit. I propose that reflection on Ps 51 is key to the point of this psalm, even though it does not closely imitate the language of Ps 51, and draws on other scriptural language and imagery as well.

5. Conclusions

In sum, I make the following observations. First, the impact of Ps 51 in the Dead Sea Scrolls is less direct than one might have expected. Only one text (4Q393) shows extensive verbal correspondence, and only a few other passages have sufficient distinctive similarities to consider as potential allusions. Nevertheless, the language, motifs, and thought resonate in many passages, especially with regard to knowing one's sin, recognizing sinfulness from birth, purification/cleansing from sin, the abundance of God's mercy, purification and spirit, a broken spirit, and willingness of spirit. These motifs occur throughout the Community Rule and the Hodayot besides the few passages examined in detail here. Additionally, similar resonances appear in other works of prayers and psalms. The petitionary prayer for Friday of the Words of the Luminaries (4Q504 19:3–20:3 = frag. 1–2r vi 2–vii 3) combines the motifs of purification from sin, the gracious gift of the holy spirit, petition for forgiveness, humility of heart as atonement for sins, a heart strengthened by God, and the purpose of recounting of God's praise.[51] The Plea for Deliverance (11Q5 19) petitions for cleansing from sin and favoring with a constant and knowing spirit, and appeals to the abundance of God's mercy. Fragments of the Ritual of Purification B (4Q512 29–32 9; 39 ii 2) and Shirot (4Q511 20 i 1; 36 2) contain similar language of cleansing from sins, and Barkhi Nafshi (4Q436 1 i a + b 1; 1 ii 4) combines the gift of humility and placing a holy spirit

51. Esther G. Chazon cautiously notes that there is no firm basis for conjecturing reliance on Ps 51: "A Liturgical Document from Qumran and Its Implications: 'Words of the Luminaries' (4QDibHam)" [Hebrew] (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991), 285. Dahmen ("Ps 51," 171) is more optimistic.

in the heart. None of these, however, presents unequivocal evidence of directing attention specifically to Ps 51 rather than the use of a common stock of language.

Second, the interest in Ps 51 reflected in the analyzed texts is both limited and tendentious. Most notably, the vow to teach sinners is not merely ignored but written out by refiguring. In 4Q393, the vow to teach sinners is transformed into a petition for God to teach sinners and cause them to return. But these sinners seem to be equated with the praying "we your people," who are broken of spirit and trust in God's forgiveness. Whether or not this reflects a sectarian consciousness is unclear, but distinction is made from a "they" who are associated with the nations. Both 1QS 8 and 11 reflect a similar refiguring that limits teaching. In 1QS 8 the *yahad* recompense the wicked their due, and in 1QS 11 the *maskil* is to teach the errant but reply humbly and with broken spirit to the haughty and oppressors. In each case, this point is made by refiguring the "return" (שוב) of Ps 51:15 as a *hiphil* ("to cause to return, recompense, answer").

Third, this suggests a potential relationship between 4Q393 and the passages in 1QS. Fourth, however, similar terminology is used differently. Not only is the *hiphil* of שוב used with a different meaning in each of these three passages, but the "broken of spirit" has a different connotation in each passage: in 4Q393 as a stance before God's wrath, in 1QS 8 as a positive spiritual quality, and in 1QS 11 as a stance before enemies.

In trying to explain these features, I suggest two proposals. First, the somewhat light usage of Ps 51 in the Dead Sea Scrolls may be a reflection that this psalm does not serve the ideal sectarian self-conception, either with regard to any sense of conditionality of one's standing before God—that God might not accept one or might remove the divine spirit—or with the possibility of seeking repentance for sinners. That is, the community does not nurture an image of itself as in the space of Ps 51, but is concerned to encourage confidence and identity as the elect, and to reinforce boundaries from outsiders. Second, the passage in 4Q393 is consciously modeled on Ps 51, but the other cases discussed here show a very free use of language and motifs reminiscent of Ps 51.[52] I would suggest that these may reflect a more general appropriation of Ps 51 through the language of

52. On the compositional technique of modeling, see Esther G. Chazon, "Scripture and Prayer in 'the Words of the Luminaries,'" in *Prayers That Cite Scripture: Biblical Quotation in Jewish Prayers from Antiquity through the Middle Ages*, ed. James L. Kugel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 28–31.

prayer.[53] The case of 1QS may suggest familiarity with 4Q393, Communal Confession. In 1QH[a] 12, I suggest that the speaker's persona takes a perspective beyond that of Ps 51.

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53. On the "scripturalization" of prayer, see Judith Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, EJL 14 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 1–18.

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Section 2.2
Hebrew Bible, Hellenistic Judaism, and New Testament

Imitation as Necessity: Isaiah in Light of Amos's Prophetic Tradition

Ryan N. Roberts

1. Introduction

The "throne room vision" in Isa 6 is a well-studied portion of Isaiah. Scholarship has long debated the genre of this text, as form-critically it is often labeled a call narrative, vision report, throne room vision, or judgment oracle.[1] Among the multitude of elements in the opening verses are images from the temple, royal motifs, and theophany-like details. In light of the challenges posed by form-critical analysis, as well as the fusion of elements from various backgrounds, the present contribution will focus on the seismic imagery in Isa 6. While connections between Isa 6 and the fifth vision of Amos (Amos 9:1–6) previously have been noted, this study will emphasize how the seismic imagery may preserve the memory of an actual disaster.[2] Interpreted through this lens, the seismic elements may be

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It is an honor to dedicate this work to the memory of Peter Flint. During my time as a graduate student at Trinity Western University, I worked closely with Peter on a number of research projects. After completing my MA at Trinity Western University, he continued to offer encouragement throughout my doctoral studies. I have always appreciated Peter's mantra to "shoot for the stars." His infectious, charismatic attitude and wonderful stories will always remain with me.

1. See the survey in Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39, with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, FOTL 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 134–36.

2. Among those who have drawn attention to Isa 6 and Amos 9, see especially Jörg Jeremias, *The Book of Amos*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 156–57; Friedhelm Hartenstein, *Die Unzugänglichkeit Gottes im Heiligtum: Jesaja 6 und der Wohnort JHWHs in der Jerusalmer Kulttradition*, WMANT 75 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1997), 110–15.

encountered both as literary convention and memory transmission tied to prophetic authority.

The question of prophetic influence relates to the issues of authority and tradition. How did the prophets in the second half of the eighth century establish authority? In what ways was Isaiah already beholden, or even subservient, to the prophetic tradition that preceded him? On the one hand, the prophets in the eighth century never cite each other by name.[3] They appeared to work individually rather than collaboratively, and they were often at odds with the institutions they attacked. Amos, from Tekoa, directed his verbiage at the north, though little is known about his background or how long he was active as a prophet.[4] Yet his oracles would be recorded, collected, and preserved, largely in light of their connection to an earthquake and the military incursion that decimated the north. Isaiah, in turn, advised the king at both a political and personal level, though his background and his ability to function as a court prophet remain enigmatic.[5] As Amos's oracles began to be preserved—likely in the southern temple's complex—in what ways may Isaiah have looked to the prophetic legacy of Amos to help legitimate his authority?[6]

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3. Isaiah 9:7(8) perhaps alludes to Amos.

4. Though a minority position attempts to place Amos in a Tekoa found in the north, I see no compelling reason to do so. On Amos as hailing from the north, see Stanley N. Rosenbaum, *Amos of Israel: A New Interpretation* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1990). Richard C. Steiner (*Stockman from Tekoa, Sycamores from Sheba: A Study of Amos' Occupations*, CBQMS 36 [Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2003], 121) argued compellingly that many of the animals raised by the herdsman of Tekoa were destined for the temple altar, or at least for private sacrifice. In my view, this suggests that Amos had familiarity with temple personnel and provides a natural link between his prophetic work and its possible composition in the temple complex.

5. John S. Holladay Jr., "Assyrian Statecraft and the Prophets of Israel," *HTR* 63 (1970): 29–51. The only direct information concerning Isaiah's background is found in Isa 1:1, which references his paternity as a "son of Amoz."

6. In tracing Isaiah's activity, one can connect the following dates and references: Isaiah 7–8 (734–733 BCE); Isa 14:28–31; 19:23–24 (716 BCE); Isa 20:1–6 (712 BCE); Isa 36–39; cf. 2 Kgs 18–20 (701 BCE). For these dates, see Peter Machinist, "Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah," *JAOS* 103 (1983): 719–37. The beginning of Isaiah's activity, however, is difficult to date. A minority of scholars have pushed the commencement of his career as early as during the reign of Uzziah (see especially Jacob Milgrom, "Did Isaiah Prophesy during the Reign of Uzziah?," *VT* 14 [1964]: 164–82).

2. Authority

The question of prophetic authority provides an entrance into examining prophetic tradition. Max Weber's landmark work *Economy and Society* served as a starting point to modern sociological discussions of authority by drawing our attention to authority based on social constructions stemming from charismatic claims.[7] Weber's concern for the types of legitimate domination led him to distinguish between validity based on rational grounds, traditional grounds, and charismatic grounds. Weber discussed the authority of prophets, magicians, and others of similar ilk, by exploring how it rested on their exceptional character.

Weber's arguments, however, overly strain the extent to which charisma can adequately describe authority in a religious context. In this regard, Burke Long helped refine insights into authority through his article "Prophetic Authority as Social Reality."[8] He employed sociological models to help understand prophetic authority within the prophet's time itself, and also authority in later prophetic traditions. Long argues that call narratives were not created solely for self-justification or in response to criticism.[9] Rather, he directs attention to the evaluation of acts as external markers of prophetic confirmation, more than subjective claims.[10] This is apparent in Amos, and likely served as one of the reasons that his oracles were preserved. Calls for judgment seen through natural disaster and warfare helped confirm him as a genuine prophet. For Isaiah, his calls for judgment would also appeal to the various memories

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I am of the position that the vision of Isa 6, linked to Uzziah's death (ca. 742/736, depending on dating), represents the beginning of Isaiah's activity.

7. Max Weber, *Economy and Society* (New York: Bedminster, 1956), 215–16.

8. Burke O. Long, "Prophetic Authority as Social Reality," in *Canon and Authority: Essays in Old Testament Religion and Theology*, ed. George W. Coats and Burke O. Long (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 3–20.

9. Burke O. Long, "Recent Field Studies in Oral Literature and the Question of *Sitz im Leben*," *Semeia* 5 (1976): 35–49; Long, "Prophetic Authority," 9.

10. See also Thomas O. Beidelman, "Priests and Prophets: Charisma, Authority, and Power among the Nuer," in *The Translation of Culture*, ed. Thomas O. Beidelman (London: Tavistock, 1971), 375–415. Beidelman notes that "unlike priests, Nuer prophets must manifest anomalous attributes to demonstrate the validity of their claims to a new and unusual authority" (ibid., 390). For Long ("Prophetic Authority," 10), given the need to evaluate a charismatic on behavior, call narratives tie into the edited form of the book rather than self-justification.

of disaster that had already befallen Israel and Judah in the second half of the eighth century BCE.

3. Religious Revival as Symbiotic with Natural Disasters

In order to help understand the legitimacy of Amos as a prophet, it is helpful to reflect on the connection between disasters and religious revival. For example, following the devastating 2011 Japanese earthquake and tsunami, Shintaro Ishihara, Tokyo's mayor, remarked, "Japanese politics is tainted with egoism and populism. We need to use the tsunami to wipe out egoism, which has attached itself like rust to the mentality of the Japanese people over a long period of time."[11] He also described the disaster as "tembatsu," a term signifying divine punishment. Ishihara would later apologize for his statement, as it leveraged a decimating disaster for political and religious critique. Yet, the statement reminds us of the societal linkage between disaster and religious revival.

The collective impact of a series of unfortunate circumstances in fourteenth-century England provides additional examples of this connection, such as the Black Death, the Great Famine from 1315 to 1322, and the start of the Hundred Years' War in 1337. [12] These cumulatively contributed to apocalyptic outlooks, with many of England's inhabitants convinced the end was near. Indeed, the 1380s inaugurated an especially dour time that fanned the flames of eschatological fervor. John Aberth summarizes the period as follows: "During the 1380s especially, many Englishmen were so dismayed by a series of disasters—including recurring pestilence, declining fortunes in war, a Peasant's Revolt in 1381, and an earthquake in 1382—that they predicted the year of reckoning to be not far off."[13] Or, as one anonymous poet of the period stated, the 1382 earthquake was one of three reasons "that schulde falle for synnes sake" (that should fall on us for our sins).[14]

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11. Justin McCurry, "Tokyo Governor Apologises for Calling Tsunami 'Divine Punishment,'" *The Guardian*, 15 March 2011, http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546n.

12. Amos Nur, *Apocalypse: Earthquakes, Archaeology, and the Wrath of God* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 246–71, explores the political effects of earthquakes.

13. John Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 4.

14. Cited in ibid, 5.

4. Amos's Authority Seen through Disaster

The previous examples remind us of a pre-Enlightenment view wherein religion, rather than science, is the lens for interpreting disaster. The same lines of evidence also can be seen in Amos. The strategic reference to "two years before the earthquake" in the superscription of Amos 1:1 is a redactional nod to the events of the mid-eighth century for the purposes of using the disaster for Amos's own religious legitimation.[15] The superscription features the title of the book ("The words of Amos"), and then expands on the title via concern for the prophet, his words, and the date.[16] While there is a strong possibility of a double redaction to the superscription, with a later Deuteronomistic layer tied to the dual chronological note of Uzziah and Jereboam, the reference to the quake is best understood as original to the superscription.[17] This position also

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15. All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. In agreement with the view that disaster is used to legitimize Amos's role, see the comments by Jörg Jeremias, "Zwei Jahre vor dem Erdbeben (Am 1, 1)," in *Altes Testament: Forschung und Wirkung; Festschrift für Henning Graf Reventlow*, ed. Peter Mommer and Winfried Theil (Berlin: Lang, 1994), 15–31; Karl Möller, *A Prophet in Debate: The Rhetoric of Persuasion in the Book of Amos*, JSOTSup 372 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 179–80. Jason Radine, *The Book of Amos in Emergent Judah*, FAT 2/45 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 54, argues that once the dating presented by the superscription is set aside, the contents of the book focus on references to military defeat. This view, however, ignores the nature and purpose that the superscription provides for the book, as well as the natural disaster language and images.

16. For more on this, see Gene M. Tucker, "Prophetic Superscriptions and the Growth of the Canon," in Coats and Long, *Canon and Authority*, 56–70.

17. Concerning the Deuteronomistic layer, see, for example, Werner H. Schmidt, "Die Deuteronomistische Redaktion des Amosbuches," *ZAW* 77 (1965): 168–93. Concerning the original superscription, see also the similar conclusions by Johannes Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1962), 241–42, 279–80; Schmidt, "Deuteronomistische Redaktion," 170; James Luther Mays, *Amos*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1969), 18; Tucker, "Prophetic Superscriptions," 70; Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 117; and Shalom M. Paul, *Amos*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1991), 36. Of the eleven prophetic books with superscriptions, Amos provides the most detailed chronology. By means of comparison, Amos and Hosea have synchronistic royal dates, while Amos and Jeremiah include specific dates. Jeremiah's dating is framed in regnal years; Amos's, however, is tied to an event. Paleoseismology and earthquake catalogs indicate that quakes were not common in this period. As such, it is relatively certain that a mid-eighth-century quake is the referent of Amos's superscription. See Claudia

provides a better understanding of the ways in which the effects of the disaster would cause authority for Amos.[18] In the same way, socioscientific research on religious revival and disaster provide compelling evidence for prophetic authority and the circulation of some of Amos's oracles soon after his ministry. Within this early tradition stands Amos's cosmic vision of impending destruction of the north (Amos 9:1–4).[19]

The fifth vision sits as the last vision of five in Amos. Chapter 7 begins the series of visions of judgments, and the first pair (7:1–3, 4–6) involves a threat of locusts that would attack crops and the threat of a consuming fire, potentially ruining the entire year's worth of harvest. In both instances, Amos pleads for the deity's intervention, in which the deity then relents. The following three visions (7:7–9; 8:1–3; 9:1–6), however, emphasize judgment in which the deity will not relent. The opening of the fifth vision reads: "Strike the capitals so that the thresholds shake! And break them on the head—all of them" (הך הכפתור וירעשו הספים ובצעם בראש כלם; Amos 9:1).[20] Given the severity of the action, some scholars

Migowski et al., "Recurrence Pattern of Holocene Earthquakes along the Dead Sea Transform Revealed by Varve-Counting and Radiocarbon Dating of Lacustrine Sediments," *EPSL* 222 (2004): 301–14; Amos Salamon, "Patterns of Seismic Sequences in the Levant—Interpretation of Historical Seismicity," *JS* 14 (2010): 339–67; Emanuela Guidoboni, Alberto Comastri, and Guisto Traina, *Catalogue of Ancient Earthquakes in the Mediterranean Area up to the Tenth Century* (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica, 1994); and Nicholas Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and Middle East: A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

18. The idea that the earthquake is linked to the fulfillment of Amos's prophecies has been advanced by a number of scholars. See, for example, Paul, *Amos*, 36; David Noel Freedman and Andrew Welch, "Amos's Earthquake and Israelite Prophecy," in *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King*, ed. Michael D. Coogan, J. Cheryl Exum, and Lawrence E. Stager (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 188–98; and Joseph Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel*, rev. and enl. ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 78.

19. For an alternative view that sees visions three and five as being late, see Siegfried Bergler, "Auf der Mauer—auf dem Altar: Noch einmal die Visionen des Amos," *VT* 50 (2000): 445–71. See also the discussion in Tchavdar S. Hadjiev, *The Composition and Redaction of Amos*, BZAW 393 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 62–72. Wolff's (*Joel and Amos*, 107) reconstruction of six redactional levels traces the five vision reports to Amos himself.

20. The reading הַךְ in MT is often seen as an erroneous transposition of וַיֹּאמֶר. For example, Wolff (*Joel and Amos*, 334) translates, "He smote" (referring to YHWH), and continues the vision scene.

have suggested that the action is symbolic. This view is tempered by a lack of an interpretation provided for the action. The focus of the act, rather, is on architectural elements of a shrine, presumably at Bethel.[21]

The destructive imagery provided by the vision almost overwhelms. Destruction will first visit the shrine, killing those in the shrine (priests) and those near its front. The concern quickly moves to any survivors that would escape. These survivors, however, will also be killed. The power of the deity is emphasized throughout: there is no escaping the judgment of God.[22] The images of judgment come from two dominant trauma memories: natural disaster and warfare.

5. Judgment from within Sacred Space

The destruction of Bethel's shrine in the fifth vision also calls our attention to images that involve YHWH's tactile movement on earth. Indeed, rather than mere tangible objects of wood, stone, and other materials, the vision itself calls together the meeting point of heaven and earth. In the language of Mircea Eliade, an axis mundi.[23] For in this space stood the area of ritual embodiment between the heavens and earth, a place meant for humans to encounter the divine. It is this space that is sacred because of the nature of the ritual performed within it.[24] Yet, in Amos 9 and Isa 6,

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21. The text does not list a location for the altar. This may help ensure the message is not constrained to one site, and thereby be applicable beyond just Bethel. At the same time, most commentators agree that Bethel is immediately in mind.

22. Jeremias (*Amos*, 158) suggests that the preexilic book of Amos first ended with 9:4b. I include the doxology in 9:5–6 as part of the fifth vision, as it resumes the seismic imagery and continues the theme of cosmic imagery.

23. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1961). See also the insights of Jon D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: An Entry into the Jewish Bible* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 137–42.

24. See the insights of Yorke M. Rowan, "Sacred Space and Ritual at the End of Prehistory in the Southern Levant," in *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World*, ed. Deena Ragavan, OIS 9 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2013), 259–84. Rowan concentrates on the Chalcolithic period, but focuses on how archaeology can help inform our understanding of ritual in the absence of textual sources. He primarily uses assemblages from mortuary contexts to tie together ritual and sacred space. See also the recent work of Mark S. Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 31–44.

the spatial dimension is used not to consecrate divine-human ritual but to call for judgment.

For Jeremias, the fifth vision calls for the end of all contact and protection with God.[25] This helps to explain the cataclysmic imagery of war and the sword throughout the rest of the vision. In this sense, the issue is not simply human suffering, but suffering allowed by the hand of God himself. This depiction culminates the visionary cycle and moves Amos from being a prophetic intercessor to an agent of action. The time of dialogue, objection, or clarity regarding what is seen has passed; the time of judgment is now present.[26] The significance of the fifth vision rests in YHWH's clear promise of divine judgment that the prophet is privy to witness. In the same way for Isaiah, the "throne room vision" will commission him to cause the hardening of Israelite hearts authorized by the word of God.[27]

5.2. Isaiah 6

As outlined in the introduction, form-critical debate surrounds Isa 6. For example, Zimmerli's comparative work on call narratives viewed Isa 6 as an expanded type of call narrative, exhibiting a number of verbal analogies with the commissioning of Micaiah in 1 Kgs 22.[28] For all the potential

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25. Jeremias, *Amos*, 156. See also the work of Martin Metzger ("Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF* 2 [1970]: 139–58), which expands on the throne room vision but does not comment on Amos 9.

26. See also, Jeremias, *Amos*, 155.

27. The relationship of the hardening of the people (Isa 6) to Isaiah's work to change the mind of Ahaz (Isa 7) has caused some to locate the events of Isa 6 after the Syro-Ephraimaite war. Sweeney (*Isaiah 1–39*, 137–38) notes that Isaiah approached each kingdom long after Israel had already attacked Judah and set their plan in motion. Thus, Israel had already sealed its fate (Isa 7:7–9), and judgment would be carried out when Assyria retaliated.

28. Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 97–100. Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 1*, 99) calls attention to the verbal parallel in Isa 6:3 (וקרא זה אל זה ואמר) and 1 Kgs 22:20 (ויאמר זה בכה וזה אמר בכה), though parallels in the subsequent verses, 6:4–7, are missing. The bibliography on call narratives in general, and Isa 6 in particular, is expansive. Among the works that may be highlighted are Ivan Engnell, *The Call of Isaiah: An Exegetical and Comparative Study*, UUA 4 (Uppsala: Lundquist; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1949); Norman C. Habel, "The Form and Significance of the Call Narrative," *ZAW* 77 (1965): 297–323; Odil Hannes Steck, "Bemerkungen zu Jesaja 6," *BZ* 16 (1972): 188–206; H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Claren-

similarities, Zimmerli also noted that in Isaiah the prophet was able to intervene and volunteer for service, as opposed to the spirit that compelled Micaiah into action in 1 Kgs 22. Following the lofty anthropomorphic depictions of the deity in Isa 6:2 and 1 Kgs 22:19, parallels between the two accounts begin to decrease. The setting in Kings is strictly a heavenly scene, whereas Isaiah's takes place in an ecstatic spiritual state. The character and involvement of the prophet also differs: Isaiah is to deliver a true message from the Lord, not a false one, and he plays a more active participatory role rather than acting as a witness.[29]

It should be emphasized, in agreement with Zimmerli, that Isa 6 has been formed with "remarkable freedom, which serves as a means of gaining new perceptions."[30] Building on the work of Kaiser, Sweeney interpreted the text in light of its literary function, also with an eye to how its quality as a vocation account exhibits some divergences from traditional call narratives.[31] This awareness of the flexibility within Isa 6 will help account for the multiple elements within the scene.

5.3. The Size of God

The location of the vision in Isaiah, like Amos, takes place within sacred space. In Isaiah, it is in Jerusalem's temple.[32] The language of YHWH sitting

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don; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 30–56. Habel, surprisingly, does not address the seismic elements of Isa 6:4 in his detailed study. He further argues that call narratives are not focused on autobiographical elements, but "open proclamations" of a claim to be YHWH's agent at work (Habel, "Form and Significance," 317).

29. See Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12*, 2nd ed., trans. John Bowden, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 122.

30. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 100. Holladay draws attention to the ambivalent role of Isaiah. In Holladay's view, Isaiah was a transitional figure who clung to the old patterns of prophecy by means of his similarity to a court prophet, yet was "forced by winds of change into new and ill-charted modes of prophetic behavior" (Holladay, "Assyrian Statecraft," 46). Brevard S. Childs (*Isaiah*, OTL [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2000], 53) notes a number of differences between the commissioning of Micaiah in 1 Kgs 22 and Isa 6, especially the attention given to the messenger before the commissioning scene. For Childs, polarity between call and commission does not address what is seen in the text. Sweeney (*Isaiah 1–39*, 135) describes Isa 6 as "generic character."

31. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39*, 134–36. Sweeney identifies theophany reports in Isaiah in Isa 19:1–4, 26:21, and 30:27–33. Within these passages, idols trembling at YHWH's presence (19:1) is the only potential connection to seismic language.

32. Given the nature of the throne room, some translators view the structure as

on the throne is part of the divine council motif, and reminds us of the deity's commanding presence. Mark Smith, in fact, argues that God's body was a "superhuman-sized body" by noting that the throne of God in the temple measured ten cubits in height (fifteen feet).[33] This leads him to suggest that "the seated god in Isaiah's vision is about ten times human size."[34] Further, the hem of YHWH's robe filled the heavenly temple. This detail of YHWH's clothing served to magnify his size even more, and would befit a deity so large in size. In comparative examples from the ancient Near East, the hem of a king's robe would stop at his ankles.[35]

This massive scaling of a deity's size raises an important question that is not often raised when reading Amos 9. What is the size of the deity in Amos's vision? There is no "scale," such as the hem of a robe or a throne, with measurements that may be deduced. The mention of the altar in Amos does provide one element for comparison. We lack detailed knowledge of the archaeology of Bethel and whether this altar was supersized like the courtyard items of Solomon's Temple.[36] Perhaps it was the case, if Jeroboam sought to mimic the cultic layout of the temple for the sacred shrines in the north. In Exod 24, when Moses and the other leaders see God, the deity appears to have a superhuman-sized body. As Brevard Childs and other have suggested, the Israelite leadership appear to look up at the bottom of God's feet.[37] While the vision in Amos provides no description of God's body, his pronouncement to shake the shrine complex would understandably suggest a larger-sized body of God. This scaling would also be consistent with other conceptions of the deity; for example, theophany imagery in which a mighty God can shake the earth itself.

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a palace. Blenkinsopp (*Isaiah 1–39*, 222) translates "palace," but does not elaborate on this point.

33. Smith, *Where the Gods Are*, 21. See also the comments of Ziony Zevit, "Taking the Measure of the Ten-Cubit Gap, Isaiah's Vision, and Iron Age Bones," in *Marbeh Hokmah: Studies in the Bible and Ancient Near East in Loving Memory of Victor Avigdor Hurowitz*, ed. Shamir Yona et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 633–55.

34. Smith, *Where the Gods Are*, 21.

35. Othmar Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4*, SBS 84/85 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977), 65–66, figs. 25–27.

36. On the immense size of the objects, see Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "'Who is the King of Glory?' Solomon's Temple and Its Symbolism," in Coogan, Exum, and Stager, *Scripture and Other Artifacts*, 18–31.

37. Smith, *Where the Gods Are*, 19.

Along with the language parallels in Amos 9:1 and 6:1 ("I saw the Lord …"), the architectural imagery between both passages is close in detail. In Amos, striking the "capitals" (כפתור) causes the "threshold area" (ספים) to shake.[38] In Isaiah, the "doorposts of the threshold" (אמות הספים) shake.[39] The focus on the threshold area in both texts draws attention to what should be an immovable object: the threshold area. Hans Walter Wolff, for example, notes that in Ezek 40:6 the threshold of the Jerusalem temple was six cubits in depth (about ten feet).[40] The size of the doors at the temple had to be quite large, in line with the massive scaling of the other courtyard objects that befitted Israel's deity. In trying to replicate the size of the doors, it may be instructive to recall the Balawat Gate of Shalmaneser III, as each gate was about 7.92 meters tall and 7.5 centimeters thick.[41] Similar, if not larger, doors would have been found at Solomon's Temple.[42] This

38. The term כפתור occurs predominantly in the tabernacle narrative in Exod 25–40 as a "calyx"; it serves as an ornamental piece of the tabernacle. Outside of its usage in that corpus, it only appears in the present text and in Zeph 2:14. The term itself in Amos refers to the heads of the columns (Paul, *Amos*, 274–75.) The understanding of ספים concerns the threshold area. See the helpful discussion in H. G. M. Williamson, "Temple and Worship in Isaiah 6," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day (New York: T&T Clark, 2005), 123–45.

39. Williamson ("Temple and Worship," 125 n. 5) supplies a helpful discussion of the more problematic term (אמות). He concludes, "The choice seems to be between 'foundation' (contextually attractive, but philologically unsupported) or door-posts/uprights (either by emendation or on the basis of a questionable semantic development of 'forearm')." It should be emphasized that in either view, the meeting point of threshold and door-post/foundation is the focus of the shaking.

40. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 339. Wolff does not note that the temple imagery in Ezekiel is visionary. It is therefore unclear what is descriptive and what is idealistic in Ezekiel. Hartenstein ("Unzugänglichkeit Gottes," 124) attempts to recreate the size of the doors, writing, "Bei einer aus 1 Kön 6, 2 abzuleitenden Höhe des Gebäudes von wenigstens 13m und einer vermutlichen Breite des Eingangs zur Vorcella zwischen 4 und 5 m sowie einer Gesamtbreite der Tempelfront von etwa 9 m müssen die massiven Zedernholztüren des äußeren Einganges ein immenses Gewicht gehabt haben, das über die Angeln in den Zapfenlöchern der Schwellen auflag."

41. John Curtis and Nigel Tallis, "More Thoughts on the Balawat Gates of Shalmaneser III: The Arrangement of the Bands," *Iraq* 77 (2015): 59–74.

42. Th. A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem: Von Salomo bis Herodes; Eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des westsemitischen Tempelbaus*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 1:186–209, pls. 57–58, suggests the socket of Solomon's Temple extended to a depth of around 30 cm into the ground.

helps to provide a visual picture that underscores the violent shaking of the threshold area.

6. Seismic Language as Literary and Lived

It is beneficial to examine the role of seismic language in Amos and Isaiah from a different perspective. Most commentators see the seismic language in Isa 6 as dependent on the theophany tradition.[43] For example, parallels are adduced to theophany texts such as Exod 19:18, Judg 5:4, Pss 18:8, 68:8 [9], 77:19, and 104:32. On the one hand, it is certainly indisputable that smoke and shaking are two key elements in theophany texts. On the other hand, there is more flexibility with the imagery employed in Isa 6. Here, the threshold area shakes not because of YHWH but because of the sound of the seraphs. It should also be noted that the shaking is localized in Isa 6 as well as in Amos 9: the threshold area shakes, rather than a mountain or the earth.[44] Joseph Blenkinsopp has raised the suggestion that the seismic language in Isa 6 may "provide some idea of how the earthquake during Uzziah's reign would have been understood."[45] This suggestion helps unshackle the seismic language from being read as just a literary convention. It also reminds us how the natural world influenced scribal conventions, and how this convention could be experienced in addition to written. We now turn to the experience of a quake and how it may aid in the interpretation of the textual seismic language.

In the aftermath of an earthquake, the typical Iron II house would have been flattened.[46] Unreinforced brick masonry is among the most

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43. For example, Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen*, 121: "Das Beben und der Rauch sind normale Reaktionen auf eine Theophanie." For a fuller survey of the theophany view, see Torsten Uhlig, *The Theme of Hardening in the Book of Isaiah: An Analysis of Communicative Action*, FAT 2/39 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 88–89 n. 68.

44. For bibliography on this issue, see Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12*, 128 n. 58.

45. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39*, AB 19 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 226. More recent paleoseismic research now posits not one but two mid-eighth-century earthquakes. See Amotz Agnon, "Pre-instrumental Earthquakes along the Dead Sea Rift," in *Dead Sea Transform Fault System: Reviews*, ed. Zvi Garfunkel, Avi Ben-Avraham, and Elisa Kagan, MASES 6 (Netherlands: Springer, 2011), 207–61.

46. For a fuller reconstruction of the effects of an earthquake in the ancient Levant, see Ryan N. Roberts, "Terra Terror: An Interdisciplinary Study of Earthquakes in Ancient Near Eastern Texts and the Hebrew Bible" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2012), 1–9.

susceptible to seismic waves. As the shear waves hit building structures, the wavelike motion would have literally picked up mud bricks (and finer quality ashlar masonry) from their stone foundations—and from each other—thus negating the effects of friction. The result would shift the mud bricks from the stone foundation, from a few millimeters to a meter or more. The relative stability of the stone foundation, in contrast to the more unstable walls, may help explain the sheer violence of the shaking in the visions of Amos and Isaiah. Both visions pinpoint the most stable part of a building's construction not as unmovable, but as moved! Vertical posts that helped support the roof of a house/structure would have first shaken before becoming dislodged. At the same time, the flat roof, made of brushwood and coated in plaster, would have begun to collapse. The weight of the roof, along with whether the house was one or two stories tall, would have determined the fate of the inhabitants. As the quake shook the ground, oil lamps or ovens near combustible objects like straw, hay, or thatching caught these materials on fire. For those trapped in the rubble, suffocation due to dust from the mud brick as well as lack of oxygen was likely. Elites, with houses constructed of better building materials or techniques, may have fared better than the general population, but factors such as distance from the epicenter, soil material, and wave amplification are all deciding factors.

In light of this reconstruction, we may now return to the literary use of seismic imagery in the prophetic visions of Amos and Isaiah. The focus in both texts draws our attention to the threshold. The threshold will be a means to demarcate the sacred space but is also a focal point because of its shaking.[47] In Isaiah, the movement extends from the most holy place outward.[48] YHWH is first described in the inner sanctuary (Isa 6:1a); the large robe fills the temple (6:1b); the entrance threshold is next described (6:4a); last, the entire building is filled with smoke (6:4b). In this move-

47. See also the recent article by Madeleine Mumcuoglu and Yosef Garfinkel, "The Puzzling Doorways of Solomon's Temple," *BAR* 41.4 (2015): 34–41. They focus on the meaning of *mezuzot* (מזוזות) in 1 Kgs 6:31 in view of the shrine model found at Qeiyafa, with special attention to the importance of recessed doorframes. They suggest that enhancing doorframes with multiple recesses was a means to signify the sanctity of the building. A view that understands this architectural component as also signifying increased holiness of the space may also support this claim.

48. Hartenstein, *Unzugänglichkeit Gottes*, 63.

ment, the prophet stands at the porch (*ulam*) of the temple.[49] It appears as if he can first witness the unfolding acts in the temple itself, without stepping inside the temple. The smoke, however, will obscure his view.[50] The smoke, along with the trembling of the thresholds, threatened Isaiah, and he cried out.

For Amos, the focus is not from the temple outward, but from the courtyard of the sacred site, looking towards the shrine building. The altar (Amos 9:1aα) is outside the structure; the focus then moves to the thresholds (9:1aβ), which separate the populace from the access restricted to the priests (the main hall). Next, the shrine is about to be destroyed and, along with it, the first wave of people. Alongside the judgment on the building itself, the vision in Amos spends more time drawing out the effects of the quake. Indeed, the language appears to recall an earthquake, but places it in a vision. The object of the quake becomes the shrine at Bethel.[51] The language of the shaking from capital to threshold develops several images. It first localizes the destruction to the shrine itself. Second, it also draws attention to the extent of the shaking: from the top of the structure to the bottom. This may also encode memories of the process by which actual earthquakes were experienced, as inhabitants observed the collapse of pillars supporting roofs.[52] Third, it shows the severity of the destruction, as

49. See, in agreement, Williamson, "Temple and Worship," 138; Zevit, "Taking the Measure," 651–55.

50. Williamson ("Temple and Worship," 137) argues that one may assume that doors to the temple were left open from time to time and that "there was no objection to laity witnessing what went on beyond them."

51. Our understanding of the archaeology of Bethel is limited. Excavations took place over the course of four seasons (1934, 1954, 1957, 1960). Regarding potential seismic damage, William F. Albright and James L. Kelso, in *The Excavation of Bethel (1934–1960)* (Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1968), 52, note, "The ravages of earthquakes were noted at several points." It is unclear how many time periods are meant in this statement. To date, clear evidence at Bethel for seismic damage in the eighth century BCE is lacking. It is also unclear if the earthquake language in Amos describes a quake that struck Bethel or was used as a means to pronounce judgment on Bethel. I lean towards the latter view.

52. Amos 6:8–11 may preserve the memory of the collapse of a structure due to an earthquake. See Ryan N. Roberts, "Is Anyone Home? Amos 6:8–11 in light of Post-Disaster Housing," in *Methods, Theories, Imagination: Social Scientific Approaches in Biblical Studies*, ed. David J. Chalcraft, Frauke Uhlenbruch, and Rebecca S. Watson, BMW 60 (Sheffield: Phoenix, 2014), 186–200.

the thresholds should be least likely to be moved. And last, it also undercuts the role of this shrine itself.[53]

Within Isaiah, the seismic language is not as detailed as in Amos. Yet the seismic language is used in accordance with the imagery found in Amos, as both texts focus on the threshold area. Though Isaiah has language that is more akin to a theophany, it is still atypical compared to other theophany accounts. Perhaps Isaiah simply adapted this language from an Amos oracle, or it was a blend of theophany-like elements along with the language of Amos. In either case, it may also have been colored by the preservation of the memory of disaster.[54] It is intriguing to note that the setting of the vision in Isaiah is early (in the year that Uzziah died, 742/736 BCE), placing it within twenty years of the mid-eighth century quake mentioned in Amos 1:1. The writing of the vision is certainly more debatable, though I follow the majority of scholars who connect it with the prophet himself. Thus, the preservation of the disaster would still reside close to the time of the disaster itself.

This preservation of disaster memory was one tool to help further Isaiah's message. The results of Amos's message were clear: judgment from God first came in the form of earthquake and then through warfare. This message, from Amos himself, likely made its way south, as it was preserved in the temple-palace complex in Jerusalem. As Isaiah had acquaintance with the temple-palace complex, his message could utilize language from the early oracles/visions of a prophet who was already seen as authentic. By appealing to the language of Amos, as well as a traumatic event, Isaiah could add another dimension of authority to his proclamation to announce God's judgment. In the same way that God shook the earth in the name of judgment, this same God has now commissioned Isaiah to announce more judgment.

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53. The NRSV captures this well by translating, "Strike the capitals *until* the thresholds shake" (italics mine). See also the JPS rendering, "Strike the capitals *so that* the thresholds shake" (italics mine). By contrast, a similar "killing by pillars" is found at the end of Samson's life. His dramatic death occurs by pulling down "pillars" (עמודים; Judg 16:26) to crush a house full of people (Judg 16:27–30). Amos's vision, however, points towards a cosmic significance and symbolism.

54. It is challenging to find suitable anthropological models to employ in reflecting on the oral transmission of disaster. For one model, see Alan D. McMillan and Ian Hutchinson, "When the Mountain Dwarfs Danced: Aboriginal Traditions of Paleoseismic Events along the Cascadia Subduction Zone of Western North America," *EH* 49 (2002): 41–68.

7. Conclusion

In highlighting the seismic language of Amos 9 and Isa 6, there are opportunities to read the language both as literary convention and as lived experience. Two mid-eighth-century quakes struck the Levant and would have been remembered in oral tradition, perhaps in yearly festivals, and in smaller gatherings within kinship units. Yet the religious texts of ancient Israel focus much more extensively on encoding the Assyrian threat within the eighth-century prophets, as it served as the final chapter in Israel's history. At the same time, seismic disaster came before warfare. For Amos, the superscription helps situate the prophet relative to the disaster, while the fifth vision preserves the memory of the disaster in a visionary form. This disaster, along with the aftermath of the Assyrian destruction of the north, would help legitimate Amos as a prophet, and thereby be a means to preserve his oracles.

Within twenty years of Amos's prophetic activity, the prophet Isaiah would begin his prophetic activity in the south. The text in Isa 6, set within the early part of Isaiah's activity, shows a flexibility in form, of which the seismic language is one example. The focus on both texts is the threshold area. The violence of the shaking affects an area that should be least likely to shake, something that would not have been lost on the original tradents and audience. The violence for Amos helped pronounce judgment, whereas the violence for Isaiah served as a sign of legitimation for him to be a messenger of judgment. While we often read the Hebrew Bible as a literary artifact, these texts provide the opportunity to experience literature as literary and lived.

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The Fourth-Year Planting in Jubilees 7

James C. VanderKam

1. Did One Person Write the Book of Jubilees?

Though the early students of Jubilees were also biblical scholars who were hardly averse to positing sources and redactions in scriptural works, they did not spot such evidence in Jubilees. For example, August Dillmann, who published the first translation of Jubilees into a modern language, said nothing about additions or other changes to the text; and Robert Henry Charles, whose annotated translation of the book has been widely used, regarded Jubilees as the product of a single author who used sources.[1] In more recent publications, several experts have identified a few passages that they take to be additions to, or other modifications of, a base text, while two other scholars have hypothesized larger alterations to earlier material.[2] One suggestion posits the presence of a fairly lengthy series of

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It is an honor to participate in this publication celebrating the memory of our friend Peter Flint—taken away much too soon—and his many distinguished contributions to our field.

1. August Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen, oder die kleine Genesis [Pt. 1]," *JBW* 2 (1850): 230–56; Dillmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen, oder die kleine Genesis [Pt. 2]," *JBW* 3 (1851): 1–96; R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, or the Little Genesis* (London: Black, 1902), xliv–xlvii.

2. According to Michel Testuz (*Les idées religieuses du Livre des Jubilés* [Geneva: Droz; Paris: Minard, 1960], 39–42), three passages were added: Jub. 1:7–25, 28; 23:11–32; 24:28b–30). Ernest Wiesenberg ("The Jubilee of Jubilees," *RevQ* 3.9 [1961–1962]: 3–40) referenced revisions of the chronology. Gene Davenport (*The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, SPB 20 [Leiden: Brill, 1971], 10–18) proposed that an original angelic discourse, almost all of the present book, was altered by two redactors. Christoph Berner (*Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum*, BZAW 363 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006], 239–54) maintained that two redactors modified the base text, especially in Jub. 1 and 23. Liora Ravid

additions that alter the message of the book. James Kugel thinks that an interpolator inserted twenty-nine passages, almost all of which contain the phrase "the heavenly tablets" and evidence a different understanding of the sources of Torah.[3] The other approach finds separate origins for the two major types of material in the book. Michael Segal, who has developed this thesis in the greatest detail, has proposed that the rewritten scriptural stories and the chronological/halakic material do not stem from a single writer.[4] According to Segal, the person who put the book into its final form did not compose the rewritten scriptural sections: they were available to him and he took them over into his composition. The compiler of the book then placed the rewritten stories within a chronological framework and added halakic sections to them. As a result, there are a number of conflicts between the rewritten stories and the chronological/legal sections, suggesting that the two kinds of material came from different sources. So, in a sense the book is a unity, but it is a unity that the one who contributed the legal and chronological parts imposed on the stories that had other origins. The question is whether there really are conflicts between the two categories of material.

One of the passages playing a role in discussions of the issue is Jub. 7. This chapter provides a good case study because the story of Jub. 7.1–6 is clearly developed from a base in Gen 9:20–21a—that is, it is a rewritten scriptural story—and it contains a legal section in Jub. 7.35–37 that relates to the story. Menahem Kister concluded there was a conflict between Jub. 7.1–6 and 7.35–37, and encouraged further study of the relationship between the stories in Jubilees and its legal elements.[5] Segal has done that in the book referenced above, although he has expressed some reservations

("The Relationship of the Sabbath Laws in Jubilees 50:6–13 to the Rest of the Book" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 68 [2000]: 161–66) concluded that Jub. 50.6–13 was added at the end of the last chapter of Jubilees.

3. James L. Kugel, "On the Interpolations in the Book of Jubilees," *RevQ* 94 (2009): 215–72. See also Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation*, JSJSup 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

4. Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

5. Menahem Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumran Halakhah," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991*, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 571–88.

about whether to attribute 7.35–37 to his legal/chronological compiler.[6] Segal does not devote an extended study to these two sections, but he refers to them and thinks there is a conflict between them. I maintain that there is no conflict and that in fact Jub. 7 serves as evidence against the thesis of a halakic/chronological redactor of previously existing rewritten stories. It is important to add that Segal bases his conclusions on a series of passages; therefore, this paper does not qualify as a refutation of his entire case. His theory at present, given our sparse evidence, cannot be verified or disproved globally. There are a few cases in which we know that the writer of Jubilees used existing rewritten scriptural stories—for example, the tradition of angels marrying the daughters of men—because we have the source texts, in this case in the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 1–36). There are, however, not many instances of this sort. In most cases, we cannot say with any certainty whether the person responsible for Jubilees composed a particular rewritten scriptural story. At any rate, he clearly imposed his imprint on the stories, whether he wrote them or inherited them. We should now examine Jub. 7.1–6 and 7.35–37 and the nature of the conflict that several scholars have posited between them.[7]

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6. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 163–64. There he accepts Kister's analysis but adds in n. 51: "My slight hesitation to identify the author of this legal passage with the redactor (both halakhic and chronological) of Jubilees is the absence of the unique terminology found in the other legal passages throughout the book. In other legal passages, this vocabulary bolstered the hypothesis of a halakhic redaction. If Jub. 7.35–37 belong to the editorial stratum, and were not added at an even later stage, then one can suggest that the special terminology was not included by the redactor because it was not appropriate to the context of a testament. According to this explanation, the presence of the terminology is a sufficient, but not a necessary, condition to identify the work of the redactor."

7. The text for Jub. 7 is available only in the Ethiopic copies. Hanan Eshel ("Three New Fragments from Qumran Cave 11," *DSD* 8 [2001]:1–8) suggested that a previously unidentified fragment came from 11QJubilees (11Q12) and represented a shorter version of Jub. 7.4–5. If one compares the tiny amount of text preserved on the three legible lines with the Ethiopic version, large discrepancies result, as Eshel recognized by claiming it preserved a shorter version of Jub. 7.4–5. There is a circular element in arguments for and against identifying Qumran fragments as containing text from Jubilees. In a case like this where only two complete words have survived, and both of them occur frequently in the Hebrew Bible and in Qumran texts (בשר = "flesh/meat" in line 1; וקורבנם = "and their offering" in line 3), and the text would have been considerably different than the Ethiopic version—our only witness—it is better to say the fragment is unlikely to contain remnants from Jub. 7.4–5.

2. The Rewritten Story of Jub. 7.1–6

According to Jub. 5.31, the flood ended in the year of the world 1309; eight years later, Noah planted a vineyard.[8] Since the ark landed, Noah had remained at Mount Lubar, a place where he would stay until the end of his life, centuries later (Jub. 10.15–16). His planting proved successful and led to harvestable fruit in the fourth year. Noah's viticulture in Genesis has no halakic significance, but in Jubilees it does. Genesis 9:20–21a says, "Noah, a man of the soil, was the first to plant a vineyard. He drank some of the wine."[9] The rewritten form in Jub. 7.1–6 reads in this way:[10]

> 1 During the seventh week, in its first year, in this jubilee [year of the world 1317] Noah planted a vineyard at the mountain (whose name was Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat) on which the ark had come to rest. It produced fruit in the fourth year [1320]. He guarded its fruit and picked it that year during the seventh month. 2 He made wine from it, put it in a container, and kept it until the fifth year [1321]—until the first day at the beginning of the first month. 3 He joyfully celebrated the day of this festival. He made a burnt offering for the Lord—one young bull; one ram; seven sheep, each a year old; and one kid—to make atonement through it for himself and for his sons. 4 First he prepared the kid. He put some of its blood on the *horns* (that were on) the altar that he had made. He offered all the fat on the altar where he made the burnt offering along with the bull, the ram, and the sheep. He offered all their meat on the altar. 5 On it he placed their entire sacrifice mixed with oil. Afterwards he sprinkled wine in the fire that had been on the altar beforehand. He put frankincense on the altar and offered a pleasant fragrance that was pleasing before the Lord his God. 6 He was very happy, and he and his sons happily drank some of this wine.[11]

8. Compare Gen 9:20–27 and 1QapGen ar 12:13.

9. Citations of the Bible are from the NRSV.

10. Citations of Jubilees in this essay are from the translation I have prepared for the forthcoming Hermeneia commentary on Jubilees, which is a slight revision of the one that appeared in James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2 vols., CSCO 510–11, SAeth 87–88 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

11. This is an instance in which a similar rewritten story appears in another source—the 1QapGen ar 12:13–19 (?). Since the relationship between the Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees is controverted, it is not clear who might have composed the narrative: the writer of Jubilees, the author of the Genesis Apocryphon, or someone else.

The writer notes that Noah harvested the fruit in the seventh month of the fourth year; at this point, he produced wine but did not consume it.[12] Rather, he placed it in a vessel until the first day of the fifth year, when he sprinkled some of it on his sacrifice, and he and his sons imbibed as they celebrated the holiday.[13] Noah, who acts as a priest here and in Jub. 6.2–4, though the title is never attributed to him, adheres to the following chronology in his treatment of the vineyard:[14]

Years 1–3: Any fruit off-limits to the owner.
Year 4: Setting apart of the fruit. Noah harvests it, makes wine, and reserves it in a container.
Year 5 (first day of the first month): Consumption permitted. Noah and his sons consume wine made from the fourth-year harvest.

All of this is placed in the larger context of a festival and the sacrifice that is an integral part of it. Only after the full description of the sacrifice and another note that Noah was happy does the reader hear about his consumption of wine: both Noah and his sons drank some of the wine and did so with joy. In context, Noah's drinking is a more positive act in Jubilees than in Genesis.

3. The Legal Section of Jub. 7.35–37

The topic of a vineyard also receives attention in a legal unit toward the end of Jub. 7. Skipping over the parts in the middle of the chapter (dealing with Noah's drunkenness, his sons and their cities, and the beginning of his address to his descendants), we find that in Jub. 7.34 the patriarch encourages his sons and grandsons to act properly "so that you may be rightly planted on the surface of the entire earth." Somewhat surprisingly, the metaphorical idea of his offspring being "planted" leads Noah to begin legislating regarding the plants and trees that his descendants would cultivate in their cities, a topic treated narratively in Jub. 7.1–6. If there were a conflict between the story in Jub. 7.1–6 and the related legislation in Jub.

12. Compare 1QapGen ar 12:14.

13. Compare 1QapGen ar 12:15–17.

14. Compare Lev 19:23–25, a passage examined below in the section on Jub. 7.35–37

7.35–37, it would favor the thesis that the two kinds of material originated in different sources.

Noah sets the laws in the context of the cities that his offspring will build. In them, he predicts, they will raise all sorts of plants, not just trees, although the passage that underlies this section, Lev 19:23–25, speaks only of trees.[15] It is helpful to place Lev 19:23–25 and Jub. 7.35–37 in parallel columns to illustrate how the latter relates to and interprets the former.

Table 1. Comparison of Lev 19:23–25 and Jub. 7.35–37

Leviticus 19:23–25	Jubilees 7.35–37
23 When you come into the land and plant all kinds of trees for food,	35 You will now go and build yourselves cities, and in them you will plant every (kind of) plant that is on the earth as well as every (kind of) fruit tree.[16]
then you shall regard their fruit as forbidden; three years it shall be forbidden to you; it must not be eaten. 24 In the fourth year all their fruit shall be set apart for rejoicing in the Lord.	36 For three years its fruit will remain unpicked by anyone for the purpose of eating it; but in the fourth year its fruit will be sanctified. It will be offered as firstfruits that are acceptable before the Most High God, the Creator of heaven, the earth, and everything, so that they may offer in abundance the first of the wine and oil as firstfruits on the altar of the Lord who accepts (it). What is left over those who serve in the Lord's house are to eat before the altar that receives (it).
	37 During the fifth year arrange relief for it so that you may leave it in the right and proper way. Then you will

15. The term עץ may, however, include more than trees; it can denote shrubs as well (see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 3A [New York: Doubleday, 2000], 1678). See also Deut 18:4, Lev 27:30, and Neh 10:35.

16. As Kister observed, the formulation seems to be influenced by Lev 27:30, a passage understood in some rabbinic comments discussed below as dealing with the second tithe ("Some Aspects of Qumran Halakhah," 581 n. 38).

	be doing the right thing, and all your planting will be successful.
25 But in the fifth year you may eat of their fruit, that their yield may be increased for you; I am the LORD your God.	

Though the writer bases his words on biblical legislation, he adapts it to the setting of Noah's time. Leviticus 19:23 says that when Israel enters the land of Canaan, the rulings will be in force. Jubilees attributes the laws to Noah, who applies them to the cities in which his offspring will live—apparently to cities anywhere in the world, not just in the land.[17]

As Jub. 7.36 shows, Jubilees and Lev 19:23 agree that for the first three years any produce there may be from the plants is off limits to the owner. Leviticus refers to the fruit as being, literally, "uncircumcised" (ערלים)—an expression that the LXX translators understood to signify "impure." Jubilees offers a practical understanding of the expression, not a literal rendering of the Hebrew base: its fruit is not to be picked/harvested for the first three years (see also Jub. 7.1). The writer, with Lev 19:23, adds that the harvesting forbidden is the sort that is for the purpose of eating the fruit (see Jub. 7.1). Jubilees notes that the first of wine and oil, two liquids from plants and trees, is to be offered in abundance as firstfruits.[18]

Where Lev 19:24 speaks only briefly about what is to be done with the fruit in the fourth year ("In the fourth year all their fruit shall be set apart [קדשׁ] for rejoicing in the LORD"), Jubilees makes an extended statement to clarify a difficult base text. It should be noted that where MT reads הלולים,

17. See also Jub. 7.13–17.

18. Concerning wine and oil: Two festivals mentioned in Qumran calendars and the Temple Scroll involve the firstfruits of the wine (month five, day three) and oil (month six, day twenty-two). See, for example, Joseph Baumgarten, "The Laws of *'Orlah* and the First Fruits in the Light of Jubilees, the Qumran Writings, and Targum Ps. Jonathan," *JJS* 38 (1987): 195–202. The event described in Jub. 7.1–6 can hardly be the new wine festival, given its date (first day of the first month). Concerning firstfruits: A number of the terms and ideas in Jub. 7.36 can be found in Neh 10:35–37, including "to bring the first of our dough, and our contributions, the fruit of every tree, the wine and the oil, to the priests, to the chambers of the house of our God" (Neh. 10:37). The passage is a parallel in language, but it deals with an annual assessment, not one having to do with the fourth-year produce.

SP has חלולים, a reading that could be dismissed as a graphic confusion of two look-alike initial letters but is in fact meaningful in the context.[19] Jubilees clearly reflects the word “holiness” (translated “set apart” in NRSV) with its “will be sanctified,” but where Leviticus has “for rejoicing” (MT) or “desanctification/enjoyment” (SP), Jubilees paraphrases or explains at some length what appears to be the meaning of the phrase in Lev 19:24—the products of the fourth year belong to God. Unlike several later sources, Jubilees says nothing about the possibility of the owner ransoming some of the fourth-year produce from the priests for personal or family use.[20]

A few texts from the caves at Qumran provide information that should be compared with Jub. 7.35–37. Temple Scroll[a] (11Q19) 60:3–4 uses some of the language of Lev 19:24 in speaking about gifts for the priests (that is, ones consecrated to God): “and all their holy offerings which they hallow {to} me, with all their hol[y] (fruit) offering of praise.”[21] The text of 4QMMT B (4Q395) 62–63 treats the subject much as Jubilees does: “And concerning (the fruits of) the trees for food planted in the Land of Israel: they are to be dealt with like first fruits [כראשית] belonging to the priests.”[22] With Jubilees, 4QMMT uses the language of “firstfruits.”[23] Items in that category

19. See Deut 20:6, 28:30, and Jer 31:5.

20. See, for example, Chanokh Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha*, BHWJB 47 (Berlin-Schöneberg: Scholem, 1930), 32–33.

21. Translation from Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 2:271–72.

22. Translation by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell in Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader: Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 331.

23. As is frequently noted by those who comment on the passage in Jubilees, the rabbinic understanding was that the fourth-year produce was like the second tithe, which was brought to Jerusalem and either enjoyed by the owner there or sold, with the proceeds spent in Jerusalem (see Lev 27:30; Deut 14:22–26). See, for example, Baumgarten, “Laws of *'Orlah*,” 195–202. Another view was that it was redeemable from the priests. For example, Tg. Ps.-J. Lev 19:24 reads, “In the fourth year all its fruit shall *be redeemed from the priest* as holy [offerings] of praise *before* the Lord” (translation from Michael Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Leviticus*, ArBib 3 [Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994], 178). Philo (*Virtues* 155–60) considered all of it as belonging to God: “But in this fourth year he commands them not to pluck the fruit for their own enjoyment but to dedicate the whole of it as a first fruit to God, partly as a thank-offering for the past, partly in hope of fertility to come and the acquisition of wealth to which this will lead” (Colson, LCL). Unlike Philo and Targum Pseudo-

were handed over by their owners to the Lord.[24] A ראשית is not, however, the entire crop, only a part of it—the first and/or best part, the part first presented to the Lord.[25] When the writer speaks of bringing the first of the wine and oil, he makes this clear. The portion of the firstfruits offering that is not consumed on the altar is allocated to the priests. This leaves open the possibility that the owner could keep a part of his fourth-year produce (see below in the comparison between Jub. 7.1–6 and 7.35–37). It seems significant that Jubilees does not use the word "all" from Lev 19:24 with regard to the fourth-year crop that is holy to the Lord.

Jubilees 7.37 deals with the law for the fifth year, yet hardly reproduces Lev 19:25 verbatim. The latter states, "But in the fifth year you may eat of their fruit, that their yield may be increased for you." The unusual formulation in Jubilees has led some to suspect the text has suffered from some kind of corruption. Why does Jub. 7.37 say, far differently than Lev 19:25, that in the fifth year one is to "arrange relief for it [*ḫedgato*] so that you may leave it [*teḥdegewwo*] in the right and proper way"? The fact that *ḫedgat* can be used for the remission of the seventh year led Charles to posit a lacuna in the text (the omitted material dealt with the fifth year legislation) which, he thought, was speaking about the land in the seventh year, not the fifth.[26] He hypothesized that the Greek version of Jub. 7.37 read: αφησετε αυτην ινα ανησετε αυτην, "you will let it [the land] rest so that it may lie fallow" (see Exod 23:11), but the second verb was misread as αφητε (a form of ἀφίημι) yielding the text now represented in Ethiopic Jubilees.[27] His thesis is appealing, but it would result in a situation that is strange indeed: why, in this context, would Noah talk about the rules of

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Jonathan, Jubilees and 4QMMT do not use the word "all" regarding the fruit of the fourth year.

24. See, for example, Exod 23:19; 34:26; Lev 23:10; Num 15:20–21; 18:12; Deut 18:4; 26:2, 10; Neh 10:38; 12:44.

25. See Ithamar Kislev, "First Gifts from Plants in the Priestly Source" (MA thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002), 7–12, although he, too, thinks there is a conflict between 7.1–6 and 7.35–37.

26. See, for example, the Ethiopic version of Deut 15:1, 9, and the usage of a related form in Exod 23:11.

27. Note that LXX Exod 23:11 is worded in a way similar to Jub. 7.37: "But in the seventh year you shall make it rest and leave it" (τῷ δὲ ἑβδόμῳ ἄφεσιν ποιήσεις καὶ ἀνήσεις αὐτήν; NETS). As in Jub. 7.37, the passage in Exodus subsequently mentions vineyard and oil.

the sabbatical year, the year of remission, when his earlier comments had to do with a different subject?

Baumgarten appears to have been the first to suggest that *ḫedgat* "is used here to note release in the fifth year from all restrictions which applied to the fruit of the previous years. This is the author's paraphrase of Lev 19:25."[28] Kister has accepted his proposal about *ḫedgat* and added that in Arabic *ḥll* (the form in SP Lev 19:24 is related to this root) has the meaning "release."[29] Deuteronomy 20:6 twice uses forms of the verb in speaking about a vineyard. There, where an officer is addressing the troops before battle, he says: "Has anyone planted a vineyard but not yet *enjoyed* its fruit? He should go back to his house, or he might die in battle and another be first to *enjoy* its fruit."[30] Kister makes the intriguing proposal that Gen 9:20 (where Noah plants a vineyard) may have been the trigger for introducing the laws of the fourth-year produce in this context in Jubilees and wonders whether *ḫedgat* in Jub. 7.37 reflects an interpretation of Deut 20:6.[31] If the verb in Gen 9:20 was an exegetical trigger, it was a playful one because the sequence of actions in the verse would make little sense otherwise.[32]

By reading the reference in Jubilees to release in connection with the fifth year, as Baumgarten and Kister propose, the text can be retained as it is. It speaks of the time when the produce was available to the owner to consume, to enjoy, just as Noah and his family did in Jub. 7.2–6.

4. The Relation between Jub. 7.1–6 and 7.35–37

Both sections relate closely to the legislation in Lev 19:23–25 regarding how and when to harvest and what to do with the produce of trees. As noted, some have found a strong contrast between the two passages. Kister even speaks of a "contradiction" between them.[33] They are very different in kind: Jub. 7.1–6 is a story about what Noah and his family did when he

28. Baumgarten, "Laws of *ʿOrlah*," 197.

29. See BDB, 320a, for the cognates of the Hebrew word.

30. The italicized verbs translate forms of חלל.

31. Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumran Halakhah," 582–84. As Kister and others have shown, rabbinic sources indicate awareness of the variant readings in Lev 19:24 (see ibid., 576–81).

32. J. van Ruiten (*Primaeval History Interpreted: The Rewriting of Genesis 1–11 in the Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 66 [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 267–68) raises this and a few other objections to Kister's suggestion regarding Gen 9:20.

33. Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumran Halakhah," 585.

planted a vineyard, while Jub. 7.35–37 is a legal section in which Noah legislates for his descendants, apparently for a long time to come, as hinted in the reference to the Lord's house and altar in Jub. 7.36. To assess the situation, we should compare what the two sections say about the fruit of plants in each of the time units involved.

Jubilees 7.1–6[34]

Years 1–3	fruit untouched
Year 4	fruit picked, not eaten but kept
Year 5	owner consumes

Jubilees 7.35–37

Years 1–3	fruit untouched
Year 4	fruit picked, some offered as first fruits, priests eat some
Year 5	owner has access without previous restrictions

One problem in comparing the two is that Jub. 7.36 is far more detailed about the fourth year than Jub. 7.1, which simply mentions Noah's picking the fruit in month seven and putting it in a container. Another potential complication is that Noah is a priest (Jub. 7.3–6 describes his second sacrifice). This entails that he could have eaten some of the products of his planting in the fourth year, after making a firstfruits offering. It is clear, however, that he kept the beverage until year five, when he presented a sacrifice and also enjoyed some of the wine with his sons.

Experts in Jewish law have offered explanations for Noah's waiting until the fifth year to drink the wine. Albeck thought the author assumed only a part of the fruit was holy as firstfruits: some of this firstfruits portion was to be placed on the altar, with the rest belonging to the priests. The owner could eat the remainder of the fourth-year produce, but not until the fifth year. Thus Noah waited until the fifth year so that his children, too, could enjoy the wine.[35] Baumgarten, however, thought that in the estimation of the writer, no one was allowed to eat any of the produce in year four: "It is only in the fifth year, after the first fruit offering has

34. Unlike Jub. 7.35–37, Jub.7.1–6 contains specific dates in the year when events occurred: harvesting in the fourth year, the seventh month (Jub. 7.1); sacrificing and consuming some of the wine on the first day of year five (Jub. 7.2).

35. Albeck, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 33.

been completed, that the priest may partake of the remnants."[36] His thesis conflicts with the fact that Jub. 7.36 very likely has the priests consuming the fourth-year produce (although Noah the priest waits until year five in Jub. 7.2).

A proposal that has gained a following in studies of the narrative and halakic passages is one advanced by Kister.[37] He describes two understandings of the law regarding the fourth year planting:

(1) The Pharisaic-rabbinic approach held that the fourth year planting was enjoyed by the owner in Jerusalem. The practice was a development from a popular annual festival, when the ones who had harvested the grapes brought the wine to the sanctuary and celebrated there.[38] Later modifications transformed the practice so that the owner, in the fourth year, brought the product to Jerusalem or redeemed it with money to spend there for rejoicing. That is, it was treated like the second tithe. Kister thought the narrative in Jub. 7.1–6 was consistent with this way of reading Lev 19:23–25. That is, the fourth year produce belongs to the owner (Noah).

(2) The priestly understanding was that the product of the fourth year planting was sacred, in which case it did not belong to the owner but to the Lord. Some of it (the firstfruits, the ראשית) was offered on the altar, and the priests enjoyed the remainder, with the owner having no share in it. Kister suggested that this approach is found in Jub. 7.35–37.

Cana Werman, Aharon Shemesh, and Segal have accepted Kister's reading of the evidence, but I would like to suggest that it does not fit the text of Jubilees in either passage. [39]

The different genres and settings of the two sections account for some differences between them. The story at the beginning of Jub. 7 dates to a time only a few years after the flood, when there was just one family, not an entire nation divided into priests and nonpriests. There was also no

36. Baumgarten, "Laws of *'Orlah*," 198.

37. Kister, "Some Aspects of Qumran Halakhah," 576–86.

38. See Judg 9:27; Isa 62:8–9.

39. Cana Werman, "The Attitude towards Gentiles in the Book of Jubilees and Qumran Literature Compared with the Early Tannaic Halakha and Contemporary Pseudepigrapha" (PhD diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995), 92–98; Aharon Shemesh, "Contributions and Tithes," in *Revealing the Hidden: Exegesis and Halakha in the Qumran Scrolls* [Hebrew], by Cana Werman and Aharon Shemesh (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2011), 189–238.

sanctuary to which the fourth-year fruit could be brought, despite Lubar's being a place holy to the Lord. The account proceeds in a simple fashion, with Noah functioning as the owner of the produce. He does in fact make an offering, but not in the fourth year. He sacrifices in the fifth year on one of the holidays he had established, although the sacrifice is not identified as an offering of firstfruits. Nothing is said there about tithes or about the owner eating them in the fourth year. He and his family consume the wine in the fifth year, while the wine made in the fourth year remained untouched until the end of the fourth year. That is, it was off limits to the owner.

The laws at the end of the chapter point to the future, when there will be a division between priests and laity, as well as a sanctuary. Under those conditions, the owners will have to dedicate the first and/or best of the fourth-year produce for a sacrifice and for the use of the priests. The wording of Jub. 7.36 ("the first of the wine and oil as firstfruits") implies that one is dealing with a part of the crop only, not all of it. All of the produce of the fourth year was holy, but only a part of it found its way to the altar and the priests. The owner kept the rest, as one might expect in speaking about firstfruits, but its special, sacred character entailed that it could not be consumed until year five. Read in this way—the way Albeck proposed—Jub. 7.36 is consistent with Noah's practice in Jub. 7.1–6.

A related point belongs here as well. Segal maintains that the halakic verses 7.35–37 were added to the text of 7.20–39.[40] For this he offers three arguments: (1) Kister found a contradiction between Jub. 7.35–37 and the rewritten version of Noah's vineyard story at the beginning of the chapter (the issue considered above). (2) The conclusion of Noah's words is split into two parts: Jub. 7.34 and Jub. 7.38–39. (3) The use of "resumptive repetition" in Jub. 7.37, where several expressions (right and proper way, doing the right thing, your planting) recall ones in Jub. 7.34 (do what is just and right, be rightly planted). This last feature, he maintains, was a way in which scribes introduced secondary material into their work. He seems to realize that the third argument has little force when he admits "resumptive repetition" could also be used as a stylistic device. It was shown above that there is probably no conflict between the rewritten story about the vineyard at the beginning of Jub. 7 and the legal section in Jub. 7.35–37, so that the first argument also falls. This leaves the second argument—that the

40. Segal, *Book of Jubilees*, 156–57.

conclusion is split into two parts, between which lies the legal section. It is difficult to see a conclusion in Jub. 7.34. Here Noah resumes the subject of justice that he had treated in Jub. 7.20–25, but that does not make Jub. 7.34 a conclusion. Rather, it is a transitional verse leading to the section about planting, and the subject of planting is certainly at home in Jub. 7. As van Ruiten has observed, the three sections, Jub. 7.20c–25, 26–33, and 34–37, are unified by references to the flood at the beginning and to justice or injustice, after which acts of justice or injustice are treated.[41] There is no reason for considering Jub. 7.35–37 as anything but a well-integrated section of the larger unit.

For these reasons, then, I think that the beginning and end of Jub. 7 are consistent with each other and are both integral parts of the text. The evidence from Jub. 7 does not support the hypothesis that the rewritten stories and the legal/chronological sections come from different sources.

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41. Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History*, 296.

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Of Echoes of the Jewish Scriptures and Adaptations of Livestock Inventories in the Testament of Job

Robert A. Kugler

1. Introduction

The Testament of Job is a difficult text to locate in time and place in the ancient world. There is little in the text that allows one to easily assign it to a particular era and location; the few modern commentators who have troubled themselves with the question come to no consensus, and the few solid suggestions that have been offered differ considerably.[1] One

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This essay was written in warm anticipation of Peter Flint, the volume's honoree and my esteemed friend and colleague of many years, being able to read it, and of the conversations with him that might have followed his reading. With deep sorrow and regret I acknowledge his untimely passing, and I mourn our loss. It is with fondness and respect that I dedicate this essay to his memory. May he rest in peace.

1. For discussions of the testament's date and provenance, see John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 240–41; Bernd Schaller, *Das Testament Hiobs*, JSHRZ 3.3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1979), 311; Russell Spittler, "Testament of Job," *OTP* 1:833–34; Spittler, "The Testament of Job: A History of Research," in *Studies on the Testament of Job*, ed. Michael A. Knibb and Pieter van der Horst (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 7–32. See, more recently, Maria Haralambakis, *The Testament of Job: Text, Narrative, and Reception* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 5–25, 144–49; and William Gruen, "Seeking a Context for the Testament of Job," *JSP* 18 (2009): 163–79. Gruen provides a useful summary of the positions that developed in the relatively scant research history pertaining to the work (ibid., 164–67). One strand begins with the observation that we really only have evidence of the work from Christian tradents, and it divides quickly along two lines: those who assign the work a Christian origin, and those who eschew the question of original author(s) to focus on the work in forms that reflect adaptation to Christian movements, Montanism in particular. Another strand aligns the testament with

is tempted to say that pursuing the question of the testament's original context looks to be a fool's errand.[2]

Be that as it may, the indicators that it comes from a Jew of Egypt seem hard to deny, no matter how much skepticism one chooses to bring to the evidence.[3] And the central theme of persevering patience, as Richard Rohrbaugh and I argued it in our 2004 article on the role of women in the book, points to a context that featured challenges to status and honor, at least if we give the author credit for writing with some interest for the needs of an audience in mind. As a consequence, Rohrbaugh and I suggested that the testament may have been composed sometime early in the

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Philo's Therapeutae of the Alexandria region (*Contempl.* 64–89), citing, in particular, similarities related to prayer practices, creative hymnody, and the role of women. None of these options—or any of the other proposals reported in some of the literature cited above—are particularly persuasive. Gruen's own answer to the question of provenance, although ingenious, is also not particularly winning (Gruen, "Seeking a Context," 168–79). Arguing that Job's destruction of Satan's temple (T. Job 5.2) recalls the act of real Jewish rebels against pagan temples in the rebellion of 115–17 CE, he suggests that at least chapters 1–27, with their emphasis on perseverance and patience, were composed in the wake of the Jewish defeat. In spite of the varied pieces of evidence he cites to support the notions that Jews actually destroyed temples in the rebellion and that the text itself reflects both that act and its aftermath for the Jews of early second century Egypt, the parts do not make a convincing whole.

2. See Haralambakis, *Testament of Job*, passim, for a compelling argument in favor of directing attention toward the reception history of the work, especially through an examination of the Slavonic textual tradition and its deployment in Slavic language contexts. Although I am very sympathetic to Haralambakis's approach, both to studying the testament in a general sense and to her reception-history-oriented approach to handling the textual evidence of the testament, the task before me as a commentary author (see below) compels an abiding interest in questions of provenance and purpose.

3. A quick listing suffices: Job is described as a king of Egypt (28.7) and he is known for collecting gems (28.4–5; 32.5; see also Job 31:24 LXX), "an Egyptian royal pastime according to Theophrastus (*De lapidibus* 24.55)" (Spittler, "Testament of Job," *OTP* 1:833). The author relies on Job LXX, almost certainly a product of Egyptian Jews (see Bernd Schaller, "Das Testament Hiobs und die Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Buches Hiob," *Bib* 61 [1980]: 377–406), and the book's contents resonate well with Joseph and Aseneth and the Testament of Abraham, both works that are routinely assigned to Egypt. Gruen would add to this list his argument regarding temple destruction and the text's habit of using circumlocutions for the human heart, a practice he links to "ancient Egyptian usage" (Gruen, "Seeking a Context," 166) and, it would seem from the way he presents it, the fact that the text is translated early on into Coptic (ibid., 167), which is a reasonable point to be made in any case in favor of Egyptian provenance.

period of Roman domination over Egypt, precisely when Jews saw their status diminish significantly.[4]

I remain inclined to this view, and I am testing its cogency in the process of writing a forthcoming commentary on the Testament of Job. That process entails, as writing a commentary should, a slow, careful slog through all the critical issues associated with each passage of a given work. In this article, I offer a very small example of one dimension of what that process looks like. Appropriately, the dimension I take up here reflects one of the focuses of Peter Flint's scholarship—the use of the Hebrew Scriptures in a work of early Judaism—but it also expands that in deference to the testament's own character, which is deeply eclectic and catholic in its embrace of the ways of communicating and thinking known to us from Greco-Roman Egypt. In executing this dimension of my study of the Testament of Job, I ask what traditions and ideas, genres, and modes of discourse someone living in Greco-Roman Egypt might have recognized in encountering the work. Obviously, if answering that question turns up few results, my suspicion of an Egyptian provenance receives little confirmation, and if the opposite outcome is the case, the suspicion gains strength. In this brief contribution, I report the results of carrying out this particular procedure on T. Job 9.2–5 and 10.5, just one part of the larger text unit within which Job reports his wealth and his use of it for the sake of his neighbors prior to Satan's attack on him (chs. 9–15).[5]

2. Preliminaries: Establishing the Parameters and the Text of the Passage

The parameters of the chosen passage require some explanation. While chapters 9–15 as a whole constitute Job's explanation of his wealth and

4. Robert A. Kugler and Richard Rohrbaugh, "On Women and Honor in the Testament of Job," *JSP* 14 (2004): 43–62. While I am tempted to accept Gruen's rebuke of us for excluding the possibility of a post-117 date because we thought a search for lost status and honor in the wake of the revolt's devastation would have been unthinkable in view of the depth of the loss (Gruen, "Seeking a Context," 178), I still think the weight of the evidence is in favor of an earlier rather than later date in the Roman period, one which would still have allowed the author and the recipients a glimpse of the happier days of life under Ptolemaic rule. On the importance of memories of the Ptolemaic period for understanding the Testament of Job and the text investigated in this study, see further below.

5. I use the verse numbering provided in Robert A. Kraft, *The Testament of Job, according to the SV Text*, TTr 5, PSer 4 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974).

his use of it to serve others and to acquire for himself honor among his peers, there are clearly subunits within the larger pericope. The present passage, 9.2–5, 10.5, is the first definable subunit in the long section of text introduced by the statement in 9.1, *ἀκούσατε οὖν καὶ ὑποδείξω ὑμῖν τὰ συμβεβηκότα μοι καὶ τὰ ἀρθέντα μοι*, "Listen then and I will show you all that happened to me and the things taken from me." As I make clear below, what sets the passage apart and permits its division into two parts, with 9.6–10.4 intervening, is its close relationship to a documentary genre that would have been familiar to people living in Greco-Roman Egypt. It is quite likely that recipients in that context would have seen 9.2–5 and 10.5 as two pieces of a whole.

As for the text of the passage, first a review of the textual evidence for the testament is necessary. It consists of three Greek manuscripts, ranging in date from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries; a fragmentary Coptic translation from Greek, dated by its editors to the fourth century; and nine Slavonic manuscripts.[6] Important moments in the modern history of research on the work's text include Sebastian Brock's publication of the eleventh-century Paris (P) manuscript of the testament as a diplomatic edition in 1967, providing in addition the variants from the 1307 manuscript located in Messina, Sicily (S), and the 1195 and thirteenth-century manuscript housed in the Vatican (V).[7] In 1974, Robert Kraft and his colleagues produced from the Greek witnesses an eclectic text wherein they sought to "recreate as closely as possible the basic text ('archetype') that presumably lies behind the present forms of S and V."[8] In 2008, Gesa Schenke and Gesina Schenke Robinson published a full edition of the Coptic version,

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6. See the excellent summary and discussion of the evidence in Haralambakis, *Testament of Job*, 2–5, 29–75.

7. Sebastian Brock, *Testamentum Iobi*, PVTG 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1967). Before Brock's edition, the P text was first published by M. R. James, "The Testament of Job," in *Apocrypha Anecdota II*, ed. J. Armitage Robinson, TS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897), lxxii–cii, 104–37; and the V text was published by Angelo Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus* (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1833), 180–91. The V text was republished with translation and notes and a theory about its origin, clear from the title of the work by Kaufmann Kohler, "The Testament of Job, an Essene Midrash on the Book of Job," in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut*, ed. George Alexander Kohut (Berlin: Galvary, 1897), 263–338.

8. Kraft, *Testament of Job*, 13.

making that important evidence fully available for the first time.[9] In 2012, Maria Haralambakis introduced readers to some of the Slavonic material, which offers some text-critical insight of the traditional variety and is in any case important evidence for the rich reception history of the testament in Slavic-language contexts.[10]

While Haralambakis's work has (helpfully) complicated any quest for an early version of the testament, for examining 9.2–5 and 10.5 it suffices to use the Kraft text, updated with reference to the meager evidence of the surviving portion of the Coptic translation of chapter 9.[11] The Coptic proves useful because, as Schenke and Schenke Robinson observe in their brief comments on the Coptic translation's character, it lacks some of the expansive imagery of the later Greek texts, suggesting that its creator(s) depended on a sparer *Vorlage* for his translation of the testament, one that lacks some of the metaphors present in the P, S, and V texts.[12] On the principle that texts accrete over long periods of transmission in terms of imagistic language rather than diminish, it seems fair to treat the Coptic text as a witness to an earlier form of the Greek than the P, S, and V texts. Thus, what follows is the text and translation of 9.2–5 and 10.5 adapted from Kraft, with one adjustment stemming from the Coptic text.[13]

Text

> *9.2 εἶχον γὰρ ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα χιλιάδας προβάτων, καὶ ἀφώρισα ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν χιλιάδας ἑπτὰ καρῆναι εἰς ἔνδυσιν ὀρφανῶν καὶ χηρῶν καὶ πενήτων καὶ ἀδυνάτων.*
> *3 ἦν δέ μοι ἀγέλη κυνῶν ὀκτακόσιοι, οἱ ἐφύλασσόν μοι τὰ ποίμνια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ ἄλλους διακοσίους κύνας φυλάσσοντας τὸν οἶκον.*
> *4 εἶχον δὲ καμήλους ἐννακισχιλίους, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐποδισάμην τρισχιλίους ἐργάζεσθαι κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν, καὶ γομώσας ἀγαθῶν ἀπέστελλον εἰς τὰς*

9. Gesa Schenke and Gesina Schenke Robinson, *Das Testament des Iob*, part 1 of *Der koptische Papyruskodex 3221*, PapCol 33 (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2008).

10. See nn. 1 and 2 above.

11. See especially the two case studies, Haralambakis, *Testament of Job*, 72–75. The significant variants among the Greek witnesses of chapter 9 are largely explicable on text-critical grounds, and the minor variants are inconsequential wording differences. For examples of each type respectively, see the notes below on vv. 3 and 5.

12. Schenke and Schenke Robinson, *Testament Iob*, 18.

13. I also include in v. 4 *καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις* between *ἀπελθεῖν* and *καὶ ταῖς χηραῖς*.

πόλεις καὶ εἰς τὰς κώμας ἐντελλόμενος ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις καὶ ταῖς χηραῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς.
5 εἶχον δὲ ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδας ὄνων νομάδων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφώρισα πεντακοσίους, καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν γονὴν ἐκέλευον πιπράσκεσθαι καὶ διδόναι τοῖς πένησιν καὶ ἐπιδεομένοις.
10.5 εἶχον δὲ τρισχίλια πεντακόσια ζεύγη βοῶν, καὶ ἐξελεξάμην ἐξ αὐτῶν πεντακόσια καὶ ἔταξα εἰς τὸν ἀροτριασμὸν, ὅν δύνανται ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ πάντι ἀργῷ τῶν προσλαμβανόντων αὐτά, καὶ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἀφώριζον τοῖς πένησιν εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτῶν.

Notes

Verse 3. *εἶχον δὲ καὶ ἄλλους διακοσίους κύνας φυλάσσοντας τὸν οἶκον.* This entire clause is missing from the P text and constitutes the major difference among the Greek witnesses in this passage. Russell Spittler is probably correct in explaining it as a "characteristic error in copying," a result of "the close proximity of the two occurrences of 'guarding' in vs. 3."[14]

Verse 4. *καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις καὶ ταῖς χηραῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς.* Schenke and Schenke Robinson note that the lacuna in the Coptic manuscript allows for the addition of ⲭⲏⲣⲁ ϩⲓ ⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ, "widows and orphans," to the verse as it appears in the Greek manuscripts (frag. 7, line 22). The placement required by the remains of the Coptic, though, results in ⲭⲏⲣⲁ ϩⲓ ⲟⲣⲫⲁⲛⲟⲥ / *ταῖς χηραῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς* coming before *τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις*. For simplicity's sake, however, I have left *καὶ ταῖς χηραῖς* in place and added the Greek of the Coptic addition, *καὶ τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς*, to the end of the verse. As for the reason to accept the addition from the Coptic, as noted above, Schenke and Schenke Robinson regard the Coptic as generally leaner than the younger Greek manuscripts, so where there is a plus in the Coptic that also coheres with the surrounding material (see the reference to widows and orphans in 9.2), it is not unreasonable to accept that as an element present in an earlier Greek text of the testament than those represented by the P, S, and V texts.

Verse 5. *καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀφώρισα πεντακοσίους.* An example of the minor variations in wording among the Greek texts, P provides an altered word order for this clause, *καὶ ἀφώρισα ἐξ αὐτῶν πεντακοσίους*, and gives *πεντακοσίας* for *πεντακοσίους*.

14. Spittler, "Testament of Job," *OTP* 1:843 n. c.

Translation

9.2 For I used to have one hundred thirty thousand sheep, and I set aside seventy thousand of them to shear for the clothing of orphans and widows and poor and powerless people.

3 And I had a pack of eighty dogs guarding my flocks, and I had two hundred other dogs guarding my house.

4 And I used to have nine thousand camels, and I hobbled three thousand to work in every city, and having loaded [them] with good things I used to send them into the cities and into the villages, commanding [them] to go and give to the powerless and to those in want and to the widows and to the orphans.

5 And I used to have forty thousand free-range she-asses, and I set apart five hundred of them and commanded that their offspring be sold and given to the poor and needy.

10.5 And I used to have three thousand five hundred yoke of oxen, and I chose five hundred of them and appointed them for ploughing, which they were able to do in every field of those taking hold of them, and I set apart their fruits for the poor, for their table.

3. Echoes of the Jewish Scriptures in T. Job 9.2–5; 10.5

The echoes of the Book of Job in the brief passage treated here are obvious to most readers. Job's account of his wealth in livestock recalls the account in Job 1:3, where he is said to have possessed seven thousand sheep, three thousand camels, five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses (compare 42:10, 12, where these are doubled in the book's narrative epilogue), with the notable twist that what he designates for the various categories of needy people in the present passage matches the total of his wealth in the book of Job. As an inventory of his farm animal possessions, this account also departs from the book of Job in adding packs of dogs in 9:3, probably to set up the adaptation in T. Job 21.3 of Job's declaration in Job 30:1 that he would disdain even to set his mockers' fathers with the dogs of his flock, with the testament reporting that Job used the curse to scorn the audacity of the city's rulers in their treatment of his wife, Sitidos.[15] Commentators have also linked the references to widows

15. Schaller, *Testament Hiobs*, 333; Spittler, "Testament of Job," *OTP* 1:843. It is not possible to explain mention of the dogs by way of Hellenistic- and Roman-era animal inventories (on which, see further below). Dogs do appear in the documentary papyri in inventories of provisions for animals, but only rarely; e.g., P.Cair.Zen. 4.59710–59712 (Philadelphia [Arsinoites], 276/275 BCE).

and orphans in 9.2 (and 9.4, with the correction from the Coptic text) to Job 22:6–9, Eliphaz's speech to Job in which he accuses Job of abusing the needy, the widows, and the orphans; and to 31:16–20, where Job answers such charges by declaring that, on the contrary, he acted to aid them. And taking the Septuagint's peculiar translation of the terms אביון and דל in MT Job with ἀδύνατος into account, Bernd Schaller suggests echoes of Job 5:15, 24:4, 29:16, and 31:20 for אביון/ἀδύνατος, and 5:16, 20:19, and 31:16 for דל/ἀδύνατος.[16]

To these long-identified echoes of the book of Job in this passage, we can add several from the Torah as well. Each time Job refers to the poor, helpless, widows, and orphans, it seems likely that audiences acquainted with the Torah would also have heard echoes of the law of care for the orphan, widow, and sojourner in Exod 22:22, 24 and Deut 10:18 (or even of passages that build on that trope, like Ps 94:6, where the psalmist recalls the Torah norms to plead with God to deal with the wicked killer of widows, orphans, and sojourners). Likewise, the requirement in Lev 25:35–38 that Israelites care for their destitute (ἀδυνατέω) kin without expectation of return was surely called to mind for the Torah-conversant auditor or reader of the passage.

Yet these associations with the book of Job and the Torah do not exhaust what audiences in Greco-Roman Egypt might have heard echoed in this passage. Its expansion of the single reference in Job 1:3 to Job's riches as a rancher would have also called to mind a genre familiar from the documentary works that pervaded the daily life of people living and being taxed in Egypt under Hellenistic and Roman rulers. Let me explain.

4. A Livestock Inventory Adapted?

Inventories of livestock owned by an individual, like the one we encounter in T. Job 9.2–5 and 10.5, would have been familiar to audiences of the testament in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, but in the form of a common documentary text. Willy Clarysse and Dorothy Thompson write:

> The counting of livestock was one of the oldest established features of the Egyptian state. That the Ptolemies should continue this age-old practice comes as no surprise. In Hellenistic Egypt counting the livestock was closely connected to counting the people, for like people

16. Schaller, *Testament Hiobs*, 333.

> livestock was subject to the salt-tax, along with other taxes. Information on animals might also serve other ends—for state requisition, for instance, for ploughing, or for the transport of men, materials, or goods. The operation of counting the animals for both fiscal and other purposes was, therefore, as important to the state as that of counting the people.[17]

While Clarysse and Thompson address the Hellenistic-era evidence only, all that they say above can be applied *a fortiori* to the Roman period, when resource extraction on the part of imperial rulers became that much more intense in Egypt.

Indeed, examples of this genre from both periods are in no short supply.[18] Clarysse and Thompson assemble a great deal of the evidence for the Hellenistic period in *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (henceforth *P.Count*) and provide a thorough discussion of it in the chapter the foregoing quote introduces.[19] Beyond their collection lie still other texts testifying to the passion to count the livestock of Egypt. A particularly intriguing example from the Hellenistic period, P.Sed. 175 6.A, inventories livestock from a number of Fayum villages (Arsinoite nome, third century BCE).[20] The document is an account of livestock delivered to local police officials (policemen and chiefs of police in the villages of the area), probably for delivery in turn to troops for their sustenance. The editors acknowledge, though, that given the large number of animals listed—for example, the village of Sethronpais hands over to Thamous, son of Thamous, chief of police, ninety-six cows and twenty-five heifers (ἐν] Σεθρονπάι Θαμώυτι Θαμώυτος ἀρχιφυ(λακίτηι) βοῦς νς δαμά(λεις)

17. Willy Clarysse and Dorothy J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt*, 2 vols., CCS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2:206. Not surprisingly, the chapter is titled "Counting the Animals."

18. Notably, the mode of expressing possession and numbers of beasts in the inventory lists varies among the examples, making the genre discernible as such at the level of general content, and not at the level of regularized grammar and syntax (see, for example, the differences between reporting in P.Sed. 175 6.A and P.Oxy. 1.74, discussed below). Thus comparison of the lists and T. Job 9.2–5 and 10.5 must similarly be at the level of general content.

19. See Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People*, 2:206–25.

20. Mohamed El-Ashiry and Mohamed Kashaf, "Account of Livestock from Fayum Villages," *BCPS* 27 (2010): 5–12. This document is not available on papyri.info; for a prepublication version, see https://www.academia.edu/1753854/account_of_livestock.

ιγ; lines 6–7); and Berenikis supplies to those from Phermouthis fifty-six cows and twenty heifers (ἐν Βε]ρενικίδι τῶν ἐκ Φερμούθ[εως] βοῦς νς δαμάλεις κ; lines 36–37)—it is also possible that it is a simple accounting of local livestock for taxation purposes.[21]

The occurrence of such lists persists in the Roman period, and for the same reasons.[22] A handful of examples should suffice. The text of P.Oxy. 1.74 (Oxyrhynchus, 28 January 116 CE) is a declaration of livestock in the possession of Serapion, son of Herodos, to Apollonios, the *strategos*. The declaration makes clear the difference between the current and previous years' numbers of livestock (*τῶι διελθόντ(ι) ἔτει ἀπεγραψάμ(ην) … πρ(όβατα) δέκα ἓξ αἶγα ἕνα ἄρνας ὀκτώ, πρ(όβατα) εἴκοσι τ[έ]σσαρα αἶξ εἷς, ἐξ ὧν διεφθάρη πρ(όβατα) ἓξ ἄρνας* δύο, καταλείποντ(αι)* πρ(όβατα) δέκα ἓξ αἰξ** εἱς*, *ἃ καὶ ἀπογρά(φομαι) εἰς τὸ ἐνεστ(ὸς) ιθ (ἔτος)*; lines 8–18, with scribal grammar and spelling errors asterisked), and like those described in the rest of this paragraph, it is essentially a tax register document, submitted by Serapion in satisfaction of the annual requirement that he notify officials regarding the extent of his holdings. In language typical of Roman-era inventories, P.Corn. 15 (Theadelphia [Arsinoite], January to February 129 CE) is a declaration to *Ἡρώδῃ τῶι καὶ Τιβερίωι στρατ(ηγῶι) καὶ Ἀρχιβίωι Βασιλ(ικῶι) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) Θεμ/στου μερίδος*, "Herodes, also called Tiberius, *strategos*, and to Archibius, royal secretary of the Arsinoite, Themistes division" (lines 2–4). In the past year the declarant, Petermuouthis, had twenty ewes, two goats, and two lambs (*πρόβ(ατα) κ, αἶγ(ας) β, ἄρνας β*; line 11); and in the present year he declares (*ἀπογράφομαι*; line 12) twenty-two, four, and two of the same three types of animals. Essentially the same sort of language appears earlier in the Roman period as well. For example, there is P.Oxy. 38.2850, a declaration to an unnamed *strategos* of livestock for tax purposes from Theonis, son of Ptolemaios. Also from the early Roman period, we have P.Oxy. 2.245, a registration of cattle submitted to Chaereas, *strategos*, by Hercleus, son of Apion, and Naris, son of Colluthus the elder (20 January 26 CE). This registration is notable for the inclusion of Hercleus's and Naris's straightforward declaration in lines 21–22 that they would pay the "proper tax" on their livestock (*ταξόμεθα τὸ καθῆκον τέλος*).

21. El-Ashiry and Kashaf, "Account," 7. Interestingly, the villages also turn over cowherds, *βουκόλοι*, apparently to keep the large gatherings of animals under control.

22. For the remaining papyri cited, see the corresponding entries on papyri.info.

A word about the numbers of livestock owned by individuals recorded in these inventories is important here as a matter of comparison with the numbers reported in T. Job 9.2–5 and 10.5. When we see the evidence from some of the most well-off individuals in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, the numbers do not begin to approach those given for Job's holdings. For example, in P.Count 2:340–341, we learn from the Demotic list that a particularly prosperous cavalry cleruch named Autoboulos had 540 sheep, 170 lambs, four goats, four kids, and thirteen pigs—still a paltry collection compared to Job's tally.[23]

The evidence shows, then, that accounts of livestock for the purpose of serving the good of the state were a common genre. They were the result of standard practices of the state as it sought to satisfy its need for tax income, resources to sustain its military, and the "zoological infrastructure" required to keep the rich Egyptian economy humming. As a consequence, livestock inventories were well known not only to the people who had to execute such documents, but also to those who experienced and observed daily life in Greco-Roman Egypt. Inventorying livestock was, as it were, a fact of daily life, one that underscored the state's power to reach into and transform aspects of the private citizen's daily life with ease. Thus readers and auditors of T. Job 9.2–5 and 10.5 surely did a double take on encountering the list of Job's wealth—both because of the genre of the account and the scope of his wealth.

5. Why Might the Author of the Testament of Job Adopt and Adapt a Livestock Inventory?

It is perhaps enough to have come thus far with this brief article. As I noted at the outset, the contribution is meant only to demonstrate the results of the dimension of my larger study of the Testament of Job that asks what traditions and ideas, genres, and modes of discourse someone living in Greco-Roman Egypt might have recognized in encountering the work. I have demonstrated that bumping up against T. Job 9.2–5 and 10.5 would not only have reminded a Jewish recipient of the Septuagint of the book of Job and norms proffered by the Torah; she would have also recognized a livestock inventory, a typical documentary genre encountered often in

23. Clarysse and Thompson, *Counting the People*, 1:44–45; see also ibid., 2:213, for a chart giving the numbers for all of the cavalry cleruchs (landholders) and veterans mentioned in vol. 2 of *Counting the People*.

written form and in day-to-day discourse in Greco-Roman Egypt. The case for assigning the text to that place and time and to a Jewish audience is strengthened.

But what might the author of the text have intended with this rhetorical strategy? While any answer I offer here must be treated as speculative at best, it is an interesting question to consider, especially given my interest to test the hypothesis that the work as a whole is responding to vastly diminished opportunities Jews faced in Egypt in the transition from Ptolemaic to Roman rule, and that it wrestles with issues of honor and status in doing that.

Supposing for the moment that to be the case, one must first appreciate the place of this small passage in the testament as a whole. It is, as noted at the outset, part of the larger portion of Job's speech, chapters 9–15, which he devotes to explaining his great wealth and his disposition of it before Satan's attack. Further, those chapters are situated in the larger context of his encounter with Satan, in which he loses all of his great wealth, his children, and the dignity his wife had by virtue of her association with him, yet also defeats Satan through his patience and endurance (chs. 2–27). Read through the lens of my general hypothesis regarding the testament, Job's experience related by the larger unit takes on the general character of an allegory of Jewish experience under the onslaught of a new imperial ruler, Rome (played in the episode by Satan), whose unstoppable policies crush opportunity and advancement (see especially 4:4–5). Within that unit, then, the account of Job's wealth in chapters 9–15 might be thought of as a declaration of what life was like prior to the advent of Roman rule, when the Ptolemies held sway and the Jews were able to flourish and advance their standing in the community thanks to the economic and political opportunities the Ptolemies afforded them.[24] The adapted livestock inventory in particular would then powerfully testify to the rich opportunities life under the Ptolemies allowed Jews. They could become enormously wealthy—witness the hyperbolic difference between Job's livestock possessions and those reported in the *P.Count* texts refer-

24. On the relative prosperity of Jewish experience under Ptolemaic rule, see Joseph Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); on the privilege of the *politeuma* that they enjoyed, see James M. S. Cowey and Klaus Maresch, *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3–133/2 v. Chr.) (P.Polit.Iud.): Heidelberg, Köln, München und Wien*, PapCol 29 (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001).

enced above.[25] Moreover, they could use that wealth to fulfill in astounding ways their obligations under the Torah and acquire great honor for themselves in the bargain—witness the extravagant generosity of Job from the resources of his livestock inventory, which is in fact equal to the total of his wealth reported in the book of Job! Thus the conditions Job reports to his children that resulted from Satan having been granted control over this wealth, health, and family suggest that the advent of Roman rule (chs. 16–20) not only destroyed opportunities for advancement and wealth among the Jews of Egypt; it also tore away from them any way to acquire honor, the commodity that transcended all others in the ancient world's social imagination.

6. Conclusion

Fleshing out the broad claims about the testament as a whole that conclude the foregoing speculative exercise lie well beyond the scope of this brief tribute to the memory of my friend and colleague, Peter Flint. It is enough, I hope, to have expanded in a small way the body of evidence that supports assigning the Testament of Job a provenance in Greco-Roman Egypt and that underscores the richly evocative nature of the text in its context.

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25. The use of hyperbole is not surprising in the testament, as it is, after all, of a piece with the wider world of Hellenistic literature, a fact we often forget in the case of Jewish pseudepigrapha. On hyperbole, see Galen O. Rowe, "Style," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 128; on the argument that Jewish pseudepigrapha from this period, and from Egypt especially, should be treated more broadly as Hellenistic literature, see Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003).

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Did Josephus Know His Bible When He Wrote the *Jewish War*? Elisha at Jericho in *J.W.* 4.459–465

Steve Mason

1. Introduction

My hope of meeting Peter Flint in person has now ended with the sad news of his passing. We knew each other, however, in the ways that technology makes possible. Privileged to be given a Canada Research Chair in Toronto (York University) in 2003, at first I felt very much in the non-science minority of that program. But the next year I was greatly cheered to learn that Peter had become the Canada Research Chair for Dead Sea Scrolls at Trinity Western University. With a few other classicists, historians, and philosophers, we would try to make a place for ancient culture and religion among the sea of scientists at Canada Research Chair events. Although Peter and I had no chance to meet, living many flight-hours apart in Canada's vastness, our occasional correspondence made clear to me his admirable combination of scholarly expertise, warmth, and humility. I feel truly honored now to participate in what has become a tribute to his memory.

In research on Josephus, the question has arisen whether this indispensable Jewish author knew much of the Bible as he wrote the *Judean War* in the 70s CE as a new citizen of Rome. In 1990, Seth Schwartz argued for Josephus's ignorance of scripture in this period, before the Jerusalemite priest turned to composing the *Antiquities* (finished in 93/94 CE). Recently the case has been rejuvenated by Michael Tuval.[1] As these very different studies show, the question is not one of Josephan arcana.

1. Seth Schwartz, *Josephus and Judaean Politics*, CSCT 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 24–44; Michael Tuval, "A Jewish Priest in Rome," in *Flavius Josephus: Interpretation and History*, ed. Jack Pastor, Pnina Stern, and Menahem Mor, JSJSup 146 (Leiden:

Schwartz used Josephus's putative late interest in the Bible as a springboard for reconstructing elusive post-70 CE politics in Judaea: Josephus's allegiances shifted after he wrote *War* toward the new rabbinic movement, and in the process he developed a taste for scripture. Tuval painted *War*'s alleged biblical innocence as one side of a large canvas contrasting that temple-centered piety in *eretz-Yisrael*—visible in Josephus 1.0—with the purportedly templeless and scripture-based piety in the diaspora found in Josephus 2.0. Were the proposition that Jerusalemite priests were not biblically informed valid, one could easily imagine other consequences, for example in reflection on the nature of priestly education, or general legal literacy, or the status of Torah as effective law before 70 CE. Partly because of the wide-ranging implications, but also for the nontrivial project of understanding Josephus's works, it seems worthwhile to place the "Josephus as biblical illiterate" hypothesis under the microscope.

This, however, is not the place for a comprehensive assessment of this topic.[2] Here I propose to examine one small test case: Josephus's account of the prophet Elisha at the spring of Jericho (*J.W.* 4.459–465; cf. 2 Kgs 2:19–22). This is part of a geographical digression offering background color to Vespasian's campaign in the spring of 68 CE. Our primary goal is to understand the passage contextually, as part of the work in which it stands. As a by-product of that study, we may hope to make tangible progress with the question of the author's biblical knowledge.

Schwartz's analysis of our passage is brief and clear enough to be quoted whole as a beginning point of reference:

> In BJ 4.460–4—the story of Elisha's purification of the spring of Jericho in Josephus' description of the Dead Sea region—Josephus gives an accurate account of the essential action in the miracle story of 2 Kings, but has turned the story into a display of *arete* ('virtue'—i.e., magical power) by a hellenistic *goes* (magician). First Josephus writes up the damage formerly caused by the spring—it blighted the whole country-

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Brill, 2011), 397–411; Tuval, *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew: On Josephus and the Paradigms of Ancient Judaism*, WUNT 2/357 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

2. I have challenged aspects of the use of Josephus's narratives in support of these arguments in Steve Mason, "Speech-Making in Ancient Rhetoric, Josephus, and Acts: Messages and Playfulness, Part I," *EC* 2 (2011): 445–67; Mason, "Speech-Making in Ancient Rhetoric, Josephus, and Acts: Messages and Playfulness, Part II," *EC* 3 (2012): 147–71; Mason, "The Priest Josephus Away from the Temple: A Changed Man?," *RevQ* 103 (2014), 375–402.

> side—then he introduces the hero, "a certain Elisha, a prophet," and gives him an appropriate motive: the men of Jericho (not, as in 2 Kgs 2.15, the "sons of the prophets," i.e., the prophetic guild, there) received him as a guest and treated him kindly, so he rewarded their kindness by a lasting favor. Then comes the one element closely paralleled: he threw salt in the spring. But 2 Kgs' simple prophetic command ("So says the Lord, 'I have healed' ") is replaced by gesticulations, libations, prayers to the earth (!) to sweeten the waters, and to heaven (!) to give fertility. As a result of these operations the water gains supernatural powers (in 2 Kgs it simply becomes drinkable) and was used for irrigation. All this is probably not Josephan: where else in BJ, or even in AJ, does he so hellenize his biblical material? Perhaps it is the beginning of what follows in BJ—an excerpt from a travel book on the curiosities of the lower Jordan valley and Dead Sea region.[3]

Confident that Josephus used a "guidebook" for the rest of this digression, Schwartz favors tracing our passage to that source. A footnote adds curiously that *its* author (not Josephus) must have known the Bible, for he glosses the Bible's note that the water's quality has endured "until this day" with the remark that that the beneficial water would not fail Jericho's residents as long *as they remained just/righteous*. Schwartz takes this to refer to "the destruction of the city during the War," appearing to suggest that the putative travel guide appeared between the war's conclusion (70) and Josephus's time of composition (mid-70s).[4]

Schwartz's impressions of the passage may be grouped under three propositions: (1) that it has little in common with the biblical story—the sole significant element in common being Elisha's tossing salt into the spring; (2) that Josephus's account is replete with extraordinary hellenizations; and (3) that, since these are too extreme to posit of the priestly historian, the passage is probably not Josephan. That is, not only did Josephus lack biblical knowledge, but this ignorance also allowed him to include peculiar travel-guide material at odds with scripture. These propositions provide an outline for the following investigation. Does the episode show such little awareness of the biblical story, and hellenize it in such strange ways? Has Josephus borrowed it from an unknown writer? I preface these three questions with some basic contextual considerations.

3. Schwartz, *Josephus*, 33.
4. Ibid., 33 n. 37.

2. Context

No one doubts that *War* contains few references to the Bible or to Judea's ancient past—the material that will dominate *Ant.* 1–13 and *Against Apion*. But that situation appears to reflect Josephus's design rather than ignorance. It is not that he needed to write something, anything, and, being yet unaware of the Bible, he decided that the war might be an interesting topic. *War*'s introduction claims that he chose to write about the war in Judea as a matter of some urgency. Disparaging accounts of the Judeans, furthering the humiliation trumpeted by Flavian propaganda and designed to flatter the conquerors, were circulating and winning trust. Since those Greek and Roman authors were writing from some combination of ignorance and animus, Josephus declares, he had to enter the fray, as a man of noble ancestry and character who was uniquely knowledgeable about the scenes, players, and events on both sides, which he witnessed (*J.W.* 1.1–16).

Having committed himself to writing a monograph on the war, Josephus could not avoid the eternal problem of the optimal starting point.[5] Classical-Hellenistic historiography offered precedent for including aspects of the distant past, which provided the opportunity to explore deeper causes that would not be obvious from recent events alone, as for example in Herodotus. In *J.W.* 1.17 Josephus claims that he contemplated including the Judeans' ancient past, to probe the nation's original character through such formative experiences as the exodus and their subsequent military conquests and losses—the very topics he will eventually take up in *Antiquities* (e.g., *Ant.* 1.6). Deciding, however, that a war monograph was not the place for these explorations, and that others had covered that material tolerably well, he opted to begin where existing coverage was weak.

We may doubt that this reflection amounts to a full disclosure of Josephus's motives, or that he meant his work as the kind of direct continuation of others' work that Xenophon provided after Thucydides, but he was under no obligation to make a true confession.[6] He needed only a thoughtful-seeming rationale for a beginning so that he could commence

5. On contested starting points, see Thucydides, *P.W.* 1.23.3–6; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thuc.* 10; and Polybius, *Hist.* 1.5.1–3, 3.1.1–3, and 4.2.1–2.

6. Xenophon: "After these things [related by Thucydides to 411 BCE], not many days later …" (*Hell.* 1.1).

his enterprise. Conveniently, though, his chosen starting point coincides with the earliest encounters between Judea and Rome in the early second century BCE. His highlighting of these contacts (e.g., *J.W.* 1.19, 38, 48) lends the monograph a sense of shape. Though focused on the war's immediate triggers (book 2) and course (books 3–6), *War* delivers a full account of Judean-Roman interactions from their foundations through to the aftermath of Jerusalem's fall (book 7). The structural device of large-scale ring composition, with matching panels at each step moving toward and away from the center, in the middle of book 4,[7] gives substance to Josephus's observation in *Ant*. 1.7 that he limited *War*'s compass in order to create proportionate opening and closing sections.

Josephus's assumption that he was *capable* at any time of treating Judea's ancient past becomes explicit at *J.W.* 5.237. In a digression on the Jerusalem temple and priestly service, in the context of Titus' siege (70 CE), he points out that much remains to be said about the relevant "customs and laws," which he cannot include here; he will return to that as a separate subject at another time. Again, this agrees with the reflection in *Ant.* 1.6–7, noted above, that he had considered including the ancient history in *War* but preferred to leave the work balanced in relation to its own subject. Writing *War* offered no real opportunity to explore the peerless Judean constitution and the nation's ancient history, the twenty-two-volume record of which had been finished half a millennium before his current subject (*Ag. Ap.* 1.40). I am not suggesting that because Josephus declares his ability to explore any part of the Bible in *War*, we must believe that he had such an ability. I am pointing out the elementary but often overlooked point that this *is* his narrative posture, which requires a plausible explanation. Why would he say such things in these passages, since they are incidental to *War*'s purpose and need not have crossed his mind at all, if he had never given much thought to the Bible?

Josephus's earliest work, we should all agree then, is not *about* interpreting scripture. The point may seem trite, but we need to avoid the sort of mechanical thinking that would treat all ancient survivals as the same *kind of thing*, equally revealing of underlying realities: if a work makes little use of scripture, the author could not have known or been interested

7. To take only the most obvious outer ring: three sentences into the narrative, *J.W.* 1.33 ends with a promise to discuss more fully the temple of Onias in Egypt, which is treated near the very end of the composition, in *J.W.* 7.421–431.

in it.[8] Sources are not self-interpreting. They only *become* evidence in relation to an investigation, driven by a question, and interpreting evidence requires careful attention to context.

War presents Josephus to his Roman audience, then, as a Judean priest and national spokesman, expert in his people's ancient texts and folklore (*J.W.* 1.3, 26; 2.417; 3.352; 5.419), and capable of elaborating any of this as needed. However, his contemporary subject requires him to be content with echoes and allusions to the older material.[9]

Of the few explicit biblical references in *War*, most occur in just one of its half-dozen display speeches. The speech is delivered by his own character, at the general Titus's order, to the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem, in their own language. Titus alternates between carrots and sticks in his effort to effect a rapid, low-risk surrender, and Josephus is required to produce this particular carrot (*J.W.* 5.360–361). His own parents, wife, and family reportedly remain in the besieged city, and in the text this adds emotion to his appeal (*J.W.* 5.419, 533). He actually makes two speeches with starkly different tones. Only when his preferred—brief, masculine, straightforward—appeal to realism fails to move his audience does he resort to hard-core rhetoric. For this purpose he summons ancient historical examples in an argumentative tour de force: "When he could not persuade them with straightforward admonitions, he changed course to [expound] their shared national stories" (ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμοφύλους μετέβαινεν ἱστορίας; *J.W.* 5.375). A similar problem will confront Eleazar of Masada. When his direct masculine appeal fails, he will have to argue via Indian philosophy that life in general is futile and should be ended forthwith (*J.W.* 7.320–389). Unpromising theses in both cases are propounded successfully (*J.W.* 5.420–422), with the reluctant display of a skill demanded by the situation.

Josephus's introductory language implies that his oration was a desperate exercise in persuasion by all available means. Sincere thoughts are

8. So Tuval: "However, if anyone checks how much Bible *he really knew* in War, and *compare* [*sic*] *it to* Antiquities…" ("Jewish Priest," 407, my emphasis).

9. See Steve Mason, "Josephus, Daniel, and the Flavian House," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith*, ed. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers, SPB 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 161–91; Paul Spilsbury, "Flavius Josephus on the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire," *JTS* 54 (2003): 1–24; and Tucker S. Ferda, "Jeremiah 7 and Flavius Josephus on the First Jewish War," *JSJ* 44 (2013): 158–73.

irrelevant to such overwrought popular appeals. In his case he takes up the amazingly bold thesis, at odds with his own glowing treatment of the Hasmoneans in the work's opening section, that Judeans never achieved anything by arms—indeed, they consistently failed when they used weapons (*J.W.* 5.376, 386, 390). This oratory would not seem promising material for doubting the author's knowledge of the biblical stories involved. The exercise assumes rather his (and his character's) expert ability to manipulate familiar stories in ways that no one would have previously understood. Yet the glaring departures from scripture have seemed crucial evidence to scholars that Josephus did not know the Bible.[10]

Our passage in book 4 has the advantage of not being part of such oratorical fireworks. This does not mean that it lacks rhetorical constraints, of the sort that governed all ancient communication. But it appears in a context very different from the speechifying of book 5. Here we meet the ostensibly authoritative voice of a narrator attempting to put his *literary audience* in the picture, by imparting to them privileged information available only from him, their trusted guide, concerning the environment of his exotic homeland.

The narrative setting of this geographical digression is in what we would call the late spring of 68 CE. Tightening the noose around the fortified Judean capital, Vespasian camps his Fifth Legion Macedonica in Emmaus, to the west of Jerusalem, before proceeding northward via Samaria to Jericho, in the east (*J.W.* 4.443–450). Josephus pauses his account of this encirclement (*J.W.* 4.486) to display his expert local knowledge—the foundation of his claim to authority (*J.W.* 1.1–8)—with a digression on the favorable situation of the Jordan Valley (*J.W.* 4.451–458), the oasis of Jericho (*J.W.* 4.459–475), and the remarkable properties of Lake Asphaltitis

10. For Schwartz's discussion, see Schwartz, *Josephus*, 28–32. Schwartz's explanation of Josephus's use of traditional material, namely that "Josephus is probably responding to charges that he was unconcerned with Jewish tradition" (ibid., 28) puzzles me, given that no such charges are known. *War* is a proudly and vehemently *Judean* account of the war, over against foreign slander (*J.W.* 1.1–8). The use of biblical and other canonical examples by Josephus's character makes good rhetorical sense. Having failed with his preferred straight talk, Josephus must address compatriots who cling to Jerusalem's walls from some notion of piety and hope for divine protection. His ad hoc reworking of the tradition seeks to undermine that view and hope. It reveals nothing specific about the author's knowledge, though it does suggest that both author and character had such complete command of Judean cultural material that they could turn it to whatever case needed making.

(or Dead Sea; *J.W.* 4.476–485). His audience might well have heard rumors about both the Dead Sea's amazing combination of lethal properties and nearby exotic plants, but only he can give them reliable knowledge.[11]

War has already mentioned this area a number of times. One of the earliest passages (*J.W.* 1.138) identifies it as Judea's most fertile region, on account of its abundant palm and balsam trees. Our knowing author even describes the precise technique for extracting the prized juice from the exotic balsams, which had been exhibited in the Flavian triumph (Pliny, *Nat*. 12.111–113). As part of the same continuing narrative, *J.W.* 1.361 laments Marc Antony's transfer of Jericho's prized palms and balsams to the hated Cleopatra. Similarly, *Antiquities*' first mention of Jericho will express admiration for its fertility, palms, and balsams (*Ant*. 4.100; see also 4.325, 5.77). Given Josephus's fascination with the region, its fame with his audience, and the earlier references in *War*, it is hardly surprising that he would seize the opportunity, as he narrates Vespasian's advance, for a fuller geographical digression.

3. Josephus versus the Bible?

Our interest is in the Jericho section of this digression, which Josephus enlivens with the biblical story of a feat accomplished by Elisha that changed the nature of the region. To reach a fair assessment of this passage, we should perhaps begin with the biblical account. That typically spare story is set centuries after Canaan's conquest (late ninth century BCE by modern reckoning). The hairy, belt-wearing prophet Elijah the Tishbite dominates the narrative from 1 Kgs 17 through 2 Kgs 2. Already in 1 Kgs 19, Elijah follows the divine instruction to name Elisha son of Shaphat his prophetic successor, symbolically throws his cloak over him, and makes him his aide (1 Kgs 19:16–21). Although the reader assumes Elisha's presence with Elijah from that point onward, he does not become visible again until the older man's final hours, when they cross the Jordan River together. This day-trip is possible only because Elijah's mantle has special powers: when he touches the fast-flowing water with this piece of clothing, a dry path opens for them to cross (2 Kgs 2:8). Before Elijah is caught up into heaven, from a spot in Transjordan, Elisha manages to secure his grant of a "double share" (MT: פִּי־שְׁנַיִם; OG: διπλᾶ) of his potent spirit (2 Kgs

11. See, for example, Strabo, *Geogr*. 16.2.41–44.

2:9), provided that Elisha observes his ascension to heaven, a condition he makes certain that he fulfils, never dropping his gaze. Equipped thereafter with Elijah's discarded mantle, Elisha is himself able to tap the water at will, for a dry crossing. This puts him back on the west side, in Jericho.

Elisha's new potency fairly radiates from him. It is visible even at a distance to the "sons of the prophets" resident in Jericho, though they assume that Elijah still walks the earth (2 Kgs 2:15). His new power is the rationale for our episode, which is his first opportunity for display:

> 19 The people of the city said to Elisha, "Please look: though the setting of the city is good, as my lord sees, the water is bad and the land causes bereavement [from lost children]." 20 So he said, "Bring me a new bowl and put salt there [in it]." They brought it to him. 21 He went out to the source of the water and threw the salt there, and he said "So says the Lord, 'I have healed this water; no longer will death and bereavement come from it.'" 22 And the water has been healed until this day, in keeping with the word that Elisha spoke.[12]

> 19 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אַנְשֵׁי הָעִיר אֶל־אֱלִישָׁע הִנֵּה־נָא מוֹשַׁב הָעִיר טוֹב כַּאֲשֶׁר אֲדֹנִי
> רֹאֶה וְהַמַּיִם רָעִים וְהָאָרֶץ מְשַׁכָּלֶת 20 וַיֹּאמֶר קְחוּ־לִי צְלֹחִית חֲדָשָׁה וְשִׂימוּ
> שָׁם מֶלַח וַיִּקְחוּ אֵלָיו 21 וַיֵּצֵא אֶל־מוֹצָא הַמַּיִם וַיַּשְׁלֶךְ־שָׁם מֶלַח וַיֹּאמֶר כֹּה־אָ
> מַר יְהוָה רִפִּאתִי לַמַּיִם הָאֵלֶּה לֹא־יִהְיֶה מִשָּׁם עוֹד מָוֶת וּמְשַׁכָּלֶת 22 וַיֵּרָפוּ
> הַמַּיִם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה כִּדְבַר אֱלִישָׁע אֲשֶׁר דִּבֵּר

This compact story is ripe for creative interpretation. Why would the water and land be so baleful? Why specify a new bowl and salts? Does Elisha have any motive for assisting the people of Jericho? Is there any doubt that he could have done so if he wished—or what would be the point of receiving Elijah's amplified spirit? Does his power operate automatically at his discretion and command, as the mantle apparently does? However one answers those questions, the people of Jericho apparently put their requests to him, in 2 Kings, because they assume that he is in a unique position to use his newfound doubled Elijah-power to help them.

The Greek translation of 2 Kings usually renders Hebrew idioms with a wooden, phrase-for-phrase literalism, yet a degree of interpretation is evident in the treatment of 2 Kgs 2:19–22:

12. All translations are mine unless indicated otherwise.

19 The men of the *polis* said to Elisha, “Look, the living situation of the *polis* is fine, as the Lord (?) sees, but the water is rotten and the land makes people childless.” 20 Elisha said, “Bring me a new water container and put salt there.” They brought it to him, 21 and Elisha went out to the spring of the waters and there threw the salt down and said, “So says the Lord: ‘I have healed these waters; death and childlessness will no longer come from them.’” 22 And the waters were healed—until this very day—according to Elisha’s utterance, which he spoke.

19 Καὶ εἶπον οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς πόλεως πρὸς Ελισαιε Ἰδοὺ ἡ κατοίκησις τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθή, καθὼς ὁ κύριος βλέπει, καὶ τὰ ὕδατα πονηρὰ καὶ ἡ γῆ ἀτεκνουμένη. 20 καὶ εἶπεν Ελισαιε Λάβετέ μοι ὑδρίσκην καινὴν καὶ θέτε ἐκεῖ ἅλα· καὶ ἔλαβον πρὸς αὐτόν. 21 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ελισαιε εἰς τὴν διέξοδον τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐκεῖ ἅλα καὶ εἶπεν Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἴαμαι τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι ἐκεῖθεν θάνατος καὶ ἀτεκνουμένη. 22 καὶ ἰάθησαν τὰ ὕδατα ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Ελισαιε, ὃ ἐλάλησεν.

The larger vocabulary of Greek required choices, to be sure, and this invited refinements in spite of the translators’ conservatism. Hence the water is not merely “bad” (some Greek options might have suggested moral failure or lack of beauty): it is miserable, pernicious, or rotten. The possibly more generic Hebrew עִיר (“city, town, settlement”) becomes a πόλις—undoubtedly the best general rendering. A Hebrew “bowl” (צְלֹחִית) becomes more specifically a “water vessel” (ὑδρίσκη). Yet the translators use just one Greek word, κύριος, for two distinct Hebrew terms, thus creating possible ambiguity about who should observe Jericho’s favorable situation: Elisha the human dignitary or the Lord God.

In later Jewish tradition the story was mined for its moralizing potential. Haggadists emphasized the closeness of Elisha and Elijah, for example, such that when the angel first descended to take Elijah, he had to postpone the mission because he found the pair deeply engrossed in conversation.[13] Some rabbis and Christian authors were apparently uneasy with the magical possibilities of the biblical story and assumed that Elisha must have prayed to God before the stunning transformation

13. For this and other creative treatments of this episode in rabbinic literature, Louis Ginzberg, *Bible Times and Characters from Joshua to Esther*, vol. 4 of *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1913), 239–40, with documentation and notes in Ginzberg, *Legends of the Bible* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1956), 602–3.

of the spring water. They even mentioned Elisha's presumed petition as a model of prayers impressively answered by God with conspicuous healing effects.[14]

This brings us to Josephus, whose freedom as an author is perhaps on fullest display in *Antiquities*, where his declared purpose is to present biblical law and narrative in accessible Greek—and no one doubts that he knows the Bible (*Ant.* 1.5–26). *Antiquities* follows the biblical story of Elijah and Elisha closely in many respects. It describes Elisha's early designation as Elijah's successor, Elijah's covering him with the cloak, and his leaving home to become Elijah's "student and attendant" (*Ant.* 8.352–354). Even though Josephus makes a point of saying that he will relate Elisha's feats, however, because they are "illustrious and worthy of historical treatment" (9.46), he omits our episode concerning Elisha at Jericho. One could imagine many reasons for this, including the simple one that this is one of the few biblical episodes he has already retold in *War*. However, he makes countless omissions of a similar kind, whenever his literary structures and themes call for it. It is clear throughout *Antiquities* that he controls his narrative, crafting it at a given time and place, for particular purposes. He plainly feels no responsibility simply to mediate his sources without regard for his audience and the requirements of intelligible, coherent communication.[15]

Even more conspicuous than Josephus's omissions in *Antiquities* are his constant alterations of biblical language and generous additions to the Bible to suit his themes and structures. We need only think of Abraham's philosophical enlightenment, Joseph's virtuous encounter with Potiphar's wife, Moses's enhanced birth, youth, exploits as a general in Egypt, and Romulus-like death, or Solomon's Aristotelian researches, authorship of thousands of books, and cures for demons, to remind ourselves of the scale of Josephus's inventiveness—even if much of this incorporated oral traditions known to him, which is antecedently plausible.[16] "Hellenization" is a problematic term, if we take it to suggest pure, non-Hellenic source material consciously rendered in a different, Greek form, but it has utility for

14. For this interpretation, see both b. Ber. 55b and Apos. Con. 7.37.

15. The most comprehensive studies to date are Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*, HCS 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); and Feldman, *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible*, JSJSup 59 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

16. For these examples, see *Ant.* 1.154–157; 2.39–59, 205–253; 4.323–331; and 8.42–49.

the obvious effort at intercultural communication that we find throughout Josephus's biblical account.[17]

How, then, does *War*'s account of Elisha at Jericho relate to the biblical story, to Josephus's ways of elaborating the Bible in *Antiquities*, and to other creative reworkings, such as we have canvassed? What does it suggest about Josephus's level of biblical literacy? With these questions in view, it is necessary quote his passage in full:

> 4.459 Beside Jericho, however, is a spring that is both abundant and luxuriant for irrigation, in the area of the ancient city that grew up there, which Joshua [Jesus] the son of Nun, a general of the Hebrews, took by the spear—the first in the land of the Cananaeans. 460 Word has it that originally this spring hampered not only the fruits of the earth and trees, but also the offspring of women, as it was thoroughly sickening and destructive to all, but it was reclaimed for human use and made the opposite of what it had been—now wholesome and most productive—by Elisha the prophet. This man was a close acquaintance and also successor to Elijah. 461 Having been welcomed as a stranger by those in Jericho, and because the people treated him with exceptional kindness, he repaid both them and their country with an everlasting favor.
> 462 He went out to the spring and threw down into the current a clay jar full of salts. Then he extended his just right hand to heaven and, pouring out soothing libations on the earth, enjoined her to soften the stream, and to open up sweeter veins; him [heaven] to mix into the stream more productive airs 463 and to give the locals abundance of produce together with a succession of children—that the water productive of these goods might never fail them, as long as they should remain just. 464 Adding to these prayers all kinds of expert manual effort, he changed the spring and made the water that had formerly brought them orphanhood and famine become the chorus-producer of large families and plenty. 465 Consequently, it has such a power in irrigation that, if it once touches the countryside, it gives a higher yield than those [floodwaters] that produce plenty by remaining long [in the soil].

> 4.459 Παρὰ μέντοι τὴν Ἱεριχοῦν ἐστι πηγὴ δαψιλής τε καὶ πρὸς ἀρδείας λιπαρωτάτη παρὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀναβλύζουσα πόλιν, ἣν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναυῆ παῖς στρατηγὸς Ἑβραίων πρώτην εἷλε γῆς Χαναναίων δορίκτητον. 460 ταύτην τὴν πηγὴν λόγος ἔχει κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ μόνον γῆς καὶ δένδρων καρποὺς ἀπαμβλύνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν γονάς, καθόλου τε πᾶσιν εἶναι νοσώδη τε

17. See the works by Feldman cited above, n. 15.

καὶ φθαρτικήν, ἐξημερωθῆναι δὲ καὶ γενέσθαι τοὐναντίον ὑγιεινοτάτην τε καὶ γονιμωτάτην ὑπὸ Ἐλισσαίου τοῦ προφήτου· γνώριμος δ᾽ ἦν οὗτος Ἠλία καὶ διάδοχος· 461 *ὃς ἐπιξενωθεὶς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἱεριχοῦν, περισσὸν δή τι φιλοφρονησαμένων αὐτὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων αὐτούς τε ἀμείβεται καὶ τὴν χώραν αἰωνίῳ χάριτι.*
462 *προελθὼν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν καὶ καταβαλὼν εἰς τὸ ῥεῦμα πλῆρες ἁλῶν ἀγγεῖον κεράμου, ἔπειτα εἰς οὐρανὸν δεξιὰν ἀνατείνας δικαίαν κἀπὶ γῆς σπονδὰς μειλικτηρίους χεόμενος, τὴν μὲν ᾐτεῖτο μαλάξαι τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ γλυκυτέρας φλέβας ἀνοῖξαι,* 463 *τὸν δὲ ἐγκεράσασθαι τῷ ῥεύματι γονιμωτέρους* [*τε*] *ἀέρας δοῦναί τε ἅμα καὶ καρπῶν εὐθηνίαν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις καὶ τέκνων διαδοχήν, μηδ᾽ ἐπιλιπεῖν αὐτοῖς τὸ τούτων γεννητικὸν ὕδωρ, ἕως μένουσι δίκαιοι.* 464 *ταύταις ταῖς εὐχαῖς πολλὰ προσχειρουργήσας ἐξ ἐπιστήμης ἔτρεψε τὴν πηγήν, καὶ τὸ πρὶν ὀρφανίας αὐτοῖς καὶ λιμοῦ παραίτιον ὕδωρ ἔκτοτε εὐτεκνίας καὶ κόρου χορηγὸν κατέστη.* 465 *τοσαύτην γοῦν ἐν ταῖς ἀρδείαις ἔχει δύναμιν ὡς, εἰ καὶ μόνον ἐφάψαιτο τῆς χώρας, νοστιμώτερον εἶναι τῶν μέχρι κόρου χρονιζόντων.*

This passage includes at least seven clear signs that Josephus knew the biblical story:

(1) Josephus knows that bountiful Jericho was the first city conquered by Joshua. This is a decisive event for Israel's history, in Josh 1–6 as also in the paraphrase in *Ant*. 5.1–34.

(2) He knows that Jericho had been a city of the Cananaeans, a term Josephus uses for the Canaanite inhabitants of the land west of the Jordan.[18] *War* has this word only three times: here and in a passage describing two previous masters of Jerusalem (*J.W.* 6.438–439): Melchizedek, the Canaanite king and high priest; and King David, who took the city from Canaanites. Of the sixty-three occurrences of the term "Canaanite" (כְּנַעֲנִי) in the Hebrew Bible, fifty-seven are found in the books from Genesis to Judges, and all refer to the land's original inhabitants. *War*'s Elisha passage agrees with the rest of Josephus's corpus in reflecting, indeed requiring, biblical knowledge of the kind displayed in *Antiquities*.

(3) Josephus likewise uses the term "Hebrew(s)" in a knowing, one might say biblical, way. The Bible's thirty-five uses of the term עִבְרִי (or twenty-seven occurrences of the term Ἑβραῖος in the Septuagint) refer to the ancient Israelites. Josephus's usage agrees, much more conspicuously, because he uses the term nearly ten times as often. The instance cited above (*J.W.* 4.459) is the first of 303 occurrences in his corpus, and

18. The term is used a total of seventy-two times in *Ant.* 1–9.

almost all of them occur in the biblical paraphrase of *Ant.* 1–11. Outside of that major section, the same usage occurs in additional references to the Judeans' ancient forebears (e.g., *J.W.* 5.160, 381, 388, 443). Much the same may be said of the honorific "Elisha *the prophet*," as we shall see below.

(4) Josephus knows that Jericho's conqueror, whom he styles the "general of the Hebrews," was Joshua son of Nun (the patronym is spelled variously in Greek, even in *Antiquities*). This detail is not necessary for his Elisha story. It is Josephus who intelligently links the two very different biblical stories concerning Jericho. This accurate conjunction requires a basic level of biblical knowledge.

(5) That he is not merely recounting a stray story that he or a guidebook author had heard about some wonder-worker named Elisha is clear because he knows and stresses Elisha's unique association, even his "acquaintance" (*γνώριμος*; *J.W.* 4.460) with Elijah, even though his audience might have had no clue of the other man's significance.[19] The connection is crucial to biblical Elisha's identity, however, and so it is noteworthy that Josephus thinks it important to mention, even in such a brief episode about Elisha alone. He is showing off his knowledge of the biblical back story.

(6) The Bible emphasizes, as we have also seen, that Elisha's status arose from his early identification as Elijah's "successor" (*διάδοχος*; *J.W.* 4.460). This is another detail extraneous to the Jericho story itself but knowingly captured by Josephus. This is the mot juste, because it efficiently reflects the biblical phrases as well as his programmatic interest in the royal, high-priestly, and prophetic successions from Judea's ancient past.[20]

(7) Finally, we cannot neglect *War*'s telling notice—recognized by Schwartz but assigned by him to an imagined guidebook author—about the durability into perpetuity of the spring's transformation. The biblical author simply notes that it has endured to his day (i.e., the spring still does its work), whereas Josephus injects a typical moralizing tone in saying that it would endure as long as the people remained just. There is no suggestion in Josephus (*pace* Schwartz) that this condition has failed or that the spring no longer functions because of the war. It is a simple moral condition, which anticipates *Antiquities*.

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19. So Schwartz: "he introduces the hero, 'a certain Elisha, a prophet'" (*Josephus*, 33).

20. The language is applied to kings (*Ant.* 8.197; 10.25, 274; 20.26), high priests (*Ant.* 20.224, 261), and prophets (*Ag. Ap.* 1.41).

These seven clear and significant points, when joined with what Schwartz concedes is Josephus's basic agreement with the Bible on the main event of the spring's transformation by the prophet's application of salt, preclude the possibility that the author did not know the Bible. He plainly knew at least the main post-Mosaic story of the nation's life in Canaan, the time of the Hebrew ancestors and prophets. Such knowledge enabled him to include details not needed for the Elisha story. These details, which would presumably have been eroded by constant oral retelling of a free-standing pericope about Elisha alone, were supplied by an intelligent and literate author attempting to convey his knowledge of biblical narrative, in keeping with his own literary interests.

4. Hellenistic Hero Rather than Biblical Prophet?

So far we have considered indicators, unnoticed or marginalized by Schwartz, that require Josephus's biblical knowledge outside of 2 Kgs 2:19–22. We turn now to Schwartz's impression that Josephus, or his source, has recast a biblical miracle story as the feat of a Hellenistic-style *magician* (γόης) displaying his *raw power* (ἀρετή), and also *praying* and sacrificing *to the earth* and sky in a most unprophetic manner. Schwartz connects other alleged variations from the biblical account with these motives.

First, Schwartz's readers might infer from his summary that his key descriptive terms (i.e., γόης, ἀρετή, hero, prayers to the earth) are from Josephus. So we must begin by clarifying that this is not the case. No cognate of γόης appears, for example, anywhere near the Elisha story. This is a word group that *War* uses for political disturbers.[21] It would be out of place in *War* as a description of a prophet and so makes no appearance here. Likewise, ἀρετή is absent here, though Josephus employs the term nearly three hundred times elsewhere, often with the sense of moral excellence, not magical power. So it would be most unsuited to Elisha even if Josephus had wished to portray him as a magician. But he does not and the word is not present. Nor is there any mention of heroes. The language that Schwartz finds so alien to biblical conceptions comes from Schwartz, not Josephus.

Second, the "gesticulations, libations, prayers to the earth (!) to sweeten the waters, and to heaven (!) to give fertility"[22] that Schwartz considers red-

21. *J.W.* 1.224; 2.261, 264, 565, 4.85; 5.317.
22. Schwartz, *Josephus*, 33.

olent of hellenized magicians rather than biblical prophets likewise do not appear in this clear way. Is Elisha's "extending his righteous/just right hand to heaven" a magician's gesticulation? In fact, it is a standard gesture of pious petition in the Bible, as in Josephus.[23] Does this extension of a righteous or just hand to heaven not signal the prophet's moral qualification for making the appeal—assuming the same piety-and-justice criterion for divine favor that Josephus will thematize in *Antiquities*?[24] As for the "libation" (*σπονδή*) referenced in *J.W.* 4.462, the corresponding Hebrew term, נֶסֶךְ, is a common biblical form of sacrifice poured out below the offerer, usually but not always on an altar (e.g., Gen 35:14).

Josephus does not exactly say that Elisha *prayed to* the earth and sky. Rather, he describes Elisha's address to the earth and sky with the middle voice of *αἰτέω*. Is there any prospect in this story that Elisha, after ordering up the clay vessel and salt, is merely "asking" heaven and earth for a favor—unsure whether his detailed instructions will be honored? Since he gives his detailed instructions with the confidence of a prophet, the verb seems to have the sense of enjoining, or conveying his demands. Josephus retrospectively refers to the prophet's directions/demands with εὐχή, a word normally translated as "prayers" in Jewish and Christian contexts, where wishes addressed to an omnipotent deity are in effect prayers. The term itself, however, does not require that sense of petition. In other contexts it means only *wishes* or *aspirations*; that is, things hoped for.[25] That sense is recommended here because Josephus uses this word after the instructions to earth and sky, explaining that Elisha went on to make these wishes/demands a reality with all manner of expert manual operations (*πολλὰ προσχειρουργήσας ἐξ ἐπιστήμης*), not further clarified (*J.W.* 4.464).

Such instructions to earth and sky are not traditionally Jewish, admittedly, though there are parallels in Jesus's "rebuke" of the wind and address to the sea (Mark 4:39). Later rabbinic tradition reflects unease over a character such as Honi the circle-drawer, who seemed to be able to direct

23. 1 Kgs 8:22, 54; 2 Chr 6:13; Neh 9:27–28; Lam 3:41. See also 2 Macc 14:34; 15:21; 3 Macc 5:25, 4 Macc 4:11; and *Ant*. 11.143.

24. See *Ant*. 1.14, 20, 183; 2.28; 3.190; 4.180; 8.49; 13.299–300. For a representative sample of texts positioning piety and justice/righteousness as the virtues required for divine favor, see *Ant*. 1.21; 6.160, 265; 7.338, 341, 356, 374, 384; 8.121, 208, 300, 314, 394; 9.16, 236, 260; 10.50; 12.43.

25. LSJ, s.v. "εὐχή."

nature with divine acquiescence—in the way of Elijah and Elisha.[26] In Josephus's account, at any rate, there is no indication of Elisha's praying to heaven and earth as gods, making petitionary requests. We seem to see rather literary license and balance. The initial problems were a toxic stream emerging from deadly land that produced bad crops and killed children. While soothing the malevolent heaven and earth, the prophet enjoins them—chiastically—to resolve these matters: earth to change the nature of its water, heaven to mix in the vital airs needed to produce crops and human issue. It does sound rather Greek and Stoic perhaps, but that is not unusual in Josephus. The same may be said of his presentations of Pharisaic and Essene views of the afterlife in *J.W.* 2.151–166.

In any case, how different are such prophetic instructions to nature from the original biblical stories about the power emanating from Elijah's mantle to part the Jordan on contact (2 Kgs 2:8, 14), without any prayers at all, or indeed Aaron's rod and Moses' staff (e.g., Exod 7:10–12)? The biblical version of the Elisha stories actually comes closer to suggesting magical effects (compare the mantle), with salt from a specified new vessel being applied the spring. Elisha's technical expertise, unmentioned by Schwartz, is also typical of Josephus's naturalizing of the biblical story, as we shall see in the final section.

Third, whereas 2 Kings mentions the problem of bad water and child-killing earth retrospectively, in the appeal of the residents to Elisha, Josephus takes the narrator's privilege of setting the scene. Schwartz appears to consider this a departure from the Bible. Yet Josephus is only deducing from what happened, with little creative expansion. He even signals this modest elaboration: "*Word has it* that originally this spring thwarted not only the fruits of the earth and trees, but also the offspring of women, as it was thoroughly sickening and destructive to all" (*J.W.* 4.460). This might reflect his awareness of the situation assumed by the biblical story.

Fourth, one of Josephus's undoubted amplifications is his claim that Elisha healed Jericho's land and spring *because* he had been treated well by the locals. Schwartz again focuses on Josephus's departure from the Bible, suggesting that he was ignorant of 2 Kgs 2:15, which would have the city's prophetic guild, and not the townsfolk, entertaining Elisha. However, the "sons of the prophets" in that passage do not extend hospitality. They bow down and perform obeisance to Elisha, in recognition of the new

26. See b. Ber. 19a and Ta'an. 19a, 23a.

power they see emanating from him. There is no contrast here with the hospitality described by Josephus. He is doing something else, and it is characteristic of his narratives.

Josephus has an abiding interest in the quintessentially Greek virtues of "hospitality" (ξενία, and related terms) and reciprocity for such generous treatment of strangers.[27] For example, the biblical story of Melchizedek mentions that he greeted Abraham with bread and wine, but focuses on this figure's blessing of the patriarch, then ends with an unclear remark about one of them giving a tithe (of something) to the other (Gen 14:18–20). In Josephus's reworking of the story (*Ant*. 1.181), he stresses Melchizedek's extraordinary hospitality toward Abraham's army with feasts and provisions, and spells out that Abraham gives Melchizedek a tenth of his military spoils in recognition of this kindness. We might call both accounts hellenizations of the Bible, in the sense that they develop Greek categories not featured in Scripture. Nonetheless, they are not strange departures that prove Josephus's ignorance of the Bible. They are what we come to expect of this author, in *Antiquities* as also here in *J.W.* 4.

Fifth, in Schwartz's Hellenistic-magician reading, "the water gains supernatural powers" and is also used for irrigation, whereas "in 2 Kgs it simply becomes drinkable." Although it is true that Josephus adds claims about the Jericho spring's irrigational properties, he surely does this because of contextual considerations not found in the Bible. Recall that he includes this episode as part of his explanation of the region's world-famous fertility. How is that fertility possible, given the harsh conditions of the burning desert sun and the lethal lake Asphaltitis nearby, which he also stresses? Explaining that the Jericho spring, having been transformed by Elisha, provides the valley's only water apart from the Jordan River, he can celebrate its luxuriant effects: "this spring irrigates an area larger than all others and covers a plain 70 *stadia* long and 20 wide, nourishing in that space the finest and most abundant parks" (*J.W*. 4.467). There grow the world's best date-palms, balsam, cypress, and myrobolanus. It is Josephus's context in *J.W.* 4, not his biblical source, that requires him to elaborate on the spring's extraordinary effectiveness for irrigation.

There is nothing obviously supernatural about this. Josephus concludes by marveling that in contrast to a river's flood plain (the Nile Valley is the most obvious referent), made fertile by long periods of saturation,

27. This trend is noted in the following examples: *Ant*. 1.164, 194–196, 200–201, 259, 136; 4.105; 6.342; and *Life* 142.

the spring of Jericho achieves its results by mere contact with the surrounding soil. I am no botanist and neither was he, but the scientific truth of his claim is beside the point. He seems to be impressed (rhetorically at least) that the fertility of Jericho's environment is a very different situation from a flood plain, as enlivened by the Nile's inundations.

Josephus displays a general interest in describing such natural wonders, much in the spirit of Pliny the Elder. Compare, for example, the wondrous glass-making sand near Ptolemais (*J.W.* 2.189–191) or the lethal-to-touch but curative rue plant of Machaerus (*J.W.* 7.178–185). These are not supernatural but amazing natural wonders. He is justifiably amazed by the irrigational success of the spring at Jericho, and he drives home his Judean advantage by tracing all of this to the transformation achieved by one of his nation's great prophets long ago, recalling and embellishing a biblical story. The biblical episode becomes an etiological story in his hands. It is not, however, an example of Hellenistic magic, and it does not show Josephus's ignorance of the Bible.

5. Did Josephus, or Someone Else, Write the Elisha Story?

We have already noted some considerations that connect *War*'s account of Elisha at Jericho with Josephus's world of discourse and his literary project. This little story is another example of his pride in Judea's peerless ancient narratives. It remains to consider other specific indications that this reworking of the Elisha story is his. The following examples are selective, but that selectiveness does not tell against the argument in this case. Half a dozen examples of conspicuous intersection between this pericope and the distinctive themes and vocabulary in Josephus's work generally speak for his authorship of the passage. Phrases that are not conspicuously thematic or distinctive, or *hapax legomena* in his works may not strengthen the case, but neither do they count against it, since all parts of Josephus's narratives include many terms common to all writers and *hapax legomena*. Consider eleven relevant items:

(1) The adjective δορίκτητος ("taken by the spear") is attested in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (*TLG*) corpus only thirty-six times before Josephus, most of those in Diodorus Siculus (fourteen) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (seven).[28] Josephus uses the word twice. The other occur-

28. University of California, Irvine, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature*, http://tinyurl.com/SBL3546p.

rence is in *Ant.* 4.166, where it refers, as in our passage, to the period of Israelite conquest (there of Transjordan, before the expeditions in Canaan). This suggests that the *J.W.* 4 passage anticipates *Antiquities*, tapping the same language pool in Josephus's thought.

(2) Josephus uses προφητ- language more than four hundred times, but with extraordinary consistency. Virtually the only candidates for this language are Judean or Israelite figures of the distant past, endowed by God with special gifts.[29] The time of classical prophecy (though not prediction or inspired insight) is long over. He cannot call just any gifted seer a prophet: none of his contemporaries, not his beloved Essenes, and not even himself—though he claims unique gifts from the Deity.[30] The last person to exercise prophecy was John Hyrcanus, nearly two centuries earlier (*J.W.* 1.68; *Ant.* 13.300). Josephus's phrase "Elisha the prophet" in our passage (not "a certain Elisha, a prophet," *pace* Schwartz) is, therefore, entirely characteristic. More than that, he will use precisely the same phrase of Elisha in *Ant.* 9.88, 178, and 183.

(3) Josephus's reference in *J.W.* 4.459 to Joshua ben Nun as the Hebrews' "general" (στρατηγός) of the time is not an obvious or necessary choice. But it likewise anticipates his language in *Antiquities*.[31]

(4) The compound verb ἀπαμβλύνω ("to thwart, hinder, blunt") is rarely attested before Josephus (thirteen times, partly in fragments), though its usage increases later. Josephus employs it twice, in our passage in *J.W.* 4.460 and in 3.327, where he is describing from his Judean perspective the Romans overrunning his base at Jotapata. It is implausible that Josephus used this rare verb in book 3 and then happened to find it in a guidebook, which he then drew upon for the present passage in book 4.

(5) The adjective γόνιμος ("fruitful, productive") is not rare. It is used often by medical and scientific authors. Philo—whose vocabulary often anticipates Josephus's—has it thirty-six times. It is noteworthy, however, that all five occurrences in Josephus fall in *J.W.* 3–5, in the vicinity of our passage, and that four of them are comparative or superlative, as here. The

29. The reference to "Cleodomus the prophet" in *Ant.* 1.240 comes in a quotation from Alexander Polyhistor.

30. See Louis H. Feldman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus," *JTS* 41 (1990): 386–422.

31. *Ant.* 5.13; see also 5.117 (summarizing Joshua's career) and 1.13 for "generals" as Josephus's category for leaders.

first four instances are also in geographical digressions on Galilee and Judea; the fifth is a sarcastic comment on the rebel leaders' productiveness of misery. Although Josephus finds no use for the word in the much longer *Antiquities–Life* or *Apion*, we can hardly doubt that this is his compositional choice in *J.W.* 3–5, and so in our passage at 4.460.

(6) The verb φιλοφρονέομαι ("to treat with kindness") is also not strange. Josephus uses it significantly more often than any writer attested before him (nineteen times, compared with only three in Philo). Its appearance in our passage (*J.W.* 4.461), the last of seven occurrences in *War*, supports Josephus's authorship.

(7) Of the first 200 hits for *αἰώνιος* ("everlasting") in the *TLG* corpus, 177 occur in the Septuagint. Of the next 200, the vast majority come from pseudepigrapha, Philo, the New Testament, and Josephus. Although not exclusive to Jewish and Christian literature, that is the word's primary home. Josephus uses this adjective 16 times. Its appearance in our passage at *J.W.* 4.461 again recommends his authorship, over that of a hellenizing-magical source.

(8) In all surviving Greek literature, Josephus is only the second writer (after Aeschylus, *Pers*. 610) to use the artful adjective μειλικτήριος ("soothing"); it does not turn up again for another half-millennium. What are we to conclude, then, when we find this very rare word both in our passage *and* in the speech of Josephus's character outside Jerusalem in *War*'s next volume (5.385)? It strains credulity that another author happened upon this fancy word and Josephus, who uses it in his own speech elsewhere, borrowed it here in *J.W.* 4.462.[32]

(9) The unusual metaphorical use of χορηγός ("chorus-director, producer") here in *J.W.* 4.464 may be compared with *J.W* 2.131 and *Ant*. 6.342, where God is said to be the χορηγός of life.

(10) Seemingly overlooked in the Hellenistic-magical interpretation of Josephus's account is that he gives a characteristic natural-scientific twist to a biblical story that, as we have seen, is rather closer to a magician's independent display of power. This scientific interest pervades his narrative, as he seeks to bring the otherworldly into the world of human beings. Thus he opens *Antiquities* with the surprising proposition, for

32. Not as extreme is the case of the rare compound verb *ἐγκεράννυμι* ("to mix into" in my translation). Of its first twenty occurrences in the *TLG* database, about half are in fragments of authors. Hits number twenty-one and twenty-two are both from *War*, in our passage and 1.324.

readers of the Bible, that "pretty much everything hinges for us on *the wisdom of the lawgiver Moses*" (*Ant.* 1.18). Really? He does not back away from this premise but rather insists that the following treatment of laws and deeds boils down ultimately to the principles of Nature (φυσιολογία, *Ant.* 1.18). That is why Moses, in contrast to Greek fabulists, predicated his laws on rational observation and deduction, and began with Creation (*Ant.* 1.19–21). Josephus never doubts the divine origin of the laws, but his explication in both *Antiquities* and *Against Apion* focuses on their unmatched quality as a political constitution, which is proven not by the assertion of their divine origin but by the fact they have stood the test of time and continue to inspire emulation (*Ag. Ap.* 2.156–181, 279–286). This perspective is deepened in Josephus's portrait of Abraham and Solomon as preeminent philosopher-scientists, and it explains his interest in the admired Essenes'—though they are also gifted with predictive insight—research into the therapeutic properties of stones and roots (*J.W.* 2.136, 159). It suits this perspective that Josephus should portray Elisha in *J.W.* 4 as not merely commanding the spring and earth to become more productive, in a feat of uncanny power, but as applying his expert hands-on know-how to the reconfiguration of the spring for productive irrigation. God helps those who help themselves.

(11) In focusing on Josephus's prayers to heaven and earth, finally, we may miss the more obvious point that this passage's assumptions about the elements, though they are by no means unique in Greek literature, fit with his narrative elsewhere. With a certain technical precision, he directs earth to make the water less harsh and open sweeter subterranean veins into it and heaven to mix into the stream more productive airs (*J.W.* 4.462). Josephus could not have understood "air" as we do. First, he accepted the ancient notion of the elements—earth, air, fire, and water—which he found represented in the four colors of the temple veil, along with the reality and efficacy of the zodiac (*J.W.* 5.312–314). Second, he assumed that the heavenly realm above comprised two levels: the pure upper αἰθήρ, where souls dwell; and ἀήρ, the metier of mortals below.[33] Most striking in this connection is Solomon's speech and prayer dedicating the first temple in *Ant.* 8. Solomon observes that God pervades heaven, air, earth, and sea, and these in no way exhaust his presence (*Ant.* 8.107). But still he wants to be able to pray from this one place on the

33. On the former, see *J.W.* 2.154 and 6.47. On the importance of airs for various products of nature, see *J.W.* 3.516–519, 4.471, and 7.298.

earth into the air above this location (*Ant.* 8.108) in the consolation that God is also here. Although he realizes that God is in all, the king then stands and "extends his right hand toward heaven," precisely as Elisha in our story, to address God (*Ant.* 8.111).

6. Conclusion

Our task in this chapter has been to examine *J.W.* 4.459–465, one of this work's very few explicit uses of the Bible. We have asked what the passage requires by way of the author's biblical knowledge, in what ways the author has Hellenized the story, and whether Josephus himself is that author. Our initial point of reference was a set of proposals by Seth Schwartz, recently adapted by Michael Tuval, to the effect that the passage shows no direct knowledge of the Bible, intersecting only on one central point; that it turns a biblical miracle into the feat of a Hellenistic magician; and that Josephus—who did not know enough about the Bible at this point to care—borrowed the account from the author of a travel guide to the Jordan-Dead Sea region. Although these proposals are not of great importance as they concern our small episode, they could have enormous implications for larger issues, given that this is one of just two or three clear and substantive recollections of the Bible in the narrator's voice.

We may gather our findings in reverse order. First, it would be difficult to explain the existing text on the hypothesis that Josephus did not compose it. Not only does it use terms such as "prophet," "Hebrews," "Cananaeans," and "general" in ways that anticipate Josephus's discourse in *Antiquities* and could not be expected of non-Jewish Greek authors, but other vocabulary that turns up rarely in ancient literature is found here and occasionally elsewhere in *War*. More fundamentally, the whole tenor of the passage—its implicit claim to expert local knowledge of things only rumored among others, and Josephus's eagerness to convey his special knowledge of Judean culture and geography—fits with his stated purpose in *War* and with many other passages. This is an etiology story for the famous bounty of the Jericho region.

Second, his alterations to the biblical account fall in two categories: those necessitated by his chosen context (especially the emphasis on the spring's extraordinary value for irrigation), and the kind of hellenization—that is, conversion of ancient Hebrew stories into common values and categories of his time—that we find throughout his writings, espe-

cially in *Antiquities*' biblical paraphrase. The explicit introduction of a hospitality-reciprocity motive, chiastic instructions to the elements, and incorporation of technical science all make sense here.

Finally, the passage could only have been written by someone who knew the basic biblical narrative. Only such an author could have had the intelligence to juxtapose Joshua ben Nun as first conqueror of Canaanite Jericho with this story from centuries later. Josephus wrote this account as a small but very deliberate contribution to his uniquely expert, Judean narrative of the war.

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The Reputation of Jesus in Light of Qumran's Tradition of David as Prophet

Craig A. Evans

1. Introduction

Well before the birth of Jesus, Israel's famous King David had acquired the reputation of prophet and, along with it, the reputation of exorcist. Jesus presupposed this reputation when he asked how the scribes of his day can say that the messiah is the "son of David" (Mark 12:35–37). Jesus appealed to Ps 110:1 ("The Lord said to my lord…"), in which David addresses his son as "lord" (Mark 12:35–37). The implication is that the messiah is no mere *son* of David. If the messiah were a mere son of David, then, given the cultural assumptions of the day, one might conclude that the messiah will be inferior to David.[1] Jesus's point was not to deny the Davidic ancestry of the messiah. Rather, it was to challenge the adequacy of the "son of David" sobriquet. The messiah is David's *lord* and so is considerably greater than Israel's famous king.

That David's son would in fact be superior to David was important to Jesus, and this feature will be taken into account later in this paper, but what is of principal interest is the way in which Jesus introduces his quotation of Ps 110. It is here that David's reputation as prophet comes into play. In view of this reputation, Jesus asserts, "David himself, inspired by the Holy Spirit [ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ], declared …" (Mark 12:36a).[2] The assertion that David was "inspired by the Holy Spirit" (lit., "in the Holy

1. Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 582; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster, 2002), 487–88; Joel Marcus, *Mark 8–16*, AB 27A (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 850–51.

2. The RSV adds *inspired* to its translation, even though there is no correspond-

Spirit") clearly assumes prophetic status. Accordingly, the words of Ps 110 are understood as prophecy and not a reference to one of Israel's kings long ago. Furthermore, because David said them—and said them about his "lord"—these words are also eschatological and messianic.

The question then revolves around this reputation of prophet—a reputation that David had acquired over a period of time, and a reputation that Jesus seems to have enjoyed from the very beginning of his public activities and preaching—and what relevance it has for the messianic identity of Jesus. We must ask in what way being seen as a prophet enhanced David's royal credentials and in what way, if any, a prophetic reputation may have clarified or enhanced Jesus's messianic identity.

2. David as Prophet in Hebrew Scripture

In Hebrew scripture, David is not called a prophet as such. But the eventual belief that he was a prophet is not surprising, given what is said of him in 2 Sam 23:1–3:

> Now these are the last words of David: The oracle of David, the son of Jesse, the oracle of the man who was raised on high, the anointed of the God of Jacob, the sweet psalmist of Israel: "The Spirit of the Lord speaks by me [רוח יהוה דבר־בי / πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐλάλησεν ἐν ἐμοί], his word is upon my tongue. The God of Israel has spoken, the Rock of Israel has said to me …" (RSV)

Commentators have rightly seen in this passage the idea that in the writing and performance of his psalms, David acted as a prophet, even if he did not formally hold the office. Just as the great prophets uttered poetic oracles, so David composed and spoke poetic oracles. In short, David spoke the word of God, "as in the case of the prophets."[3] It is likely that 2 Sam 23, along with a few other passages, stimulated the growth of a tradition in which David was viewed as a prophet.

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ing word in the Greek text. The addition does correctly convey the sense of the Greek. Translations are my own unless noted otherwise.

3. H. W. Hertzberg, *I and II Samuel*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964), 400–401; A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel*, WBC 11 (Dallas: Word, 1989), 268: "prophetic inspiration."

No doubt another passage that contributed to a context in which Israel's king could be viewed as a prophet was the strange experience of King Saul when he met a group of prophets at Gibeah (1 Sam 10:9–13):

> When they came to Gibeah, behold, a band of prophets met him; and the spirit of God came mightily upon him, and he prophesied among them [ותצלח עליו רוח אלהים ויתנבא בתוכם / *καὶ ἥλατο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν πνεῦμα θεοῦ καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν*]. And when all who knew him before saw how he prophesied with the prophets [עם־נבאים נבא / *αὐτὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν προφητῶν*], the people said to one another, "What has come over the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?" (הגם שאול בנבאים / *καὶ Σαοὺλ ἐν προφήταις*; 1 Sam 10:10–11 RSV)

The story began with Samuel's anointing of Saul as Israel's first king (1 Sam 10:1). The prophet-priest then tells Saul: "You will meet a band of prophets coming down from the high place with harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre before them, prophesying. Then the spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon you, and you shall prophesy with them and be turned into another man" (1 Sam 10:5–6). What Samuel foretold takes place. One is left with the impression that in being anointed, Saul received the Spirit, which in turn led to ecstatic prophecy, itself evidence that the Spirit of God was truly with him.[4]

To be sure, this story is strange, and it should not be viewed as normative. Nevertheless, the experience of Saul, in which he "prophesied with the prophets," was in a limited sense precedent setting. If Saul could prophesy, then surely could David, through whom the Spirit of God spoke.

The tradition of David as prophet antedates Jesus and the Christian movement. It is widely attested in Jewish literature such as the Dead Sea Scrolls, Josephus, early rabbinic literature, and the Aramaic Psalter. It is also attested in early Christian literature, including pseudepigrapha, some of which may have originated in Jewish circles before becoming Christianized. Below I review the most important examples, saving the evidence from Qumran for last.

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4. See Hertzberg, *I and II Samuel*, 85; Ralph W. Klein, *1 Samuel*, WBC 10 (Dallas: Word, 1983), 93.

3. David as Prophet in Josephus

The statement in 2 Sam 23 that the "Spirit of the Lord speaks by me" readily facilitates the idea that David, although anointed as Israel's king, also functioned as a prophet. This was how the passage was understood in Josephus, who regarded David as a prophet. In reference to the transition from Saul to David, Josephus says, "The Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him [*τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοικισαμένου*], began to prophesy" (*προφητεύειν ἤρξατο*; *Ant.* 6.166 [Thackeray, LCL]). Here Josephus alludes to 1 Sam 16:13, which says, "Then Samuel took the horn of oil, and anointed him in the midst of his brothers; and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David from that day forward." However, the text says nothing about David prophesying (though the experience of Saul, described in 1 Sam 10:10–11, may have served as a template of sorts for Josephus). It is probable that Josephus assumes what is said of David in 2 Sam 23:1–3, as well as later traditions that had evolved, in which David's prophetic and exorcistical powers were greatly embellished.[5]

This understanding of 1 Sam 16:13 is not unique to Josephus, for in the contemporaneous *Biblical Antiquities* we are told that after Samuel anointed David, the lad "began to sing" (LAB 59.4). Recall that in singing, David drove away the evil spirit that tormented King Saul (LAB 60.1–3; see also 1 Sam 16:14–23; *Ant.* 6.168: "by reciting his songs and playing on the harp"). In other words, the songs of David were understood as exorcistic incantations. (More will be said about this below.) Following the song, according to *Biblical Antiquities*, a sign took place portending David's victory over Goliath (LAB 59.5; see also 61.3–9).[6]

Elsewhere, Josephus speaks of David as a prophet or of being able to foretell the future. Because of David's declaration in 1 Chr 22:1 ("Here shall be the house of the Lord God and here the altar of burnt offering

5. The targum understands 2 Sam 23:1–3 in an overtly prophetic and messianic sense: "Now these are the words of prophecy of David that he prophesied for the end of the world.… David said, 'By a spirit of prophecy before the Lord I am speaking these things … to appoint for me the king, that is, the messiah to come.'" More will be said about the Aramaic tradition below.

6. For further discussion, see Christopher T. Begg, *Judean Antiquities: Books 5–7*, vol. 4 of *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, ed. Steve Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 144–45.

for Israel"), Josephus says, David "came close to foretelling what was later to happen, for God sent a prophet to say that in this place a temple would be built" (*Ant.* 7.334).[7] Following the building and dedication of the temple, Solomon, says Josephus, reminded the people of Israel that "of all the things (God) had disclosed to David his father about the future, many had already come about, while the rest would do so" (*Ant.* 8.109).[8] Finally, in summing up the life of David, Josephus remarks that the great king "was very competent in thinking and perceiving both the future [τῶν μελλόντων] and present matters" (*Ant.* 7.391).[9] There is little doubt that Josephus regarded Israel's famous king as a prophet, whose utterances came to fulfillment.

4. David as Prophet in the Aramaic Psalter

The tradition of David as prophet is underscored in the Aramaic Psalter.[10] This makes sense, because, after all, it was largely because of David's songs and singing that Israel's famous king gained the reputation as prophet and exorcist. In a number of Psalms in the Aramaic text, we are told that David spoke "through the spirit of prophecy" or "in prophecy."[11] We find examples of this in a few superscriptions:

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7. Translation based on Ralph Marcus, *Josephus: Jewish Antiquities, Books 7–8*, LCL 281 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934.

8. Translation based on Christopher T. Begg and Paul Spilsbury, *Judean Antiquities: Books 8–10*, vol. 5 of *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, ed. Steve Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 30. For more on David's prophetic abilities in Josephus, see Louis H. Feldman, *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*, HCS 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 450–61; Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 213.

9. Translation based on Begg, *Judean Antiquities: Books 5–7*, 310.

10. Apart from the targums recovered at Qumran, targums date to times well after the time of Qumran and New Testament literature. Some of these targums, however, do contain older traditions that reach back to the turn of the era. See Paul V. M. Flesher and Bruce D. Chilton, *The Targums: A Critical Introduction* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2011), 81–82, 151–66, 235–37. For discussion of the date and traditions in the Psalms Targum, see Craig A. Evans, "The Aramaic Psalter and the New Testament: Praising the Lord in History and Prophecy," in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. Craig A. Evans (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2004), 44–91.

11. For discussion of the Aramaic Psalter's interest in prophecy, see D. M. Stec,

Psalm 14

MT: To the choirmaster. Of David. (RSV)

Tg: To the singer. When the spirit of prophecy was upon David (ברוח נבואה על דוד).[12]

Psalm 18

MT: To the choirmaster. A Psalm of David the servant of the Lord, who addressed the words of this song to the Lord. (RSV)

Tg: To the singer. Concerning the miraculous events that happened to the servant of the Lord, to David, who sang in prophecy [בנבואה] before the Lord the words of this song.

Psalm 103

MT: A Psalm of David. (RSV)

Tg: By David. It was said in prophecy [בנבואה].

Another superscription should be cited here, even though the name of David does not appear in the MT or in the targum. I cite Ps 98, for it is likely that many Jewish interpreters in late antiquity assumed Davidic composition of this particular psalm (as seen in the superscription of the LXX: Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυείδ), as well as much, if not all, of the Psalter.[13] It is interesting that the psalm itself seems to be defined as prophecy:

Psalm 98

MT: A Psalm. (RSV)

Tg: A Psalm of prophecy [תושבחא נבואה].

The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes, ArBib 16 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004), 5–6. Stec rightly points out the link between David and prophecy.

12. Translations of the Aramaic, here and following, are based on Stec (ibid.).

13. The belief that David was the author of the entire Psalter is explicitly stated in the Talmud, at b. B. Bat. 14b–15a: "David wrote the Book of Psalms [דוד כתב ספר תהלים], including in it the work of ten elders, namely, Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Yeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah." Translation of Isidore Epstein and Maurice Simon, *Baba Bathra*, HEBT (London: Soncino, 1989). Elsewhere in the Talmud, David is identified as a prophet: "Who are the former prophets? Rabbi Huna said: 'They are David, Samuel, and Solomon'" (b. Sotah 48b).

David is explicitly linked to prophecy elsewhere in the Aramaic Psalter. Once again it will be helpful to compare the relevant passages with their Hebrew counterparts:

Psalm 49:16 (Eng. 15)

MT: But God will ransom my soul. (RSV)

Tg: David said in the spirit of prophecy [ברוח נבואה]: But God will ransom my soul.

Psalm 51:13–14 (Eng. 11–12)[14]

MT: Take not thy holy Spirit from me … uphold me with a willing spirit. (RSV)

Tg: Take not your holy Spirit of prophecy [ורוח נבואת קודשך] from me … uphold me with the spirit of prophecy [ורוח נבואה].

A couple of other passages should be considered. Psalm 22, a psalm attributed to David (the superscription reads: "A Psalm of David"), exhorts the faithful according to the Hebrew: "The afflicted shall eat and be satisfied; those who seek him shall praise the Lord! May your hearts live forever!" (22:26; Eng. 27, RSV). But in the Aramaic, it reads: "The afflicted shall eat and be satisfied. May the spirit of prophecy [רוח נבואה] dwell in the thoughts of your heart forever!"

We should also consider Ps 45, which in the Aramaic Psalter is interpreted in reference to the eschatological messiah. At 45:3 the Hebrew reads: "You are the fairest of the sons of men; grace is poured upon your lips; therefore God has blessed you forever" (Eng. 45:2 RSV). The Aramaic reads: "Your beauty, O King Messiah, exceeds that of the sons of men; the spirit of prophecy [רוח נבואה] is given upon your lips. Therefore the Lord has blessed you forever."[15]

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14. The superscription of Ps 51 reads: "To the choirmaster. A Psalm of David, when Nathan the prophet came to him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba." The Aramaic renders the Hebrew literally.

15. In some MSS, the Aramaic superscription reads, "what was spoken through prophecy" (בנבואה), while other manuscripts read, "what was spoken through the holy spirit" (רוח קודש). The rabbinic Midrash on the Psalms explains that "the sons of Korah were thought worthy of uttering a song and also thought worthy of uttering prophecy" (Midr. Pss. 45.6 [on Ps 45:3]). Translation from William G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms*, 2 vols., YJS 13 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 1:453. The midrash on the Psalms is late, but like the Psalms Targum, it does preserve some

Before leaving the targum, we might return briefly to Ps 110, which was cited and commented upon at the beginning of the present study. When Jesus appealed to Ps 110, he took it for granted that the psalm was prophetic. That the psalm was linked to David is clear enough from the superscription, both in Hebrew as well as in Greek (לדוד מזמור / Τῷ Δαυεὶδ ψαλμός). But Jesus also viewed the words of the psalm, "The Lord says to my lord: 'Sit at my right hand…,'" as prophecy. Jesus's interpretation is not distinctive; evidently other Jewish interpreters viewed the psalm as prophetic, if not messianic.[16] The prophetic potential of Ps 110 is enhanced in the Aramaic Psalter. Because David studied torah, God will take the throne away from Saul and give it to David (see also Tg. Ps. 110:1).[17] The messianic orientation of the prophecy becomes clear in 110:4:

> MT: The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind, "You are a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." (RSV)
> Tg: The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind, "You are appointed as prince for the world to come, on account of the merit that you have been a righteous king."

What accommodated this remarkable paraphrase is the meaning of "Melchizedek" (מַלְכִּי־צדק). Literally, the name means "my king is righteous." This allows the meturgeman to say nothing about Melchizedek the priest, but rather to speak of David as appointed to be the future king (or "prince for the world to come") on account of his having been "a righteous king."

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early interpretive tradition. In the present case, the midrash attests an ongoing view of David as a prophet.

16. See Midr. Pss. 110.4 (on Ps 110:1); Braude, *Midrash on Psalms*, 2:206. On the relevance of the tradition preserved in the targum and midrash on Psalms for interpreting Jesus, see the comments above in nn. 10 and 15.

17. According to some of the MSS on this, see Stec, *Targum of Psalms*, 202, including n. 2. This is identified as "another translation" (*lashon aher*), which coheres with rabbinic interpretation found in Midr. Pss. 110.5 (on Ps 110:1), an interpretation not in step with the majority understanding of the Psalm. On these points, see T. Edwards, *Exegesis in the Targum of the Psalms: The Old, the New, and the Rewritten*, GD 28, BS 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), 156–57.

5. David as Prophet in Early Christian Literature

David's prophetic powers are explicitly affirmed in two passages in the book of Acts. In his Pentecost sermon, Peter declares that God raised Jesus from the dead, for David spoke of it (i.e., in Ps 16, of which 16:8–11 are quoted; see Acts 2:24–28). David could not have been speaking of himself, for he died, was buried, and his tomb remains "to this day" (Acts 2:29; see *J.W.* 1.61; *Ant.* 7.393; 13.249; 16.179–183).[18] Accordingly, Peter concludes:

> Being therefore a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn with an oath to him that he would set one of his descendants upon his throne, he foresaw and spoke of the resurrection of the Christ, that he was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh see corruption. (Acts 2:30–31 RSV)

Because David was a prophet (*προφήτης*), "he foresaw and spoke" (*προϊδὼν ἐλάλησεν*) of the resurrection of the messiah, that is, Jesus, whom God raised up (Acts 2:30–32). Psalm 16 is therefore a prophecy of the resurrection of the messiah.[19] The prophecy, to which Peter alludes with the words, "God had sworn with an oath to him that he would set one of his descendants upon his throne," is found in Nathan's oracle in 2 Sam 7:12–16, a text viewed as messianic in late antiquity (see LXX 2 Sam 7:12–16; 4Q174 3:7–13).[20]

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18. Josephus relates the violations of the tomb of David by Hyrcanus and later by Herod the Great. Hyrcanus supposedly found money in the tomb. Frightened, Herod built an expensive entrance made of white marble. None of this remains today, but it stood in the time of Jesus and Peter.

19. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "David, 'Being Therefore a Prophet …' (Acts 2:30)," *CBQ* 34 (1972): 332–39; Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB 31 (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 258; D. Peterson, *The Acts of the Apostles*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 148–49.

20. For discussion of 4Q174 3:7–13 and related texts, see Kenneth Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism: Its History and Significance for Messianism*, EJL 7 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 191–97; Gerbern S. Oegema, *The Anointed and His People: Messianic Expectations from the Maccabees to Bar Kochba*, JSPSup 27 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 120–22; and William Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Twelve Biblical and Historical Studies* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 198–200. The Aramaic version may be messianic as well, for at Tg. 2 Sam 7:20, David responds to God, "You have spoken also concerning the house of your servant *for the age that is coming*" (with the italicized part indicating the targum's distinctive reading). The Aramaic wording is clearly eschatological. Accordingly, the son

Later in Acts, Peter and the other apostles appeal to Ps 2:1–2 ("Why did the Gentiles rage, and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth set themselves in array, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Anointed" [cited in Acts 4:25–26 RSV]), creatively applying the passage to Jesus, Herod, Pilate, Gentiles, and "peoples of Israel" (Acts 4:24–30). The words of the psalm, however, are the very words of God, uttered by David: "Sovereign Lord … by the mouth of our father David, thy servant [*τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν … στόματος Δαυὶδ παιδός σου*], didst say by the Holy Spirit [*διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου*] …" (Acts 4:25 RSV).[21]

The author of Hebrews seems to have linked David with the prophets in his well-known recounting of the men and women of faith in chapter 11: "And what more shall I say? For time would fail me to tell of Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah, of David and Samuel and the prophets" (Heb 11:32 RSV). The syntax of the phrase, "of David and Samuel and the prophets" (*περὶ … Δαυίδ τε καὶ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν προφητῶν*), seems to imply that David takes his place among the prophets.[22] Alluding to Jesus's appeal to Ps 110, the author of the Letter of Barnabas states that "David himself prophesies" (*αὐτὸς προφητεύει Δαυίδ*; Barn. 12:10).

In the Epistula Apostolorum, a work that probably dates to the first half of the second century, the prophetic status of David is referenced twice.[23] Originally written in Greek, the text survives in an incomplete Coptic parchment codex dating to the fifth century; in a single page of Latin, also dating to the fifth century; and in several late Ethiopic manuscripts dating from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. The first reference to David is preserved in the Coptic text, which, as is typical of Coptic, contains several

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promised David is probably the messiah. For translation and comment, see Daniel J. Harrington and Anthony J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets*, ArBib 10 (Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1987), 174 n. 33. Early Christian interpreters applied 2 Sam 7:12–16 to Jesus. Besides the already mentioned Acts 2:30, see Luke 1:32–33; Heb 1:5b; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 68.5; 118.2 (though closer to the parallel in 1 Chr 17:13–14); Irenaeus, *Epid.* 36; Tertullian, *Adv. Jud.* 14; Sib. Or. 7:29–39.

21. Fitzmyer, *Acts*, 308: "Implied is that what David has said, God has said."

22. As noted long ago in B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The Greek Text with Notes and Essays*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1892), 377: "David and Samuel appear to be closely connected (*τε, καί*) and the prophets are added as a second element." Recall also b. Sotah 48b, which was cited above (see n. 13).

23. On the date and setting of this work, see C. E. Hill, "The Epistula Apostolorum: An Asian Tract from the Time of Polycarp," *JECS* 7 (1999): 1–53; J. V. Hills, *The Epistle of the Apostles*, ECA 2 (Santa Rosa, CA: Polebridge, 2009), 1–19.

Greek loan words. Jesus tells his apostles that he was born and crucified, "in order that the prophecy [προφητία] of David the prophet [προφήτης] might be fulfilled" (Ep. Apos. 19.18b).[24] Psalm 3 is then quoted. In the second reference, Jesus assures his followers, "as the prophet David spoke concerning me" (Ep. Apos. 35.4). No specific text is cited. But Jesus goes on to describe the wicked, concerning whom "the prophecy of David will come to pass" (Ep. Apos. 35.5). Portions of Isa 59:7; Pss 5:9; 50:18, 20 are then quoted. Jesus concludes his comments by inviting his disciples to "see what the prophet has said" (Ep. Apos. 35.9).[25] By "prophet," he likely is referring to David, assumed to be the voice behind the Psalms that have been quoted (and it is possible that the fragment of Isa 59:7 that is quoted was assumed to have been part of the testimony of the Psalter as well).

In the Acts of Pilate (also known as the Gospel of Nicodemus), a work that might have originated in the third century, Satan and Hades bitterly accuse one another, then they hear a loud, thunderous voice quote Ps 24:7: "Lift up your gates, O rulers, and be lifted up, O everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in" (Acts Pil. 21.1). When Hades attempts to bar the gates, David the prophet (Δαυίδ ὁ προφήτης) says, "Do you not know, O blind one, that when I lived in the world, I prophesied that word?" (Acts Pil. 21.2).[26] That is, David the prophet prophesied the word in Ps 24:7.

In the Apocalypse of Sedrach, a Greek homily produced over a period of time from the late second century on into the fifth century CE, God speaks of the importance of repentance.[27] The Deity reminds the archangel Michael: "Do you not know that my prophet David [ὁ προφήτης μου Δαυίδ] was saved by tears, and the rest were saved in one moment?" (Apoc. Sedr. 14.4).

Several times in the two most prominent second-century Christian apologists, Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, David is identified as a prophet. Writing circa 150 CE, Justin speaks of the prophecies concerning the suffering and crucifixion of Jesus:

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24. Translation based on Hills, *Epistle of the Apostles*, 45. The verse numbers are supplied by Hills.

25. Ibid., 63.

26. For introduction and translation, see J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation based on M. R. James* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 164–69, 188.

27. For introduction and discussion of date and provenance, see S. Agourides, "Apocalypse of Sedrach," in *OTP* 1:605–608.

> And again in other words, through another prophet [δι᾽ ἑτέρου προφήτου], he says, "They pierced my hands and my feet, and for my vesture they cast lots." And indeed David, the king and prophet [ὁ μὲν Δαβίδ, ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ προφήτης], who uttered these things, suffered none of them.… And as the prophet [ὁ προφήτης] spoke…" (*1 Apol.* 35).

Later, speaking of the advent of Christ, Justin exhorts his readers:

> And hear how it was foretold concerning those who published his doctrine and proclaimed his appearance, the above-mentioned prophet and king speaking thus by the Spirit of prophecy [τοῦ προειρημένου προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως οὕτως εἰπόντος διὰ τοῦ προφητικοῦ Πνεύματος], "Day to day utters speech, and night to night shows knowledge" [Ps 19:2].… And we have thought it right and relevant to mention some other prophetic utterances of David [ἑτέρων τῶν προφυτευθέντων δι᾽αὐτοῦ τοῦ Δαβίδ] besides these; from which you may learn how the Spirit of prophecy [τὸ προφητικὸν Πνεῦμα] exhorts men to live, and how he foretold the conspiracy" (*1 Apol.* 40).

Justin's "Spirit of prophecy" (see also Rev 19:10) is the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic phrase found a number of times in the targum. The Aramaic-speaking Justin may well have learned this turn of phrase from his native Palestine.

Justin reminds his readers of "what was said by the prophet David [διὰ Δαβὶδ τοῦ προφήτου]. These are his words: 'The Lord said to my Lord, Sit you at my right hand'" (Ps 110:1, cited in *1 Apol.* 45).[28] Several times in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, Justin numbers David among Israel's prophets. In one place he speaks of "Jeremiah and the twelve and David" (*Dial.* 87). In another place he says that he has "quoted from the words of Jeremiah the prophet, and Esdras, and David" (*Dial.* 120). Elsewhere he refers to the "fall of David … this great king, and anointed one, and prophet" (*Dial.* 121).

Writing circa 180, Irenaeus at least twice refers to David as a prophet. Both passages occur in those parts of *Against Heresies* that only survive in Latin translation. In citing Jesus and a number of proof texts, Irenaeus

28. Psalm 110 plays a very important role in Justin's scriptural apologetic. See Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*, NovTSup 56 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 86–88.

remarks: “Therefore the prophet David [*David propheta*] says, ‘Man, being placed in honor, is made like to cattle’ [Ps 49:21, Eng. 20]. And again Jeremiah says, ‘They are become like horses’” (Jer 5:8, cited in *Haer.* 4.41.3). David “the prophet” is cited right along with other prophets like Jeremiah. In a second passage, Irenaeus discusses death and resurrection. In reference to Jesus, he says, “This, too, David says when prophesying [*prophetans*] of him, ‘And you have delivered my soul from the nethermost hell’” (Ps 86:13, cited in *Haer.* 5.31.1).

The texts that have been cited and briefly discussed demonstrate how widespread the belief was that David possessed the spirit of prophecy and on occasion uttered prophecies, most of which were concerned with his anointed, eschatological descendant. The evidence that has been reviewed suggests that this belief antedated Jesus and the Christian movement. The evidence that will be reviewed next—that of the Dead Sea Scrolls—will not only provide conclusive proof that David’s prophetic status was well known prior to the time of Jesus; it will also lend important nuance. In the scrolls one finds a David who, from a pious Jewish point of view, is a paragon of virtue, a faithful observer of Torah, whose descendant someday will rule over a restored Israel.

6. David in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The traditions about David in the Dead Sea Scrolls confirm, clarify, and expand on what we have learned from our survey above. Since the publication of the remainder of the scrolls, a handful of studies have appeared that assess the Davidic tradition in these important, early sources.[29] In the scrolls, this tradition falls into three categories: (1) references to the historical man and his times, (2) appeals to David as an ideal figure, and (3) employment of the Davidic tradition for eschatology and messianism. The

29. E. Jucci, “Davide a Qumran,” *RStB* 7 (1995): 157–74; Craig A. Evans, “David in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, RILP 3, JSPSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 183–97; C. Coulot, “David à Qumrân,” in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVIIe congrès de l’ACFEB (Lille, 1er–5 septembre 1997)*, ed. Louis Desrousseaux, LD 177 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 315–43; Jacqueline C. R. De Roo, “David’s Deeds in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 6 (1999): 44–65. One should also consult Gary N. Knoppers, “Images of David in Early Judaism: David as Repentant Sinner in Chronicles,” *Bib* 76 (1995): 449–70; M. O’Kane, “The Biblical King David and His Artistic and Literary Afterlives,” *BibInt* 6 (1998): 313–47.

boundaries of these categories are not always clearly marked; they often overlap. In this paper, I am concerned with David as prophet and exorcist, features that appear in all three areas.

The birth of David and his plans to build the temple are recounted in 4Q522 frag. 1, col. ii, ll. 2–5. David's defeat of Goliath is recalled in 1QM 11:1–2. The Damascus Covenant concedes that David "multiplied wives to himself," but defends him because Deuteronomy, which contains the law that proscribes the practice (i.e., Deut 17:17), had not yet been discovered (CD 5:1–3 = 4Q273 5 1–3). Notwithstanding his sin with Bathsheba and his murder of Uriah (for which he was forgiven), it is asserted that "David's deeds were all excellent" (CD 5:5–6). David's forgiveness is also recalled in 4QMMT (at 4Q398 2 ii 1–2 = 4Q399 1 i 9–10). The text of 4QMMT goes on to speak of the blessings that were bestowed on the people during the reign of David's son Solomon (4Q398 1 2). David himself is described as "a man of kindnesses" (4Q398 2 ii 1 = 4Q399 1 i 9).

Qumran also provides a psalm that summarizes the life and virtues of Israel's famous king (11QPs[a] [= 11Q5] 28:3–11):

> 3 Hallelujah! A psalm of David, son of Jesse. I was smaller than my brothers, youngest of my father's sons. So he made me a 4 shepherd for his sheep, a ruler over his goats. My hands fashioned a pipe, my fingers a lyre, 5 and I glorified the LORD. I said to myself, 'The mountains do not testify 6 to him, nor do the hills proclaim'. So—echo my words, O trees, O sheep, my deeds! 7 Ah, but who can proclaim, who declare? Who can recount the deeds of the Lord? God has seen all, 8 heard and attended to everything. He sent his prophet to anoint me, even Samuel, 9 to raise me up. My brothers went forth to meet him: handsome of figure, wondrous of appearance, tall were they of stature, 10 so beautiful their hair—yet the Lord God did not choose them. No, he sent and took me 11 who followed the flock, and anointed me with the holy oil; he set me as prince to his people, a ruler over the children of his covenant.

There are other references to David that are probably historical, but the texts are so fragmentary that it is difficult to know what is being narrated. For example, in 4Q457b, we find: "David was glad to return.… The Most High will make in the heavens …" (1 ii 2). The figure "anointed with the oil of the kingdom" in 4Q458 2 ii 6 is probably David. Likewise, David may be the "first-born son," the "prince and ruler" in all of God's land, mentioned in 4Q369 1 ii 5–7. 4Q479 speaks of "servitude … the seed of David.… David went forth" (1 4), which likely is part of an overview of

Israel's history. In the Words of the Heavenly Lights (4Q504–506), the election of Jerusalem, the people of Israel, especially the tribe of Judah, and the Davidic monarchy are recalled. The author reminds God, "You have established your covenant with David, so that he would be like a shepherd, a prince over your people, and would sit upon the throne of Israel before you forever" (4Q504 1 ii 6–8). This language recalls Ps 89:4 (Eng. 3) and 2 Chr 21:1. Psalms attributed to David are also quoted in eschatological contexts (as seen in 4Q177 5+6 7–12, where portions of Pss 11 and 12 are cited, with Mic 2:10–11 inserted between; and 4Q177 12+13 i 7–8, where Ps 6:1–4 is quoted).

Other texts at Qumran emphasize David's prophetic gifts, which went hand in hand with his exorcistic powers. One psalm celebrates the life of David and makes special reference to the many psalms and songs that he composed:

> Now David the son of Jesse was wise and shone like the light of the sun, a scribe 3 and man of discernment, blameless in all his ways before God and humankind. The Lord gave 4 him a brilliant and discerning spirit, so that he wrote: psalms, three thousand six hundred; 5 songs to sing before the altar accompanying the daily 6 perpetual burnt offering for all the days of the year, three hundred and sixty-four; 7 for the Sabbath offerings, fifty-two songs; and for the new moon offerings, 8 all the festival days, and the Day of Atonement, thirty songs. 9 The total of all the songs that he composed was four hundred and forty-six, not including 10 four songs for charming the demon-possessed with music. The sum total of everything, psalms and songs, was four thousand and fifty. 11 All these he composed through prophecy given him by the Most High. (11QPs^{a} [11Q5] 27:2–11)[30]

Of great interest is the reference to the "four songs for charming the demon possessed" (ושיר לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה; lines 9–10). What is

30. Translation based on Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996), 452. For critical discussion, see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^{a})*, DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 91–93; Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, STDJ 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 39–41, 250; James C. VanderKam, "'David's Compositions' (11QPs^{a} 27:2–11)," in *Frank Moore Cross Volume*, vol. 26 of *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical, and Geographical Studies*, ed. Baruch A. Levine et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 212–20 (Eng. pages).

translated “demon possessed” is literally “stricken” (פגועים). The context, however, clearly is in reference to demonic oppression. It is possible that among the finds recovered from Cave 11 are the very songs referenced in 11Q5. One of these songs is explicitly attributed to David:

> A Psalm of David, a[gainst …] in the name of the Lor[d …] 5 unto the hea[vens …] he will come to you at ni[ght, and] you will say to him, 5 Who are you? [Withdraw from] humanity and from the ho[ly] race! For your face is a face of 7 [nothing], and your horns are horns of dre[am]. You are darkness, not light, [8][wicked]ness, not righteousness […] the Prince of the Host, the Lord […] 9 [in Had]es most deep, [enclosed in doors] of bronze […] 10 […] light and not [… never again to see] the sun that 11 [shines on the] righteous […] and then you shall say […] 12 [… the rig]hteous to come […] to do harm to him […] 13 [… tr]uth from [… righ]teousness to […]. (11Q11 5:4–6:3)[31]

J. P. M. van der Ploeg identifies, rightly in my opinion, the four songs mentioned here with 11Q11, which comprises three exorcistic psalms and Ps 91, a psalm in late antiquity understood to offer protection against demons and evil spirits.[32] Of course, the fragmentary condition of 11Q11 makes certainty impossible. The first exorcistic psalm (1:1–10) contains the words “dragon” and “demons” and so is very probably concerned with demons and exorcism, but an attribution in the superscription, if there

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31. Translation based on Wise, Abegg and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 454. For critical study, see J. P. M. van der Ploeg, “Le Psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumran,” *RB* 72 (1965): 210–17, pls. 8–9; van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau de Psaumes apocryphes (11QPsAp^{a}),” in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt; Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Gert Jeremias, Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, and Hartmut Stegemann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 128–39, pls. 2–7; Émile Puech, “11QPsAp^{a}: Un rituel d’exorcismes; Essai de reconstruction,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 377–408; Puech, “Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d’exorcisme, 11QPsAp^{a} IV 4–V 14,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 64–89; Puech, “Les psaumes davidiques du rituel d’exorcisme (11Q11),” in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo, 1998; Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller, STDJ 35 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 160–81.

32. Van der Ploeg, “Petit rouleau,” 129. In the Aramaic Psalter the demonic orientation of Ps 91 is explicit and emphatic. Psalm 91, in whole or in part, appears in many charms and amulets from late antiquity.

was one, is no longer extant. Although the second, longer exorcistic psalm (2:1–5:3) is better preserved, and its exorcistic orientation is quite obvious, its superscription is not extant. "To David" is sometimes restored, but this is only conjecture (as plausible as it may be). Only the third exorcistic psalm (5:4–6:3), partially quoted above, preserves the name of David. 11Q11's fourth exorcistic psalm is Ps 91. In the MT David's name does not appear, but in the Greek it does: Αἶνος ᾠδῆς τῷ Δαυίδ ("Praise, of an ode to David"). There is no superscription in the Aramaic, but David's name does appear in 91:2, creating the impression that much of the content of Ps 91 comes from David.[33] That Ps 91, therefore, appears in a scroll along with three other exorcistic psalms comes as no surprise.[34] That all four songs of 11Q11 were believed to have been composed by David is plausible. Accordingly, van der Ploeg's suggestion that 11Q11 constitutes the four songs of David to be sung over the stricken, mentioned in 11Q5, is probably correct, even if it is not certain.

7. David in the Teaching of Jesus

The Davidic tradition observed in the various sources that have been considered above, especially the traditions found in the Scrolls from Qumran, cohere at important points with the teaching and activities of Jesus, including how his contemporaries viewed him. The Davidic identity of Jesus explains and ties together elements that at first blush seem disparate. Jesus, who proclaims the kingdom of God, is regarded as king, as anointed (or messiah), prophet, healer, and exorcist. Was he all of those things? Is he king, or prophet? Is he the messiah, or is he an exorcist? But viewed against the Davidic template of his time, these elements form a coherent identity. They are not mutually exclusive.

Jesus proclaimed the kingdom of God (Mark 1:15; 9:47; 10:14, 23–25; 12:34) and spoke of it in terms of parables (Matt 13:33, 44, 45, 47; Mark 4:26, 30). At the final supper with his disciples, Jesus solemnly stated

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33. Indeed, Solomon's name also appears in Tg. Ps 91:2, where David assures his son: "For he will deliver you, Solomon my son, from the trap and the snare, from death and tumult."

34. For further discussion, see Hermann Lichtenberger, "Ps 91 and die Exorzismen in 11QPsAp[a]," in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitischen-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 416–21.

that he would not drink wine again until he did so in the kingdom of God (Mark 14:25). Jesus was confessed as Israel's messiah by his disciples (Mark 8:29) and apparently accepted this identity when he stood accused before the high priest and some of the Jewish Sanhedrin (Mark 14:61–64). He compared his actions to those of David (Mark 2:25). He was addressed as "son of David," in contexts of healing (Mark 10:47–48) and exorcism (Matt 12:22–23). Jesus entered Jerusalem mounted on a mule (Mark 11:1–10), after the fashion of Solomon, who entered Jerusalem on David's mule (1 Kgs 1:32–40), and in apparent fulfillment of the prophecy of Zech 9:9. As he entered Jerusalem, the crowd sang of the coming of the kingdom of David (Mark 11:10), alluding to Ps 118:25–26, which in the Aramaic Psalter was understood in reference to the recognition of the kingship of David. Jesus gives the parable of the vineyard (Mark 12:1–12), implying that he is the rejected but vindicated stone of Ps 118:22–23 (which, again, is understood in the Aramaic in reference to David), whom the ruling priests wish to arrest (Mark 12:12). All of this is Davidic and royal. Not surprisingly, Jesus was crucified as "king of the Jews" (Mark 15:26) and mocked as the "messiah, the king of Israel" (Mark 15:32).[35]

But Jesus also regarded himself as a prophet. In a saying hardly disputed by anyone, Jesus says in reference to himself, "A prophet is not without honor, except in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house" (Mark 6:4 RSV). The skepticism shown by Simon the Pharisee at Luke 7:39 ("If this man were a prophet, he would have known who and what sort of woman this is who is touching him, for she is a sinner"; RSV) only makes sense on the assumption that Jesus was widely regarded as a prophet. When Jesus raised the only son of the widow, the fearful crowd proclaims, "A great prophet has arisen among us!" (Luke 7:16 RSV). When Jesus inquired of his disciples how the public regarded him, they reported that he was thought of as a prophet (Mark 8:28). As he approached Jerusalem, Jesus laments over the famous city's tradition of "killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent" to her (Matt 23:37 = Luke 13:34). Doubtless he included himself in this martyred company. Indeed, in this context, Jesus explicitly identifies himself as a prophet: "Nevertheless I must go on

35. In these paragraphs, I sum up what I think are the essential elements of Jesus's public teaching and activities. I am fully aware that critical scholars will not necessarily accept as deriving from Jesus every example I cite. However, I believe a good case can be made for the authenticity of the sayings and actions to which I make appeal.

my way today and tomorrow and the day following; for it cannot be that a prophet should perish away from Jerusalem" (Luke 13:33 RSV).[36]

The lack of tension between the identities of prophet and king or messiah is resolved in the context of the Davidic tradition, from which springs the expectation of an eschatological messiah, who also possesses prophetic powers, including the power to heal and cast out evil spirits. This is why Jesus can speak of David as inspired, implying that his words in Ps 110 are prophetic (Mark 12:35–37). It also explains why his disciples readily speak of David as a prophet (Acts 2:30), as well as a king (Acts 13:22).

Jesus does not dispute the belief that the messiah descends from the line of David, something his early followers took for granted (see Rom 1:3–4; 2 Tim 2:8); he only questions the implications of the sobriquet "son of David." This is consistent with Jesus's remarkable claim, in the context of exorcism (which was so effective that his opponents accuse him of being in league with Satan), that "something greater than Solomon is here" (Matt 12:42). Jesus is indeed the son of David, but as the anointed Son of God, he is far greater than David and far greater than his son Solomon.

The exorcistic and healing powers of Jesus are important, not because they trump the powers of David and Solomon, but because they offer proof of Jesus's proclamation, that the kingdom of God is truly present in his ministry. Healing and especially exorcism offer tangible proof that the "kingdom of God has come upon" Israel (Luke 11:20) and that the kingdom of Satan is being defeated (Mark 3:27; Luke 10:17–19).[37] It is

36. Although I am not including Johannine material in this survey, it is important to note the linkage between David and prophet in John 7:40–52. People are confessing Jesus as "the prophet," and others are confessing him as "the messiah." There is no hint that these are competing titles. Skeptics cast doubt on these confessions by noting that the messiah does not come from Galilee, but from Bethlehem, the city of David. Indeed, "no prophet is to rise from Galilee" (John 7:52). The nature of this material suggests that someone could be both "the prophet" and "the messiah" (but only if he is not from Galilee). A similar logic is found in Luke 24:13–27, in the conversation between the two men on the road to Emmaus and the risen Jesus. When asked what they were talking about, they speak of Jesus, "who was a prophet mighty in deed and word" (24:19), adding, "We had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel" (24:21). Jesus then upbraids them, asking, "Was it not necessary that the messiah should suffer these things and enter into his glory?" (24:26). The logic of this conversation suggests that Jesus is both prophet and messiah, a figure mighty in deed and expected to redeem Israel.

37. Craig A. Evans, "Exorcisms and the Kingdom: Inaugurating the Kingdom of God and Defeating the Kingdom of Satan," in *Key Events in the Life of the Historical Jesus: A Collaborative Exploration of Context and Coherence*, ed. Darrell L. Bock and

for this reason that Jesus charges his disciples/apostles to proclaim the kingdom *and* cast out demons (Matt 10:1, 7–8; Mark 3:14–15; 6:7, 12–13; Luke 9:1; 10:9).

Much of this could be deduced apart from the evidence of Qumran, but these scrolls make it clear that in the time of Jesus it was believed that Israel's famous king, whose descendant would appear in the last days as the messiah, possessed prophetic and exorcistic powers. If he possessed such powers, then his eschatological descendant, it should be assumed, would also possess these powers. Because these powers were in evidence in Jesus, his disciples were persuaded that he was indeed the Davidic messiah, who would redeem Israel.

The evidence of the Qumran scrolls has been of great importance for understanding better the teachings and activities of Jesus, and the expectations and understanding of his contemporaries. Most of these scrolls date to a generation or two before the time of Jesus, and a few date to his time. They therefore reflect ideas and hopes current in his time. The coherence at points between the teaching of Jesus and the teaching of the scrolls demonstrates the relevance of the latter for understanding better the former. The ideas contained in the psalms of David, particularly the "additional" psalms of David, including the exorcistic psalms found in 11Q11, are of great value and deserve ongoing, careful study.[38]

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38. To which my long-time friend and colleague Peter Flint has made important contributions. I offer this study in his memory.

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Prophecy and Divination in the Gospel of Matthew: The Use of Dream-Visions and Fulfillment Quotations

Kyung S. Baek

1. Introduction

Eight dream-visions and ten fulfillment quotations disclosing divine revelation are scattered throughout the Gospel of Matthew.[1] These dream-visions and fulfillment quotations, often working together, must be understood within the sphere of ancient Near Eastern divination. This paper is concerned with the ways in which Matthew demonstrates a knowledge and utilization of ancient Near Eastern divinatory practices. First, I will briefly examine the continuity between ancient Near Eastern divination and the textualization of prophecy through late Second Temple scribal practices that seems to have influenced Matthean prophecy. Second, I will identify several features within Matthew that evidence his acquaintance with aspects or agents of divination—namely, magi, blessings and curses, divine messengers, and signs. Third, and finally, I will examine Matthew's

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Professor Peter Flint was my mentor and friend. I am honored to dedicate this essay to his memory.

1. Dream-visions: Matt 1:20–21; 2:12–13, 19–20, 3:16–17, 22; 17:1–9; 27:19 contain dream-visions with auditory dream-visions found in Jesus's baptism and transfiguration (3:16–17; 17:1–9). I have chosen to refer to dreams and visions as dream-visions. They are two fluid concepts with no sharp distinction, with the same term describing both sleep and awake dream-visions. See John S. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Graeco-Roman World and Early Christianity," *ANRW* 23.2:1407–1408. Fulfillment quotations: Matthew 1:22–23; 2:15b, 17–18, 23b; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:34–35; 21:4–5; 27:9–10. I have differentiated between fulfillment and formula quotations, and excluded Matt 3:3 due to some unique features of the fulfillment quotations: (1) contains the verb "fulfilled" (πληρόω), (2) narrative comments by the author, and (3) unique to Matthew (compare Mark 1:3; Luke 3:4–6).

use of dream-visions and fulfillment quotations, which function similarly to Qumran *pesharim* (i.e., as a method of acquiring divine revelation) to contemporize the Hebrew prophets in light of Jesus the Messiah for the early church community.

2. Ancient Near Eastern Divination and Matthean Prophecy

Late Second Temple scribal culture can act as a bridge between ancient Near Eastern divination and Matthean prophecy.[2] Therefore understanding Matthew as a scribe within this context helps to situate his use of dream-visions and fulfillment quotations as a method of revealing God's divine will (e.g., Matt 13:51–52).[3]

2.1. Divination and Prophecy

Late Second Temple scribal culture shared the same conceptual world of divine revelation as Hellenistic Near Eastern scribal societies—that is, the universe was symbolic and inundated with signs in nature. The divinatory system, common to ancient eastern Mediterranean cultures, often articulated societal and institutional understandings and values.[4] Therefore, the purpose of divination as a system of knowledge and beliefs served to maintain the symbolic universe in a society; that is, these cultures were convinced that things occurring on earth were not coincidental

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2. Matthew seems to have four distinct uses for the word "prophet" (προφήτης) or "prophesy" (προφητεύω): (1) the Law and the Prophets (5:17; 7:12; 11:13; 22:40), (2) prophecy (2:5; 3:3; 7:22; 12:39; 13:14; 15:7; 24:15; 26:56), (3) persecution and rejection of the prophets (5:12; 13:57; 23:29–31; 23:34, 37), and (4) the prophet or the prophetic office (10:41; 11:9; 10:41; 13:17; 14:5; 16:14; 21:11; 21:26, 46; 26:68).

3. This gives Matthew the ability to interpret dream-visions and the fulfillment of authoritative texts. David E. Aune (*Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity*, WUNT 199 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006; repr., Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008], 280) lists four common aspects of prophetic interpretation: (1) it is commentary, (2) it is inspired, (3) it has an eschatological orientation, and (4) it is a prevalent type of prophecy during the Second Temple period.

4. Diviners, magicians, and oracular practitioners were prevalent in ancient Near Eastern society. A large number of tablets dealing with divination and omens demonstrate their importance in Mesopotamia. See Ann Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 251; and Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980).

but managed by superhuman agents and reflected decisions made in the world of gods and spirits. Divination assumed that the natural and supernatural spheres of reality were interlocked, and therefore necessitated an interpretation of the gods' involvement in human history and affairs. In other words, by observing everyday events it attempted to foretell the future through the interpretation of signs and various phenomena: astronomical, meteorological, or tectonic signs; entrails of sacrificed animals; flight or behavior of birds; and the casting of dice.[5]

Similarly, prophecy is a process of communication and intermediation. Martti Nissinen states, "Prophecy is seen as a process of divine-human communication, in which the prophet is the mediator between the divine and human worlds, transmitting divine messages to human recipients."[6] Therefore, with no sharp distinction between prophecy and divination, in essence prophecy must be considered a subset of divination, as they represent different ways of attaining the same goal of divine knowledge via divine communication.[7] The human intermediary, the diviner or the prophet, is part of a link in the chain of divine-human communication that transmits divine knowledge, which can come in the form of astrology, as they interpret the heavens; oneiromancy, as they interpret dream-visions; and extispicy or hepatoscopy, as they interpret the entrails of sacrificed animals or livers.[8]

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5. Scribes created technical writings, "handbooks," as they collected, elaborated on in detail, and systematized types of omens and processes of divination. See H. W. F. Saggs (*The Greatness That Was Babylon* [New York: Mentor, 1962], 307) for the classification of different divinatory techniques. Specialists existed in the areas of extispicy, astrology, and dream-vision interpretation. These early omens were part of a scholarly tradition that followed a standard pattern and employed a great deal of technical terminology. See Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 93–155; and A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book*, TAPS NS 46.3 (Philadelphia: American Philological Society, 1956), 179–354.

6. Martti Nissinen, "How Prophecy Became Literature," *SJOT* 19 (2005): 154–55.

7. See Martti Nissinen, "Prophecy and Omen Divination: Two Sides of the Same Coin," in *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, ed. Amar Annus, OIS 6 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2010), 342.

8. See Seth Richardson, "On Seeing and Believing: Liver Divination and the Era of Warring States (II)," in *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, ed. Amar Annus, OIS 6 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2010), 225–66.

As for the fine line between divination (which is clearly prohibited) and the instances of God's intervention, the difference is somewhat a matter of perspective (Deut 18:9–14; compare Lev 20:6; Isa 8:19). Although the Jewish Scriptures depict a negative attitude towards divination, some of their practices are perfectly acceptable, as God regularly spoke through them (e.g., Urim and Thummim, ephod, dream-visions, and prophetic oracles; see Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8).[9] Therefore, the distinction between the acceptance and prohibition of divination is blurred, with an increasing acceptance in some late Second Temple texts. For example, there are a number of texts that put these divinatory practices into a positive light: brontologion (4Q318); physiognomy (4Q186; 4Q561); writings of demonic remedies (Jub. 10.10–14); and exorcistic texts embedded in literary works (4Q510–11; 4Q560; 11Q11; Jub. 10.3–6; LAB 60).[10]

2.2. Scribes and Scribal Practices

Ancient Near Eastern prophecy, like the Jewish Scriptures, is preserved in written sources as literature, and therefore required scribes.[11] The development of textualized prophecy presupposes a community that adopts, repeats, interprets, and reinterprets prophetic messages for its own purposes, thereby preserving its atomistic understanding. This development corresponded with the aims and needs of Jewish communities that required skills to preserve, produce, and transmit written documents.[12]

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9. Joseph is a clear example of someone who practiced divination in the form of lecanomancy (Gen 44:5, 15).

10. Exorcism, a verbal activity, was transmitted in written forms, especially in hymns and adjurations to be recited over the demon-afflicted person or to ward off a perceived demonic attack. See papyri for Egyptian and Jewish embedded exorcism texts in *PGM* 4.3007–86 (1:170–73).

11. Writing in Mesopotamia and Egypt was only learned after long study. Schools for teaching scribes or training priests may have had specialized skills in divination. See Nissinen, "Prophecy and Omen Divination," 341. This literature includes oracle reports and collections, letters, inscriptions, literary works, cultic texts, and word lists. See Martti Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, WAW 12 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003); Ehud Ben Zvi, "The Prophetic Book: A Key Form of Prophetic Literature," in *The Changing Face of Form Criticism for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Marvin A. Sweeney and Ehud Ben Zvi (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 276–97.

12. See Nissinen, "How Prophecy Became Literature," 153–54; and Ehud Ben Zvi, introduction to *Writings and Speech in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy*, ed.

Along this trajectory of scribal development and activity, Daniel and Enoch can be understood in this way, as they reveal the divine will through the interpretation of dream-visions.[13] Daniel is identified as a wise man (חכים) and included with other diviners (magicians, enchanters, sorcerers, and astrologers) in the royal court of King Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 2:13; 12:3; compare 2:2).[14] He is given divine wisdom to interpret (פשר) dream-visions and identified as a revealer of mysteries (גלא רזיא).[15] This *mystery*, most often given through dream-visions, needs to be interpreted (Dan 2:19, 28–30, 47).[16] Similarly, Enoch interprets and communicates between heaven and earth through divine revelation and mysteries by interpreting dream-visions and speaking in parables (1 En. 1.1–3; 12.1–4; 13.4).[17] Furthermore, James VanderKam suggests that Enoch was modeled on the mythological figure Enmeduranki, who founded the guild of diviners and omen interpreters.[18] These Babylonian diviners have their counterpart in Second Temple scribes such as Daniel and Enoch. Although Daniel and Enoch rejected most methods of divination and omens, they are still concerned with divine

Ehud Ben Zvi and Michael H. Floyd, SymS 10 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 1–29.

13. John J. Collins (*Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, JSJSup 54 [Leiden: Brill, 1997], 347 n. 25) describes 1 Enoch and Daniel as “mantic wisdom.”

14. Matthew, as well as Josephus, regards Daniel as a prophet (Matt 24:15; see also *Ant.* 10.11.7), and he is associated with prophecy (4Q174 1:15).

15. The common terms רז and פשר are similarly used in Daniel and the Qumran *pesharim* as a method of prophetic interpretation (divinatory practice); both the object (dream or text) and the interpretation must be known (Dan 2:17–45). Connecting the Qumran pesharim and oneirocriticism is a complex issue. See Daniel A. Machiela, “The Qumran Pesharim as Biblical Commentaries: Historical Context and Lines of Development,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 313–62; and Alex P. Jassen, “The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary in Early Jewish Scriptural Interpretation,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 363–98.

16. In Gen 37:19, Joseph is identified as a “master of dreams” (בעל החלמות). He not only dreams them for himself, but also interprets them for others (Gen 40–41).

17. Enoch is an expert in astrology who is given divine wisdom and revelation (1 En. 72.1; 93.2), and emphasizes parables (18:14, 22, 27, 32). See Susan Niditch, “The Visionary,” in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. John J. Collins and George W. E. Nickelsburg (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1980), 153–79.

18. See James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS 16 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 23–51; and W. G. Lambert, “Enmeduranki and Related Matters,” *JCS* 21 (1967): 132. Enmeduranki is said to have been shown “how to observe oil on water, a mystery of Anu, [Enlil and Ea]; they gave him the table of the gods, the liver, a secret of heaven and [underworld].” See Collins, *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages*, 342.

revelation and interpretation, and have a high regard for dream-visions and mysteries, as they show interest in the stars, the heavenly tablets, and often ascend to heaven. In sum, Daniel and Enoch are divine interpreters who bring together scribal activity, dream-visions, and sacred texts.

Furthermore, Josephus, contemporaneous with Matthew, considered himself a prophet, as he combined dream-visions and prophecies of the Jewish Scriptures, and through them God revealed to him the future catastrophes of the Jews and the events of the Roman emperors.[19] For example, while he was in prophetic ecstasy, the prophecy of the sacred books came to his mind, as well as terrifying images in his dream-visions (*J.W.* 3.352). He, as it could be said of Matthew, acknowledged the revelatory value of dream-visions and the importance of sacred written prophecies.[20] Josephus, among other scribes of his time, was engaged with sacred texts from the past because they became prophetic oracles that had direct bearing on his present situations.

To restate my point, along the continuum of Second Temple scribal culture, Matthew can be understood as a scribe who interprets and reveals God's will through dream-visions and fulfillment quotations from the Jewish Scriptures (see Matt 13:52).[21] Therefore, Matthew's prophetic interpretation, rooted in ancient Near Eastern divination, brings the sacred texts from the past to his present audience as prophetic oracles; that is, divine revelation as God reveals mysteries.

3. Divinatory Elements in Matthew

Up to this point, I have attempted to bridge ancient Near Eastern divination with Matthean prophecy with late Second Temple scribal culture. Yet

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19. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, "Prophecy and Priesthood in Josephus," *JJS* 25 (1974): 239–62; Louis H. Feldman, "Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus," *JTS* 41 (1990): 386–422.

20. Prophecy was highly valued throughout the Roman Empire during the first century CE (*J.W.* 6.300–309). Also, Josephus, in discussing the Zealots, acknowledges the ambiguity of sacred texts and the deception of wisemen (*τῶν σοφῶν*), who missed the meaning of an oracle of a future ruler (*J.W.* 6:312–13). See Martin Hengel, *Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 A.D.*, trans. D. Smith (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1961; repr., T&T Clark, 1989), 233–45.

21. See George J. Brooke, "Aspects of Matthew's Use of Scripture," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason et al., JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 2:821–38.

before examining Matthew's dream-visions and fulfillment quotations, I will identify and relate four ancient Near Eastern divinatory features present in the Gospel of Matthew: (1) magi (i.e., astrologers) from the east, (2) blessings and curses, (3) divine messengers, and (4) signs as omens. It should be noted that these divinatory practices can be easily derived from Israelite traditions and may represent Matthew's cultural and scribal heritage.[22] Therefore, Matthew seems to be familiar with these ancient Near Eastern divinatory practices and utilizes them to underscore God's identification and purposes for Jesus.

3.1. Magi

The magi from the east are astrologers who have divined the skies. They have interpreted the appearance of a star as a sign from heaven announcing the birth of the king of the Jews and followed it to Jerusalem (2:1–2). After being summoned by King Herod, they inquire of this new king's precise location, to which the chief priest and scribes respond by quoting the prophet Micah (Matt 2:5; compare Mic 5:2). The magi, then, connect divination with Matthew, as Dodson claims: "Matthew's inclusion of 'magi from the east' in his story of Jesus would invoke for an ancient audience images of diviners whose craft included various forms of divination, including astrology and dream interpretation."[23] In addition, Matthew even seems to approve these diviners: there is no negative evaluation against them or prohibition against their actions, and there seems to be some divine favor and justification in their role within Jesus's birth narrative, as they are warned through a dream not to return to Herod (2:12). Furthermore, this juxtaposition of the magi, a dream-vision, and an explicit citation from the prophet Micah seems to connect divination

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22. Ancient Near Eastern divination was widely used and interpreted by specialists. There are many different forms that either observed natural occurrences or required rituals. For a full list of these forms, see Frederick H. Cryer, *Divination in Ancient Israel and Its Near Eastern Environment: A Socio-Historical Investigation,* JSOTSup 142 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994); and Jeremy Black, "Omens and Divination," in *Dictionary of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski and Alan R. Millard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 218–19. Specifically, Cryer gives evidence for those that overlap with ancient Israel (e.g., dream-visions, signs or omens, diviners).

23. Derek S. Dodson, *Reading Dreams: An Audience-Critical Approach to the Dreams in the Gospel of Matthew*, LNTS 397 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 159 n. 112.

and prophecy, as they emphasize Jesus's birth and identity as the king of the Jews.

3.2. Blessings and Curses

Concerning blessings and curses, Ann Jeffers elucidates that they were another form of divination or magic that arose from the royal court and cultic practices of ancient Palestine and Syria.[24] She emphasizes that blessings and curses should be understood within the context of the northwest Semitic world, where they were a fixed part of the cultus and held a prominent place in everyday life, and where there was no sharp distinction between the magical and religious world.[25] Within this context, magical chants of blessing and curse were formulated with rhythmic organization, antithetical parallelism, and repetition to strengthen the force of the utterance.[26] Correspondingly, Matthew seems to have a rhythmic set of "blessings" in the Sermon on the Mount (5:1–12) and another rhythmic set of "curses" in the woe formulas directed at the scribes and Pharisees (23:13–36).[27]

3.3. Divine Messengers

Matthew also recounts numerous appearances of divine messengers: the angel of the Lord appears to Joseph (1:20, 24; 2:13, 19), angels attend Jesus after his testing in the wilderness (4:11); angels play an important role in the eschaton (13:41, 49; 16:27; 24:31; 25:31, 41), angels are identified as

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24. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination*, 249.

25. See ibid., 244. The difference between the magical and religious worlds is that the words (blessings and curses) and their power are placed either in the control of the divine or the practitioners to accomplish their purposes and, in effect, control the deity.

26. Herbert C. Brichto, *The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible*, SBLMS 13 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1963), 5.

27. Curses also occur in reference to certain cities (Matt 11:20–24). On woe formulas, see H. S. Versnel, "Magic," *OCD*, 909. Furthermore, Matthew seems to be acquainted with magical incantations in Jesus's negative assessment within his instructions on prayer, as he accuses gentiles of heaping up many words to be heard by the gods (Matt 6:7). Although this is viewed negatively, it underscores Matthew's knowledge of this manipulative or coercive strategy as a divinatory practice that attempts to secure divine favor by compelling spiritual forces to act.

protectors (18:10), Jesus claims to have the ability to call on twelve legions of angels (26:53), the angel of the Lord descending from heaven rolls back the stone of Jesus's tomb (28:2), and an angel speaks to the women at the empty tomb[28] (28:5; compare Mark 16:5).[29] Notably, some of the aforementioned appearances are connected to dream-visions and prophecy.[30] Another related connection is Matthew's references to Satan, the devil, Beelzebul, and demons.[31] These appear throughout the narrative, with two significant and lengthy discussions concerning Jesus's identity and authority in casting out demons.[32]

3.4. Signs

Matthew has fourteen occurrences of signs or omens (*σημεῖον* or *τέρας*), with most appearing in two requests for a divine sign from Jesus.[33] On these two occasions, the religious leaders ask Jesus for a sign, but he rejects them, saying, "No sign will be given except the sign of the prophet Jonah" (12:39; see also 16:4). Jesus's responses assert the religious leaders' inability to interpret the signs or the prophets: they can interpret the appearance of the skies (i.e., predict future weather), but they cannot interpret the sign of the prophet Jonah. What is at stake here between Jesus and the religious leaders is the ability to interpret the Jewish Scriptures correctly.

Scott Noegel recognizes signs and omens within the interpretive process of ancient diviners. He identifies words and texts as sources of power

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28. Mark has a young man dressed in a white robe, while Matthew has an angel.

29. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr. (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew*, 3 vols. [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988–1997], 1:80–82) give the number of references for ἄγγελος (Matt: 20; Mark: 6; Luke: 25), ἄγγελος θεοῦ (Matt: 6; Mark: 0; Luke: 2), διάβολος (Matt: 6; Mark: 0; Luke: 5), and Βεελζεβούλ (Matt: 3; Mark: 1; Luke: 3).

30. See Frances Lynn Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras*, JSJSup 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

31. Matt 4:1–11; 7:22; 8:16, 31; 9:33–34; 10:8; 11:18; 12:24, 27–28; 15:22; 17:18.

32. Matt 12:22–37; 9:32–34 (compare Mark 3:22–27; Luke 11:14–23); Matt 12:43–45 (compare Luke 11:24–26).

33. Matt 12:38, 39 (3x); 16:1, 3, 4 (3x); 24:3; 24:24, 30 (2x; *σημεῖα μεγάλα καὶ τέρατα*); 26:48. Although there is only one occurrence of "omen" (*τέρατα*), there does seem to be some overlap in meaning between "sign" and "omen." In the LXX, אות is rendered *σημεῖον* or *τέρας*. See Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, "*σημεῖον*," *TDNT* 7:200–61; BDAG, s.v. "*σημεῖον*."

that recognize the cosmological foundations, which then inform the production of divinatory and prophetic texts.[34]

> The exegesis of divine signs is often treated as if it were a purely hermeneutical act. However, recognizing the cosmological dimension of the spoken and written word naturally forces us to reconsider the ontological and ritual dimensions of the interpretative process. Indeed, I believe it is more accurate to think of the exegesis of divine signs as a ritual act, in some cases, as one chain in a link of ritual acts.… Therefore, the exegesis of divine signs is cosmologically significant and constitutes a performative act of power.[35]

Therefore, the scribal process of interpreting signs is an act of power, as sacred texts are shaped and divine activity is unleashed.

Similarly, Noegel writes:

> Until one deciphers them, omens represent unbridled forms of divine power. While their meanings and consequences are unknown they remain liminal and potentially dangerous. The act of interpreting a sign seeks to limit that power by restricting the parameters of a sign's interpretation. A divine sign cannot now mean *anything*, but only *one* thing. Seen in this way, the act of interpretation—like the act of naming—constitutes a performative act of power; hence the importance of well-trained professionals and the secrecy in the transmission of texts of ritual power.[36]

The sign of Jonah (or, the interpretation of the Hebrew prophets) is an act of power and a future omen in Matthew's narrative. What is required by the religious leaders is to read and interpret the sign correctly. Therefore, Matthew's use of signs places divine power in the Jewish Scriptures,

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34. Scott B. Noegel, "'Sign, Sign, Everywhere a Sign': Script, Power, and Interpretation in the Ancient Near East," in *Divination and the Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, ed. Amar Annus, OIS 6 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2010), 146–62. These words and texts, therefore, provide a contextual framework that permits the reader to see the interpretive process as ritual acts of performative power that legitimates and promotes the cosmological and ideological systems of the interpreter.

35. Ibid., 146–47.

36. Ibid., 147. Also in Assyrian dream texts, uninterpreted dreams are perilous (see also b. Ber. 55b). See Shaul Bar, *A Letter That Has Not Been Read: Dreams in the Hebrew Bible*, trans. Lenn J. Schramm, HUCM (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2001).

and specifically in the Hebrew prophets, but the agency to correctly interpret them is exclusively given to Jesus.[37]

Moreover, Matthew uses many signs surrounding Jesus's birth and death: divine conception (1:18–20); magi and the star (2:1–2, 10); darkness, tearing of the temple curtain, earthquake, and opening of the tombs (27:45, 51–53).[38] All together these signs indicate divine activity—acts of God (see 2:2; 27:37).

4. Matthew's Use of Dream-Visions and Fulfillment Quotations

In order to bring about Matthew's message—that a new era of the kingdom of heaven has been inaugurated with Jesus the Messiah—a characteristic strategy of Matthew is the use of dream-visions and fulfillment quotations (see 11:13).[39] These work together to reveal the divine will and the fulfillment of prophecy with the verb πληρόω and related compounds (3:15; 5:17; 26:54, 56), followed by a quotation from the Hebrew prophets.[40] They reveal the divine will of Jesus's identity as the Messiah for the early church community.

4.1. Dream-Visions

In the New Testament, only Matthew contains the word ὄναρ (dream), which again seems to intimate his familiarity and use of divinatory practices.[41] To the ancient Near Eastern mind, dream-visions constitute yet

37. However, Jesus also gives this ability to Matthew as a scribe who is trained for the kingdom of heaven, which is then revealed in his use of fulfillment quotations (see 13:52).

38. There are also three instances of signs found in the eschatological discourse (24:3, 24, 30).

39. Furthermore, both John and Jesus are explicitly identified as expected eschatological prophets who seem to fulfill the prophecy of Moses (Matt 11:9; 16:14; 21:26; see also Deut 18:15).

40. Matthew 5:17 seems to act as the foundation for the fulfillment of prophecy. See Michael P. Knowles, "Scripture, History, Messiah: Scripture Fulfillment and the Fullness of Time in Matthew's Gospel," in *Hearing the Old Testament in the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 59–82.

41. On dreams: Acts 2:17 uses the term ἐνύπνιον, and Jude 8 uses ἐνυπνιάζομαι, which are derived from the natural process of sleep, rather than ὄναρ. See Albrecht Oepke, "ὄναρ," *TDNT* 5:220–38. On divinatory practices, see Oppenheim (*Inter-*

another form of divination, as the divine enters into human affairs.[42] Matthew contains six dreams and two visions, all of which reveal Jesus's divine approval and protection. In Matthew's first instances, dream-visions denote the importance of Jesus's birth; that is, dream-visions to Joseph and the magi indicate supernatural aspects of Jesus's birth.[43] Furthermore, as a divine medium, they are used to protect and rescue Jesus, the royal child, from Herod and Archelaus, as well as repudiate suggestions concerning his illegitimacy (1:18b–25; 2:12–14, 22). For example, and for added emphasis, Matt 2:12 and 2:13–15 contain a double dream report to prevent Herod's plot and safeguard Jesus.[44] This divine "step-by-step movement," or guidance, is given through dream-visions to ensure that no harm comes to Jesus, the king of the Jews.[45]

At Jesus's trial, Pilate's wife sends Pilate a warning to have nothing to do with "that innocent man," which she received and suffered in a dream-vision (27:19). This dream highlights Jesus's divine favor and innocence.[46] Although there is some uncertainty to the purpose of Pilate's wife's dream-vision (which is neither narrated nor interpreted), it still functions as divine intervention (27:19). One view is that the dream-vision foreshad-

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pretation of Dreams, 184–217), who lists a number of types of dreams-visions: (1) communication by a divine figure, (2) auditory communication by a divine voice, (3) symbolic communication that needs an interpreter, (4) waking revelation, (5) visionary journey, and (6) apparitions of heavenly beings (e.g., Dan 10:4–12:13; 2 Bar. 6:4–7:1).

42. See Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests*, 119, 170–200; Oppenheim, *Interpretation of Dreams*, 186–206; and Andrew B. Perrin, *The Dynamics of Dream-Vision Revelation in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls*, JAJSup 19 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 123–57.

43. Five dream-visions occur surrounding Jesus's birth (Matt 1:20; 2:12, 13, 19–20, 22). Dream-visions are a common motif of birth narratives in Greco-Roman literature, revealing the future destiny of a notable person. See Dodson, *Reading Dreams*, 78.

44. See Hanson, "Dreams and Visions," 1414–19. Hanson names this type of double dream report as a "circumstance of benefit."

45. These dream-visions within Matthew's narrative (1:20; 2:12–13, 19) also seem to echo the patriarchal traditions recounting Genesis, with Joseph's narrative (Gen 40–41; esp. 37:1–11), and Exodus, with the infanticide in Egypt (Matt 1–2; compare Exod 1–2). Robert Gnuse ("Dream Genre in the Matthean Infancy Narratives," *NovT* 32 [1990]: 97–120) argues that these dreams share deep structural similarities with the dreams in Genesis.

46. See Helen K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 124–29.

ows Jesus's suffering and death, as it, from the perspective of Pilate's wife, causes her suffering.[47] However, I suggest that it highlights Jesus's innocence, especially in association with Judas's remorse and death (27:1–10) and Pilate's washing of his hands (27:24). Both Judas and Pilate attempt to absolve themselves from Jesus's death, due to his innocence.[48]

In addition, Jesus's baptism and transfiguration, strictly auditory dream-visions lacking any apparent visual elements, can be considered another form of revelation that includes a voice from heaven or a bright cloud.[49] Significantly, only Matthew uses *ὅραμα* (vision) to describe the transfiguration.[50] These dream-visions function to reveal divine approval and legitimation: "This is my son, the beloved; with him I am well pleased; listen to him!" (17:5; see also 3:17).

Matthew's dream-visions function as divine revelation and offer insights into Jesus's situation, while evoking a broader sense of God's work within Israel's history through the citation of the Jewish Scriptures (see 1:22–23; 2:15, 17, 23).[51] This pairing of dream-vision with scriptural citation occurs in a number of places as visionary and scriptural omens (prophetic expectations) and as prognostications for Matthew concerning Jesus's endangerment:

(1) Visionary and scriptural omen: Joseph's dream-vision (1:20; see also 1:23, citing Isa 7:14). Prognostication for Matthew: danger of public disgrace and dismissal.

(2) Visionary and scriptural omen: magi's dream-vision (2:12; see also 2:6, citing Mic 5:2, 4).[52] Prognostication for Matthew: danger from Herod's plot.

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47. Dodson, *Reading Dreams*, 164.

48. Judas says, "I have sinned by betraying innocent blood," while Pilate says, "I am innocent of this man's blood; see to it yourselves" (see Matt 27:4, 24). Furthermore, Pilate demonstrates his belief in his wife's dream-vision as divine revelation and shifts the responsibility of Jesus's death away from himself and onto the surrounding crowd (27:25; compare Deut 19:19; Lev 20:9).

49. Matt 3:13–17; 17:1–13; see also Acts 9:10; 18:9. Here I am following Oppenheim's second category: auditory communication by a divine voice (*Interpretation of Dreams*, 186–206).

50. Matthew 17:9 (compare Mark 9:9; Luke 9:36).

51. Dream-visions are also connected with rewriting Scripture. See Dodson, *Reading Dreams*, 74–75.

52. Both Matt 2:12 and 27:19, dream-visions given to the magi and to Pilate's wife, do not cite the prophets directly after the dream-vision but occur within their respec-

(3) Visionary and scriptural omen: Joseph's dream-vision (2:13; see also 2:15, citing Hos 11:1; Matt 2:18, citing Jer 31:15). Prognostication for Matthew: danger from Herod's plot and violence.

(4) Visionary and scriptural omen: Joseph's dream-vision (2:19; 2:22; see also 2:23, citing Isa 7:14; 8:8–10). Prognostication for Matthew: danger from Archelaus.

(5) Visionary and scriptural omen: Pilate's wife's dream-vision (27:19; see also 27:9–10, citing Zech 11:12–13; Jer 19:1–13; 32:6–9). Prognostication for Matthew: danger concerning Jesus's reputation and innocence.

Therefore, Matthew's combination of a dream-vision and a narrative comment containing a fulfillment quotation from the Hebrew prophets weaves divination, prophecy, and the Jewish Scriptures together.[53] These Matthean asides provide commentary on the significance of certain events in Jesus's life and its relation to prophecy. In short, dream-visions and prophetic quotations function in tandem to emphasize divine intervention and communication: their joint impact is to underscore the divine will to protect and legitimate Jesus as the royal child in the face of danger.

4.2. Matthew and *Pesharim*

Before I examine Matthew's fulfillment quotations, a brief comment on Qumran *pesharim* should provide a context for their use. Qumran *pesharim* interpret and contemporize the Jewish Scriptures.[54] They are often defined as either a genre or a technique of biblical interpretation that selects authoritative texts and applies them contemporaneously to a sectar-

tive pericopes. It is interesting that these two occurrences involving gentiles, contrary to Joseph, lack a divine messenger.

53. This is also evident in Josephus's narrative comments, which connect his ability to interpret dreams with his knowledge of the prophecies of Scripture (*J.W.* 3.351). This is also common in ancient literature (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.34, 209). See, Steven M. Sheeley, *Narrative Asides in Luke-Acts*, JSNTSup 72 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 40–96.

54. Three types of *pesharim* have been identified among the Dead Sea Scrolls: (1) continuous, (2) thematic, and (3) isolated. See Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, CRINT 2.2 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 504–508 (see also 483–550); and Shani Tzoref, "Qumran Pesharim and the Pentateuch: Explicit Citation, Overt Typologies, and Implicit Interpretive Traditions," *DSD* 16 (2009): 190–220.

ian setting. This arises from an understanding of the word *peshar* (פשר), meaning to interpret or explain, which throughout Daniel refers to the interpretation of dream-visions.[55] Therefore, as Shani L. Berrin explains:

> The Qumran community perceived biblical prophecy, in itself revelation, as analogous to a dream the mystery of which might only be unraveled by a specially endowed individual. The coded prophetic messages were deciphered by the author of the *peshar*. However, his own expression of the newly revealed "true meaning" also was effected in veiled terms.[56]

Consequently, *peshar* can be understood as divine revelation that contemporizes an authoritative text for its intended audience (see also 1QpHab 8:8–11; compare Hab 2:5–6).[57]

Although Matthew cannot be strictly identified as Qumran *pesharim*, he does seem to adapt this method of interpretation in his use of fulfillment quotations. First, continuous *pesharim* begin with an authoritative composition, which is then interpreted to be fulfilled prophecy (e.g., 1QpHab; 4Q161; 4Q169; 4Q171).[58] Correspondingly, Matthew utilizes a strict structure in using fulfillment quotations as proof-texts: a formula followed by a citation from the Hebrew prophets. Furthermore, they only quote from the scriptural prophets (2:17; 4:13; 8:17; 12:17; 27:9) and are supported by other explicit quotations from the Jewish Scriptures (11:10; 13:14–15; 15:7–9; 21:42).[59] Second, thematic *pesharim* weave citations of scriptural texts around a central concept (e.g., 11Q13, 4Q174, 4Q177).

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55. Dan 2:4–7, 45; 4:15–16; 5:12, 15–16, 26; 7:16. This Aramaic word is connected to the Akkadian word *paharu* and *pišru*, with the root meaning "to unbind"; specifically, the unbinding of dream-visions and prophetic texts. See BDB, 833d, 1109a; *HALOT*, s.v. "פֵּשֶׁר."

56. Shani L. Berrin, "Pesharim," *EDSS* 2:644 (see also 2:644–47).

57. See George J. Brooke, "Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January 2004*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 47.

58. They strictly adhere to a structure: (1) lemma, which is the scriptural citation from the Hebrew prophets; (2) formula (e.g., "this passage means"; 1QpHab 5:3); and (3) application of the text into the audience's present reality.

59. In Jesus's parables discourse (Matt 13), there are two quotations that provide the reason behind Jesus's use of parables: one outside the narrative, as a commentary

These citations function as proof-texts for the central theme and often confirm a previous statement of application (compare 11Q13 2:1–4). Comparably, Matthew's fulfillment quotations, centering around the theme of Jesus's identity, function to validate Jesus as the Messiah according to the Jewish Scriptures and the prophets (compare Mic 5:2; Isa 9:1–2; 42:1–4; 53:4; Zech 9:9).[60] They interpret and mediate Jesus's narrative and movements, affirming God's divine protection upon him. Third, isolated *pesharim* are scriptural citations within a composition that are applied to the audience's setting.[61] Similarly, Matthew applies the Hebrew prophets to his community through his contemporaneous interpretation, even as far as altering their wording to articulate the precise sense in which Matthew meant them to be understood or applied.[62] In conclusion, Matthew's fulfillment quotations, like the Qumran *pesharim*, actualize the Hebrew prophets for the author's context and audience, as it comments on Jesus's narrative as fulfilled prophecy revealing the divine will and disclosing Jesus's divine approval and appointment.

4.3. Fulfillment Quotations

Matthew's ten fulfillment quotations act as a running commentary validating Jesus's messianic identity that has been divinely and prophetically

(13:35; compare Ps 78:2); and one within the narrative, from Jesus (13:13–15; compare Isa 6:9–10).

60. There is also an identification between Jesus and Israel: a child of promise, being delivered from Herod's slaughter, coming out of Egypt, passing through the water, entering the wilderness for testing, calling out the twelve sons of Israel, giving the Torah from a mountain, performing ten miracles, sending out the twelve to conquer the land, and being transfigured before his disciples. See Richard N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 125.

61. E.g., CD 3:20–44; 4:13–19; 6:3–11; 7:10–21; 8:8–15; 19:5–13; 1QS 8:13–16; 1QM 11:11–12.

62. On the contemporaneous interpretation of the prophets: this divine revelation acts as an eschatological commentary of the Hebrew prophets with his use of the last days (Matt 24–25; see also 7:22; 9:15; 10:15; 11:22–24; 12:36; 24:36–38, 42, 50; 25:13). On Matthew's alterations to scriptural texts, see Christopher D. Stanley, "Social Environment of 'Free' Biblical Quotations in the New Testament," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 18–27.

foretold.[63] They frame Jesus's narrative as a fulfillment of the Hebrew prophets (5:17–18; 26:52–56).

Table 1. Prophetic fulfillment quotations by Matthew[64]

Matthew	Citation	Divine Revelation
* 1:22–23	Isa 7:14	Jesus's identification and purpose
* 2:15b	Hos 11:1	Jesus's identification and protection
* 2:17–18	**Jer 31:15**	Jesus's protection from Herod's violence
* 2:23b	Isa 11:1; see also Judg 13:5	Jesus's identification and protection from Archelaus
4:14–16	**Isa 8:23–9:1**	Jesus's identification and purpose
8:17	**Isa 53:4**	Jesus's identification and purpose of healing
12:17–21	**Isa 42:1–4**	Jesus's identification and purpose
13:34–35	Ps 78:2	Jesus's identification and purpose of speaking in parables
21:4–5	Zech 9:9; see also Isa 62:11	Jesus's identification
* 27:9–10	Zech 11:13; see also **Jer 18:1–2**; **32:6–9**[65]	Jesus's identification and innocence

As divine revelation and prophetic fulfillment, Matthew's fulfillment quotations are written *outside* of the narrative and act as commentary to Jesus's life, which was foretold by the Hebrew prophets:[66]

(1) Matthew 1:23 (Isa 7:14 LXX; see also Isa 8:8–10 LXX), almost directly quoted from Isa 7:14 LXX, is found in the context of an angelic announcement to Joseph identifying Jesus as savior.[67] The sign of a virgin

63. See table 1. This coincides with Matthew's emphasis on fulfillment (πληρόω) in presenting Jesus as fulfilling "all righteousness" (3:15), "the law and the prophets" (5:17–18), and "the Scriptures" (26:54). Also, I have omitted Matt 3:3 (Isa 40:3 LXX) from this list because it lacks the word πληρόω, and it is not unique to Matthew but also found in Mark 1:3, Luke 3:4, and John 1:23.

64. The symbol * indicates a connection with a dream-vision, and bold indicates that Matthew identifies these particular prophets.

65. This seems to be misattributed to Jeremiah; see Matt 26:15.

66. This is different from Matthew's scriptural quotations, which are found in direct speech within the narrative (e.g., Matt 2:5–6; 4:4; 7:23; 11:9–10; 13:14–15; 21:16; 22:44; 23:39; 27:46).

67. With one change: καλέσουσιν ("they will call": future active indicative, third per. pl.) instead of καλέσεις ("you will call": future active indicative, second per. sg.).

giving birth to a son whose name will be Immanuel is a sign for Ahaz concerning the destruction of Judah by the Assyrian invasion. This also becomes a sign for Matthew that is fulfilled in Jesus's birth and identification (compare Isa 7:15–17).

(2) Matthew 2:15b (Hos 11:1), based on a reflection of Israel's exodus out of Egypt and wilderness wanderings as a rebellious child, identifies Jesus with Israel as God's son (see 4:1–11; 3:17).[68]

(3) Matthew 2:18 (Jer 31:15) connects the trauma of the Babylonian exile with the serious threats of violence to Jesus.[69]

(4) Matthew 2:23b (Isa 11:1) connects Jesus with Ναζωραῖος, which represents a prophetic expectation of a misunderstood and rejected messiah (see Zech 9–14; Pss 22, 69; Isa 52:13–53:12).[70]

(5) Matthew 4:15–16 (Isa 8:23–9:1) identifies Jesus's ministry in Galilee with restoration after the devastation of the Assyrian invasion (compare Isa 58:8–10).[71] Furthermore, the designation of "Galilee of the nations" indicates the region's openness to the surrounding gentile populations, with the image of darkness to light indicating the transformation of hopelessness to salvation.

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68. Matthew is closer to the Hebrew text of Hos 11:1 rather than the Greek text.

69. Matthew agrees with the LXX but puts "children" rather than "sons." Michael P. Knowles (*Jeremiah in Matthew's Gospel: The Rejected Prophet Motif in Matthaean Redaction*, JSNTSup 69 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993], 45–52) gives a number of interpretive possibilities.

70. This quotation is slightly different from the other quotations: the "prophets" are in the plural rather than in the singular, and the quotation is missing "saying" (λέγοντος) in the introductory formula (see Matt 26:56). This quotation is from Isa 11:1 if Ναζωραῖος is from the Hebrew נצר. See Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968), 103–104, 198–99; or Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel, with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 103–104. An alternate possibility is Judg 13:5, if Ναζωραῖος is from Greek Ναζεὶρ (Nazarite). See Davies and Allison, *Saint Matthew,* 1:276; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, trans. J. Crouch, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 149; and Maarten J. J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 170–72. However, Matt 11:18–19 identifies Jesus as a glutton and wine drinker. On the designation "Nazarene," see R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 94–95. The only other occurrence of Ναζωραῖος in Matthew seems to be a derogatory designation (see Matt 26:71).

71. Closer to the Hebrew, but not fully corresponding to either the Greek or the Hebrew. See Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 15–16.

(6) Matthew 8:17b (Isa 53:4), a summary comment on Jesus's ministry from the fourth Servant Song (Isa 52:13–53:12), connects this song with Jesus's exorcisms and healings, as the servant's suffering benefits the people (compare 1 Pet 2:24).[72]

(7) Matthew 12:18–21 (Isa 42:1–4) summarizes Jesus's ministry by identifying Jesus as God's chosen servant, in contrast with the Pharisees (12:1–14).[73] As God's servant, Jesus selflessly extends the gospel to the gentiles as part of God's declared purpose of salvation.

(8) Matthew 13:34–35 (Ps 78:2) expresses the psalmist's agenda and confirms Jesus's quotation of Isa 6:10 LXX (see also Matt 13:14).[74] Jesus utters God's hidden truth as enigmatic parables to challenge the crowds, which fulfils the Jewish Scriptures.[75]

(9) Matthew 21:4–5 (Isa 62:11; Zech 9:9) is located between command and implementation, which shows that the execution of Jesus's command and the fulfillment of the prophet's word coincide (see also Matt 1:20–25).[76]

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72. This connection with Jesus's healing ministry is also found in Matt 12:17–21 (compare Isa 42:1–4).

73. Matthew 12:18–21 is closer to the Hebrew of Isaiah. Matthew 12:18–21 (Isa 42:1–4) and 21:5 (Zech 9:9, with Isa 62:11) are both messianic. See Michael P. Knowles, "Scripture, History, Messiah," 59–82.

74. The Psalms are considered prophecy according to 11QPs[a] 27:11, which states: "all these he spoke through prophecy, which was given to him from before the Most High." See Tzoref, "Qumran Pesharim and the Pentateuch," 191 n. 2; and James L. Kugel, "David the Prophet," in *Poetry and Prophecy: The Beginnings of a Literary Tradition* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 45–55. The psalmist makes a prophetic utterance and reveals the unknown (i.e., "secrets of the kingdom of heaven"; see also 1 Chr 25:2; 2 Chr 29:30). In Matt 13, parables are patterns of revelation that serve to reveal hidden truths; however, the explanation is withheld from the crowds and only given to the disciples.

75. Matthew 13:13 is reminiscent of Solomon, who spoke three thousand proverbs (*παραβολή* in 1 Kgs 4:32 LXX).

76. In Matt 21:4–5, there is an omission of the words "righteous and victorious [saving] is he" that does not seem to fit Matthew's interest during Jesus's entry into Jerusalem. Matthew 21:5 is not like the Hebrew or Greek; however, it does begin by corresponding to Isa 62:11 LXX and then Zech 9:9, which contains a message of salvation addressed to Jerusalem. The first part (*εἴπατε τῇ θυγατρὶ Σιών*) is from Isa 62:11 LXX. The second part (*ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεύς σου ἔρχεταί σοι πραῢς καὶ ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ*) seems to be from Zech 9:9 LXX, and the third part (*ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου*) seems to be from the Hebrew (or revised LXX) of Zech 9:9. See Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 111–14. In addition, R. T. France (*Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission* [London: Tyndale Press, 1971], 188–

The concept of a shepherd-king who is despised and whose coming will lead to his rejection and death is important for this fulfillment quotation (compare Zech 9:9–10; 12:10–14; 13:7; 11:4–14).[77]

(10) Matthew 27:9–10 is a reworked prophecy of Zech 11:12–13 that is attributed to Jeremiah (compare Jer 18:1–2; 32:6–9).[78] This citation does not seem to be a simple quotation but a mosaic of scriptural motifs declaring Jesus's innocence: (1) a potter's field (Jer 32:6–9), (2) thirty silver pieces (Zech 11:12–13), and (3) a potter's house (Jer 18:1–2).

4.4. Purpose of Fulfillment Quotations

This now brings me to the purpose of these fulfillment quotations. As I have already stated above, Matthew's fulfillment quotations authenticate Jesus as the long-anticipated Messiah and the king of the Jews, inaugurating God's reign (i.e., the kingdom of heaven), which was foretold by the Jewish Scriptures. Matthew, knowledgeable of divinatory and prophetic scribal practices, uses these explicit quotations to indicate the fulfillment of the Hebrew prophets to his contemporary context.

First, just like ancient Near Eastern divination, which is triggered by uncertainty, Matthew's fulfillment quotations arise from tumultuous circumstances (e.g., Matt 2:17–18; compare Jer 31:15): "Divination tends to be future-oriented, not necessarily in the sense of foretelling future events, but as a method of tackling the anxiety about the insecurity of life and coping with the risk brought about by human ignorance."[79] These quotations stabilize this anxiety and explicitly give answers beyond the range of ordinary human understanding, through prophecy and oracle, to what is needed in difficult times.

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89) claims that Zech 9:9–10 is a messianic oracle, and is the first of many quotations from Zech 9–14: Matt 21:5 (Zech 9:9–10); Matt 26:31 (Zech 13:7); and Matt 27:9–10 (Zech 11:12-13). On the command and fulfillment pattern, see Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 107.

77. See France, *Gospel of Matthew*, 1045.

78. The text of this fulfillment equation differs from both the Hebrew and Greek texts, with Matt 27:9 closer to Zechariah. Matthew only attributes fulfillment quotations to the names Isaiah and Jeremiah (Matt 2:17; 3:3; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:14; 15:17; 27:9) while quotations from the minor prophets are left anonymous (2:5, 15; 11:10; 21:4; 26:31).

79. Nissinen, "Prophecy and Omen Divination," 341.

Second, Matthew's fulfillment quotations are precise divine revelation. The Qumran *pesharim* present the base-text to mean something other than what it says: they present atomistic interpretations with little regard for the original historical or literary context, and assume that the words of the prophets are *mysteries* that refer to their time (see 1QpHab 7:1–2).[80] The outer appearance of the text, like that of a sign or omen, is obvious to anyone, but its actual meaning is not evident before it is properly interpreted.[81] The Hebrew prophets may be read, but an expert scribe is needed to decipher and interpret their meaning for the present. Like an omen, not valid at one historical moment only, but to be interpreted in any given situation by those who were considered capable of revealing the divine will to their communities, the Qumran *pesharim* and the fulfillment quotations are then understood as an indispensable update of the information given to the prophet of the past.[82] Therefore, by the Teacher of Righteousness or Jesus through his scribe Matthew, the mysteries of the prophets have been revealed and interpreted for their generation as divine revelation.

Third, fulfillment quotations function like dream-visions, which are regarded as having divine origin. They are viewed as enigmatic revelatory communications and need to be juxtaposed and interpreted with a text (i.e., clarified, updated, and actualized). Moreover, this divine interpretation of the sacred text reinforces and legitimatizes a particular view of the present and future.[83] This interpretation is rooted in divine revelation and legitimation—God granting divine insight—for a particular understanding of the Hebrew prophets.

In sum, Matthew's fulfillment quotations, like the Qumran *pesharim*, function to bring the Hebrew prophets into the present. They require a scribe who is able to discern the divine will to interpret them. Matthew's

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80. So that the Teacher of Righteousness and not Habakkuk holds the meaning. See Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, WUNT 6 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), 36–59.

81. The meaning can be discerned with the help of certain rules, rituals, and techniques available to those few who have learned them, but it is ultimately a matter of divine revelation. See Nissinen, "Prophecy and Omen Divination," 341–47.

82. In addition, *pesher* application would supersede, but not invalidate, the meaning of the original prophet.

83. Therefore, in continuity with the Jewish Scriptures, Matthew, along with early Christianity, interpreted and attempted to demonstrate Jesus as the royal Messiah from the Hebrew prophets as hidden revelation (mystery) that is disclosed through the prophetic writings (see Rom 16:25–27).

use of dream-visions and fulfillment quotations reveals God's identification of Jesus as the Messiah and his protection from social or physical harm; that is, Jesus's birth, life, and death is a fulfillment (πληρόω) of prophecy and the Jewish Scriptures.

5. Conclusion

In the first section, I demonstrated that the roots of Matthean prophecy should be understood within the sphere of ancient Near Eastern divination and how Second Temple scribes understood themselves participating in the intermediary role of the prophet. In the second section, I have shown how the author of Matthew integrated ancient Near Eastern divinatory elements into his writing, demonstrating the author's knowledge of, and even acceptance and utilization of some divinatory practices. In the last section, I examined Matthew's use of dream-visions and fulfillment quotations in hopes of elucidating Matthew's intended use and purpose.

In sum, by interpreting the Jewish Scriptures, Matthew's use of fulfillment quotations from the Hebrew prophets can be understood within the sphere of ancient Near Eastern divination as it discloses divine revelation. An understanding of Matthew's divinatory features (magi, blessings and curses, divine messengers, and signs) helps illuminate his use of the Jewish Scriptures (i.e., prophetic fulfillment) within the context of late Second Temple scribal practices. Like the Qumran *pesharim*, these fulfillment quotations function to combine sacred text and contemporary interpretation to reveal the divine will by actualizing the Jewish Scriptures and authenticating Jesus's identity and authority as the anticipated Messiah, who brings about the kingdom of heaven for the early church community.

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